The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature

BY

GEORGE SAMPSON



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PREFACE

This book is based on the fourteen volumes of *The Cambridge History of English Literature*. Each chapter (except the last) takes for its subject-matter the volume that bears its title, and reference to the parent work is therefore easy. Paragraphs and sentences in their [illegible]

portant. The reader must begin to know famous books themselves [illegible]

end. Thus, Shakespeare's *Hamlet* is but end of several old stories, and we must know *Hamlet* itself before we can examine theories about it. The frequent practice of lecturing pupils, still children in experience, on such vast abstractions as "the Epic", "the Drama", "the Novel" is bad, both as a method of education and as an approach to literature. Many ill-founded judgments in criticism can be traced to the effect of generalities upon minds unprepared by particulars. The whole process is literally preposterous and creates a body of readers predisposed to superstition—readers, for instance, who accept easy generalizations about "the Victorian period", without reflecting that the long stretch of time between *Oliver Twist* and *Three Plays for Puritans* contains as many different periods as the similar stretch of time between Dekker's *Wonderful Year* and Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*; or readers who accept quasi-scientific definitions and theories of what is, and what is not, literature, without reflecting that though Dickens could no more have written *A Sportsman's Sketches* than Turgenev could have written *Pickwick*, the plain human, historical fact is that we want both. There is always an appeal from criticism to history, which is the record, not of suppositions, but of achievements. The main purpose of this volume, therefore, is to exhibit "the progress of poesy" as something that really happened and interested many generations The book does not offer a collection of opinions that a reader can take over ready-made. It is a guide to reading, not a substitute for reading. It represents, in [illegible]

we are unable to accept the common view we should consider carefully whether the fault is in the general opinion or in ourselves. Literature can instruct only as it delights. If a book does not delight us, we must honestly recognize the fact and make no pretences; but we should not assume that there is some special merit in a disability. The fame of great books has been honestly won, and indignant rejection of it as a conspiracy of humbug proves either that we are insensitive to certain kinds of appeal or that our minds are narrowly provincial. Nothing else is proved. History will help us—if we are willing to be helped, and are not consumed by the lust of dissidence and the vanity of cleverness.

The disposition of matter in this volume is that of the original *History*, in which the treatment is sometimes chronological, sometimes topical and sometimes personal. The major authors are usually discussed fully at once; but a lesser writer may be considered in one place as a dramatist, in another as a poet and in another as an essayist. There is profit rather than loss in this diffusion. The various methods of approach have their natural disadvantages, when pursued exclusively; the use of all has no more disadvantages and offers some compensations.

The writer of an epitome must respect his terms of reference, but he is entitled to move freely within them. He may not transform his matter, but he may add or amend; and so, while this volume presents, in the main, the views of the parent *History*, it includes certain modifications necessitated by the fact that some of the original chapters were written over thirty years ago. In one respect there is a definite change. The *History* refused admission to any writer then living (though one actually got in). The application of this rule, which favoured premature death against longevity, had some curious results. For instance, the Irish literary revival could not be discussed, for its makers were all living, except Synge, who, having died young, appeared as a solitary phenomenon. Some of the original chapters showed, therefore, not a few gaps that needed repair. Further, as the final volume was published as long ago as 1916, an extension of the survey was necessary. Accordingly, the present work attempts a discussion of later authors, including some still alive at the moment of writing, though, as a rule, those born after 1800 are not regarded as having passed into history. But even this rule is not strictly kept. Some of the additions have been made at appropriate places in the original scheme; others have needed a chapter of their own. This supplementary chapter (xv), while seeking mainly to record facts, occasionally ventures into criticism. Current preferences have been noted, but are not always regarded as ultimate valuations. The inclusion of living writers is dangerous, and may be resented, especially by those not included; but a historian

must be prepared to run [illegible]
terpreted unfavourably. [illegible]
of writers who seemed [illegible]
sometimes referred to in the past tense means, simply, that they are regarded historically, not that they are regarded as having finished their work.

We have been told that the history of a national literature cannot be written apart from the whole history of the nation, or, indeed, of the continent. That is true; but like most truisms it is not very important. No one can grasp the whole of everything at once, and to attempt too much is a certain way of failure. We learn much [illegible]

[illegible]

period with a reasonable hope of getting to know what kind of people they were and what happened to them.

The present volume is offered to all readers of English It is not designed solely or even mainly as a text-book for students, though these should find it a useful introduction to more detailed investigation. It is addressed (in the words of the preface to the First Folio) "to the great Variety of Readers", to whom, indeed, all literature belongs. Literature is not "a peculiar" of the professionally literary classes, academic, social or critical. It is not a vested interest, or the concern of cults and coteries. The repudiation of individual re- [illegible]

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unexercised minds. That belief is a delusion. "Something for nothing" is not to be had from any art. Creation is personal and individual. Literature is not a product that mechanically arises from origins, influences and the spirit of the age; it is something that comes out of the heart of a man, who writes because he must, not because he chooses. As it is given, so it must be received. Heart speaks to heart, and we receive just what we give. The history of literature, with its long record of creative events, opens the mind and makes it ready to receive. We live in an age of specialism, when people are required to know more and more about less and less, or to perform an intensively mechanical and uncreative routine. We have conquered space and lost spaciousness. But there is a remedy. The mind can expatiate in history and broaden its range over a wide

field of human achievement. For this remedial liberation of the spirit the history of literature offers rich and ample scope. Literature itself has become the domain of specialists; but the study of literature by devoted scholars must serve the enjoyment of literature by the *common* reader, or it is labour in vain. Much learning has gone into the volumes represented by the present chapters; and the author, now that his long day's task is done, turns to offer a parting salute of respect to the scholars whose work he has here sought to bring home "to the great Variety of Readers".

G.S.

Hove, Sussex
March, 1941

It is not to be thought of that the Flood
[illegible] freedom, which to the open Sea
[illegible]
That Shakespeare spake; the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held. In every thing we are sprung
Of Earth's first blood, have titles manifold.

WORDSWORTH, 1807

CHAPTER I

FROM THE BEGINNINGS TO THE CYCLES OF ROMANCE

I. THE BEGINNINGS

remains of the songs or stories possessed by the Britons whom Caesar found in southern England, and next to nothing of the literature

other national literatures, have perished. We know nothing whatever of Old English poetry in its rudest shape. The fragments we possess are not those of a literature in the making, for the poets of *Beowulf* and *Widsith*, of *The Ruin* and *The Seafarer* knew what they wished to say, and said it without any trace of struggle for word or form. Whether what

Beowulf comes c

volumes, the E

rest into destruction, Old English poetry would have been merely something to guess at

Our earliest literature has much to do with life and journeys that were a constant struggle against a grim and pitiless element. The shadow of long nights by waters wild with storm or fettered by frost falls darkly upon our first poems. The sea of our forefathers was not a gracious Mediterranean washing with blue water the steps of marble palaces, but an ocean grey and tumultuous beating upon dismal shores and sterile promontories. The very land seems as cruel as the

the moan of the wind across the meres. With rude implements they scratch the soil, and, in hope of the harvest, greet the earth in lines like those below, perhaps some of the oldest in our language:

Hal wes þu, folde, fira modor,
beo þu growende on godes fæþme;
fodre gefylled firum to nytte.

Hale be thou Earth, Mother of men!
Fruitful be thou in the arms of the god.
Be filled with thy fruit for the fare-need of man!

II. RUNES AND MANUSCRIPTS

When the aboriginal English still lived by the northern seas they shared with their kindred an alphabet of "runes". We need regard here only the alphabetical value of these symbols and ignore tradition that ultimately made "Runic rhyme" develop into a stock term for mystery or incomprehensibility. The runic alphabet naturally took a form that lent itself easily to rough carving, and certain famous inscriptions upon stone, metal or bone still remain. Each rune had its own name, which was also the name of some familiar thing. Thus the symbol þ, which degenerated into an initial y, was the "thorn."

Runes went out of use in the ninth and tenth centuries. Their place had, however, been usurped long before that period by the Roman alphabet which the English received from the early Irish missionaries. The missionary and the Roman alphabet travelled together, and it was the Christian scribe who first wrote down what heathen memories had preserved. A school of Roman handwriting was established in the south of England by Augustine and his missionaries; but its existence was brief, and little evidence of its activity survives. The most powerful influence came from Ireland, to which manuscripts in the Roman "half-uncial" hand had been brought by missionaries perhaps in the fifth century. When Northumbria was Christianized by the Irish, the preachers taught their disciples to write the Word in characters more pleasing to God than the runes of heathendom. Thus the English learnt the exquisite penmanship of the Irish and were soon able to give such striking evidence of their skill as the magnificent *Lindisfarne Gospels* of about 700, in the rounded half-uncial.

After the Conquest the native hand disappeared, the only traces left being a few characters to express peculiarly English sounds, ƿ (wynn) and þ (thorn), and the later symbols ȝ (yok) and ð (eth). The ƿ was replaced in the thirteenth century by *w*, and disappeared; the French *qu* replaced cƿ. The two signs þ and ð were interchangeable and represented the two sounds of *th*. Of these the first long survived

(later in the form of initial y) and is still met with in the semi-humorous archaism "ye" for "the". The symbol ȝ (a form of *z*) was variously used. It stood for *z*, for *y* in *ȝeer* (year) and *daȝe* (day), and in such forms as *kniȝt* and *rouȝ* represented the Old English *h* (*gh*), in *cniht* and *ruh*.

The writing materials of medieval England included the old *boc* or wooden tablet, coated with wax, and written upon with a style of bone or metal. Parchment and vellum were used for writings meant to endure. The scribes were monks or nuns who wrote with truly religious patience in the chilly cloisters or the cells of the monasteries, only the fortunate few having a special *scriptorium* or writing room for their task. Gradually, however, a professional class of scribes came into existence, working either for, or actually in, the monasteries.

Specimens of the manuscripts and of some of the literature discussed in Chapter I of this volume will be found in *The Cambridge Book of Prose and Verse: From the Beginnings to the Cycles of Romance.*

III. EARLY NATIONAL POETRY

The first English poet known to us by name (or nickname) is "Widsith", the "Wide Wanderer", a *scop* or itinerant minstrel of the sixth century, who gives us glimpses of his own life in a poem of about 150 lines (Exeter Book) The many allusions in *Widsith* are as puzzling to us as a catalogue of names from some ancient gazetteer or genealogy, and arouse no emotion higher than an impulse towards research; but they had each a thrill for the primitive hearers. What the modern reader catches in *Widsith* is a glimpse of a poet's joy and grief appealing humanly across the centuries.

Deor's Lament (Exeter Book), a poem unique in its time for a strophic form with [illegible] maeg", "That [illegible] poet's own mis [illegible] of 115 lines, is the l[illegible] man who has lost his protecting lord, and wanders over the waters to find a resting place. In dreams his vanished happiness shines on him again, but day brings back the grey sea and the driving snow and the desolation of the earth. *The Seafarer* (Exeter Book) is usually read as a dialogue between an old man who knows the joyless life of the sea and a young man who will not be deterred from maritime adventure by the melancholy tale of the old seaman. But it may be the monologue of a man who, hating the hardships and cruelty of the sea, knows that for him there is no other life. Such men can be found in every port to-day.

Among the fragmentary poems in the Exeter Book there is one short piece commonly called *The Ruin*, remarkable because it takes us away from the sea and describes the downfall of some great palace or rich city—possibly Bath. The imperfection of the Exeter manuscript makes this poem difficult to read and adds to the obscurity of other short pieces like *The Wife's Complaint* and *The Husband's Message*.

The fullest revelation of the hard, heroic and joyless lives led by our old English forefathers is to be found in *Beowulf*, a narrative poem of 3183 lines transmitted in a tenth-twelfth century manuscript, now safely preserved in the British Museum after many damaging adventures. Like the epics of Homer, *Beowulf* has been subjected to a close critical examination that has produced almost as many opinions as there have been critics. Some hold that its home is the Baltic shore, and that it was brought to England by the invading Northmen. Others designate England as the place of composition and the Yorkshire coast as the scene of the story. The fact should be noted that, not only in *Beowulf*, but in all our early national poetry, the allusions are Continental or Scandinavian: no reference can be found to persons who are known to have lived in Britain. There is general agreement that the West Saxon dialect in which *Beowulf* now exists is not that in which it was originally composed, and that the lays out of which it was fashioned belong to pre-Christian times, although in its present form it contains many passages of distinctly Christian character. What may be called the "stuff" of *Beowulf* is essentially heathen; the sentiment and reflections are Christian. The mixture indicates that the poem is a heathen legend which received its present expression from a Christian poet. The resemblance between the deeds of Beowulf and those of other heroes do not point to imitation, but rather to the tendency of primitive heroes to become each the centre of stock adventures. Naturally, few heroes in any early romance have escaped a combat with a monster. The story of *Beowulf* is so generally familiar that it need not be told here. The poem is interesting both as a heroic lay and as a national document. It is the earliest, as it is the finest, of the northern hero-poems, and in places it attains a very moving quality. The song of the fight at Finnsburh, the description of the monster-haunted mere, and the story of Beowulf's death and burial have the note of great literature. The poem gives us glimpses of the communal life of our ancestors in the hall of their lord, and tells of the emotions that moved them. They were brave; but they were terror-haunted. Against the beasts they could fight; against the dim, impalpable unknown they were helpless. The long nights of the northern winter harrowed them with fear and wonder. The Homeric heroes are the playthings of the gods; but their life is more joyous than that of the Wyrd-haunted heroes in the hall of Hrothgar. Perhaps because it has no sense of joy or light

they were thus assembled.

popular, for it is the subject of a long episode in *Beowulf* (ll. 1063–1159), and three of the characters are mentioned in *Widsith*. The full story of *Waldere* is available in several other sources The fragments

influence of later Christianity. It is probable that they were not written down until they had ceased to be part of a heathen ceremonial and had become part of peasant folk-lore.

Old English verse takes, as a rule, one general form, the particular character of which is discussed in a later section. The verses were made for oral delivery, the alliteration itself probably marking the strong chords or clashes of whatever noises accompanied the

a fixed number of accents The general style of Old English verse is ejaculatory—the style of men who draw their images from the strife of the elements. Old English literature is the literature of men, not of women. We need not doubt that there were songs of other kinds—common songs and comic songs, songs about women and songs about drink; but such songs had a purely oral life and perished because they were never recorded. The Germanic tribes were decorous in their lives, but they were not unnatural ascetics and did not suffer from abnormal repressions.

The poems named in the early pages of this chapter are a selection from the pieces, not all of literary interest, that survive in Old English transcriptions made in the tenth century or later. There are no "original manuscripts". Song and saga existed before scribes and script. Some communities have regarded writing as the enemy of man's most precious possession, his memory. Law would be recorded before lyric. In Wagner's *Ring*, the pact with the giants is carved on the shaft of Wotan's spear; no one records the songs of the Rhine Daughters.

IV. OLD ENGLISH CHRISTIAN POETRY

Roman-British Christianity, which gave this island its first martyr and its first heretic, left no recorded trace upon the course of English literature. The invading barbarians from Germany overwhelmed British religion as well as British poetry. But in Ireland the faith preached by St Patrick still held its ground. The re-Christianizing of England, first by Celtic missionaries from Ireland through the western islands of Scotland, and next by Augustine and his monks sent hither from Rome itself, changed much in the matter and feeling of English poetry, but left its form and general machinery unaltered. The bleak mists of the unknown enshrouding primitive life dissipate as light breaks into the heathen darkness. The subject of the poets' song is now the story of Christ and the deeds of saintly heroes. The dim and inexorable Wyrd gives place to an all-seeing Father; and grace, hope and mercy begin to lighten the darkness of lives once terror-haunted. The form of the verse and the shape of the poems remain unchanged. The heroism of Judith is sung in the measure that had chanted the deeds of Beowulf, and God and the angels, or Christ and the apostles, take something like the form of an English chief with a shining host of unconquerable clansmen.

The new spirit in English poetry came from Christianity, but not from that alone. English poetry did not change because a Kentish king was baptized by a Roman monk. In 597 St Augustine landed at Ebbsfleet, but St Columba was already at Iona in 563, and from Iona came St Aidan to Lindisfarne in 635. St Augustine brought a theological system to the south; St Aidan brought religious grace to the north. The missionaries who carried Christianity into the Anglian kingdoms came not merely from the island of St Patrick but from the island of Deirdre, and it was in a monastery ruled by Celtic, not Roman, usage that Caedmon found his gift of song. Thus northern English literature came to be touched by an influence that people have agreed to call Celtic. The effect was to make English poetry subjective rather than objective, lyric rather than epic.

The first English poet clearly known to us by name is Caedmon (fl. 670), who, as Bede tells us in a beautiful passage of his *Ecclesiastical History*, dwelt till middle age in the monastery ruled by the Abbess Hild at Streoneshalh (Whitby). Then in a vision he was called by name, and bidden to sing of God the Creator. He made his verses, and, when he awoke, remembered them and made others like them. Bede, a careful and exact historian, tells us that Caedmon turned into song the story of Genesis and Exodus, the settlement of the chosen people in the promised land, the life and death of the Saviour, and the revelation of the judgment to come. Now it

happens that in what is called the Junian manuscript at Oxford there are poetical versions of *Genesis*, *Exodus* and *Daniel*, together with three *Christ* poems (or three parts of one *Christ* poem)—*The Fallen Angels*, *The Harrowing of Hell* and *The Temptation*. These were naturally assumed to be the Caedmon poems described by Bede; but critical research has proved the ascription to be impossible. Perhaps [illegible]

a "sacred" poet, his name would not have been recorded.

The most interesting of the Junian poems is *Genesis*, a narrative of nearly 3000 lines. After singing the praises of the Creator in the Caedmonian manner, and describing the fall of the angels, the poet proceeds with the Bible story from the Creation to the frustrated [illegible]

author of the Old Saxon paraphrase of the New Testament, commonly known as the *Heliand*. In 1894 the discovery in the Vatican Library of a manuscript containing fragments of the Old Saxon [illegible]

even though, like the early Italian painters, he represents the main incidents, especially the battle-scenes, in terms of contemporary life. But the Christian poet is apparent in softer descriptions than could have found a place in *Beowulf*. The Old Saxon poet of *Genesis B* was of a more daring order. He gave his imagination wings, and his picture of the unconquerable Satan thrust out of heaven into the murk of hell, and there pursuing his strife with the Almighty by seeking to destroy the newly-created race of man, irresistibly suggests the proud fiend of *Paradise Lost*.

[illegible]

children in the furnace is better told in a short poem called *Azarias* transmitted in the Exeter codex. The *Christ* poems, especially *The Harrowing of Hell*, endure comparison with later treatment of their matter. They have a primitive note, and it has been suggested that they are possibly nearer to the Caedmonian originals than any of the other poems in the Junian codex.

All the old religious poems that were not assigned to Caedmon were invariably given to Cynewulf (fl. 750). As Caedmon was the accepted poet of the Junian manuscript, so Cynewulf was the accepted poet of the Exeter Book. Modern scholarship has taught us to be more discriminating. Dim as the figure of Cynewulf is, we are surer of him than of Caedmon, if only because in two poems of the Exeter Book and two of the Vercelli he has inserted runic characters that have meaning in the verses and form the name Cynewulf or Cynwulf. The general conclusion of scholars is that, though the poems are transmitted in a West Saxon version, Cynewulf was a Northumbrian or Mercian who wrote towards the end of the eighth century. His work represents an advance in culture upon the more primitive Caedmonian poems. Much of it shows acquaintance with Latin originals and seems to exhibit a more conscious effort to attain artistic form. The most notable of the Cynewulf poems is the *Christ* (not to be confused with the Caedmonian poem of the Junian manuscript), a trilogy, to the first and third parts of which the Cynewulfian authorship has been denied. Each part can be traced to Latin sources, but the poet is as original as Milton, and voices in eloquent language a personal vision of life. The description of the Last Judgment and the joys of the blessed are the work of a true poet. Immediately after the *Christ* in the Exeter Book comes *Juliana*, which, like the *Chri* is signed in runes. The poem derives from the *Acta S. Julianae* a describes the life and death of the virgin martyr. But the intrin merit of the poem is small; and this must be said, too, of the Verc *Fates of the Apostles*, also signed in runes. *Andreas* (Vercelli Book), Cynewulfian authorship of which is doubtful, though it was considered part of *The Fates of the Apostles*, is a great poem. I story of the missionary labours of St Andrew, divinely sent to St Matthew from Ethiopian cannibals; but in essence it is a t sea adventure. The poem shows the author's close acquaintance the moods of the sea, which he renders with great power. (transmitted in the Vercelli Book) is Cynewulf's masterpiec carries his runic name. Besides being a poem of original pow a document illustrating the new *cultus* of the Cross. Const celebrated vision before his victory at the Milvian Bridge (spired his mother Helena to set out in quest of the Cross its guided by a vision, she found it buried unbroken. The ico movement in the eighth and ninth centuries against

attachment to images contributed to an increased reverence for this arch-symbol of the Christian faith, and the two festivals, the Inven-

story of a quest involving many adventures and conflicts on land and sea.

With *Elene* we may fitly consider *The Dream of the Rood*, a poem

sees the Cross, 'a gallows tree, but not of shame', decked with gold and jewels. But as he looks, the Cross streams with blood, and,

the Middle Ages, an *Address of a Lost Soul to the Body*, and an *Address of a Saved Soul to the Body*, the first a common and the second a rare theme; a group of four short homiletic poems, the *Gifts of Man*, the *Fates of Man*, the *Mind of Man* and the *Falsehood of Man*; and a *Rhyming Poem*, the sole surviving example of the use of end-rhyme and alliteration together in one piece.

transmission. Moral poetry is represented by *A Father's Instruction*

not mean that there were no secular poets. It must be constantly remembered that we have to deal, not with what existed, but with what was written down. The monastic scribes would never waste hard labour and precious material on vain and amatorious poems. Even the old took a new shape as it passed through their hands, and in *Beowulf* itself we can discern the wild Teutonic spirit touched here and there by the spirit of Roman Christianity.

V. LATIN WRITINGS IN ENGLAND TO THE TIME OF ALFRED

Much of the older literature of Christian England is written in Latin. That universal language prevailed, indeed, into the age of Harvey and Newton. Some of the more interesting matter has been industriously translated by scholars like J. A. Giles (1808–84); some still remains almost unknown to general readers. The historian of English literature has a difficulty in deciding which of the earliest Latin writings by natives of Britain fall within his province. It is outside the scope of this work to survey the various scattered documents of British origin which were produced outside Britain. Among the writings thus excluded from consideration may be mentioned the remains of Pelagius (i.e. Morgan, early fifth century), who seems to have been actually the earliest British author, as well as our first heretic, and the two famous epistles of St Patrick, the *Confession* and the *Letter to Coroticus*, which, in spite of their barbaric style, are among the most attractive monuments of ancient Christianity.

The first works that call for notice are the book of Gildas and the anonymous *Historia Britonum*. Gildas Sapiens, "Gildas the Wise", appears to have been born about 500, to have written his *De Excidio Britanniae* before 547, and to have died abroad about 570. His work, variously named in the manuscripts, is entitled by Mommsen, "Of Gildas the Wise concerning the destruction and conquest of Britain and his lamentable castigation uttered against the kings, princes and priests thereof." Gildas is essentially a prophet; but he fortunately chose to recite the facts of national history in order to point his moral and give edge to his denunciations; and so we have a most valuable sketch of British history, recording facts derived possibly from aged British monks who had settled in Ireland and Brittany. One-quarter of his work is occupied by a historical narrative that begins with the Romans and comes down to forty-four years after the battle of Mount Badon (516), when the descendants of Ambrosius Aurelianus —the hero of that field and a dim foreshadowing of the mythical Arthur—had forsaken the ways of their great ancestor, and, together with the rest of Britain, had departed from God and fallen into the

vilest degradation. Gildas is specially interesting as a specimen of the Romanized Briton. "Our tongue" for him is Latin, and his eyes, in changing times, are fixed tragically on the great Roman past.

The *Historia Britonum* is more important as history than as literature. The probable date of the original compilation is somewhere about 679. Of several later recensions the most important is that made in the ninth century by Nynniaw (Latin, Nennius) a Welshman whose version is not fully extant. Into the complicated question of authorship we are not called upon to go; but we should note that one main source of the *Historia* is Gildas. In manner it somewhat resembles the Old Testament *Chronicles*, with their mixture of genealogy and legend. Its chief legacy to later generations is the story of Vortigern. Within a few years of the death of Gildas, *ultimus Britannorum*, came the mission of St Augustine to Kent, and England passed once more under definite, if different, Roman influences. Attributed to Gildas is a metrical prayer or charm, the *Lorica*, i.e., cuirass or breastplate. A similar piece in Irish is claimed for St Patrick. In the enumeration of parts of the body it uses an extraordinary vocabulary, even more abundantly employed in *Hisperica Famina*, a strange work of over 600 lines with a primitive metrical structure. That the author was either Irish or had some connection with Ireland is clear Similar in its use of Hisperic Latinity is the alphabetic hymn *Altus prosator* attributed to St Columba.

The first important English writer of Latin is Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, who died in 709. A tradition represents him as skilled in singing to the country people English songs of his own composing; but of these, unfortunately, not a trace remains. What does remain is a large body of Latin compositions—verses, a discussion of metre, riddles, letters, and a treatise on virginity, written first in prose and then in hexameters Though Aldhelm could be simple, he preferred to be elaborate in style and fantastic in his choice of words, like the [illegible]

cern the student of English literature

Aldhelm and his followers were men of the south. The two greatest of our early English Latinists were northerners scarcely touched by the literary influence of Aldhelm Bede and Alcuin both enjoyed a European reputation, but the fame of the former was more genuinely literary. He is, indeed, in spite of his chosen idiom, among the best of English writers, with a sweet lovable personality radiating from [illegible]

mention here. Many of them are theological, but the others cover a

nge of knowledge. Bede's enduring fame for us depends upon his historical writings. The *Martyrology*, expanded by ands, was a highly popular summary of ecclesiastical bio-y. The short work *De Temporibus*, dealing, among other things, the calculations connected with the observance of Easter, not touched upon a cause of division between the Celtic-English the Roman-English churches, but let the dry light of mathe-ics into religious controversy. The tract ends with a brief chronicle the events in the six ages of human history. This chronicle plays a uch more important part in the longer work *De Temporum atione*. Bede was the first chronicler to give the date from Christ's irth in addition to the year of the world. Bede's best and greatest work is the Latin *Ecclesiastical History of the English Race* in five books, parts of which are now among the national legends. Every school-boy knows the story of Gregory and the Angles and the calling of Caedmon. Those older than schoolboys cannot read unmoved the passage in which the nameless noble at the Northumbrian court, touched by the preaching of Paulinus, likens the life of man to the flight of a bird out of the winter night into a warm and lighted hall and thence into the dark again. The miraculous visit of Drythelm to the world beyond death, narrated in Book V, is an admirable exercise in the kind of medieval literature that we have learned to call Dantesque. The whole work is written with the transparent sincerity of a beautiful mind and the matter is appropriately presented in prose that has no trace of the Aldhelmian affectations. Although he wrote in Latin, Bede rendered to English letters the high service of popular-izing a direct and simple narrative style. The metrical life of St Cuthbert is interesting as Bede's most considerable effort in verse. The *Letter to Egbert* shows that, cloistered as he was, the soul of Bede ranged far beyond the walls of his abbey and concerned itself eagerly with the whole state of the English people. First and last it is the personality of Bede that fascinates us; and we rejoice to think that the affecting story of his death, as told in his pupil Cuthbert's letter to Cuthwin, is so exquisitely in tune with the beauty of a gentle and beneficent life.

The paradox of Alcuin (735–804) is that he is of European rather than of English importance. A famous passage proclaims his debt to the library, as well as to the teachers, in the great school of York; but though he was himself master there in 778, his fame rests on the fact that he left England for ever to become the apostle of education in the empire of Charlemagne. Most of his works were written abroad and could have no effect in England because the raids of the Scandi-navians extinguished the learning and literature of Northumbria an paralysed intellectual effort all over the land. The ninth century, the historian of our Latin literature, is almost a blank.

The remaining Latin writings of the eighth and ninth centuries—mainly lives of saints—are not of great importance. Felix, author of the *Life of Guthlac*, was plainly fascinated by the tales of the demon hordes that haunted the lonely hermit of the fens, and has portrayed them in language which, whether directly or not, was reproduced in vernacular poems not many generations later. Other writers of the [illegible] birth to Bede, the only writer of that age whose works are of first-rate value, and to Alcuin, whose influence was supreme in the schools of the Continent.

VI. ALFRED AND THE OLD ENGLISH PROSE OF HIS REIGN

[illegible] educational mission. So lost was learning that, at the date of his [illegible] teachers and began himself to translate Latin works into the Wessex tongue. A certain preliminary *Handbook* of extracts from the scriptural and patristic writings seems to be lost, and the first book of Alfred's, therefore, that calls for notice is a translation of the *Regula* or *Cura Pastoralis*, written in the sixth century by Gregory the Great. Obviously a revival of learning had to begin among the clergy, and in Gregory's work, designed to guide the priest in his holy life, Alfred found a suitable primer of instruction and stimulus. The Preface from the king's own hand is specially important, as it is, in

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is a short biographical sketch attributed to Asser (d. 909), Bishop of Sherborne, whom Alfred called from Wales to aid him in the re-establishment of learning. The authenticity of the work has been hotly disputed and vigorously defended; but the matter is hard to settle, as the unique manuscript was almost entirely destroyed in the Cottonian fire and the early printed editions are not trustworthy. It is appropriate that the first biography of an English layman should be devoted to a great ruler who, besides raising England from the

VII. FROM ALFRED TO THE CONQUEST

Alfred died in the first year of the tenth century, a date that forms a landmark in history. A king of Wessex presently becomes ruler of

Chronicle is as complicated as its literary merits are various. Six recensions still exist, together with two fragments of which no notice need be taken here. To follow the resemblances and differences the reader must consult such an edition as Thorpe's, which sets the six versions in parallel columns. Any brief description would be more confusing than helpful. The recensions vary greatly in length. Some

fragments contained in it will be made later on.

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In Aethelwold's school at Winchester the greatest of English homilists was growing up. Aelfric (955?–1022?) wrote three series of homilies, which tell the sacred stories now familiar to later generations, but then unknown and even unknowable by the illiterate many, save through oral exposition. Aelfric uses a poetical manner with a sing-song alliterative rhythm which must have made his discourses immediately attractive, and, in the fullest sense, memorable. But Aelfric was educationist as well as homilist, and wrote for the novices at Winchester a Latin grammar (based upon Priscian), a Latin-English vocabulary, and the familiar *Colloquy* designed to instruct the young scholars in the daily speech of the monastery. The *Colloquy* is a conversation between a teacher, a novice and others who represent the usual occupations of life. Its human touches are vivid and appealing, and, as a method of instruction, it is thoroughly enlightened. The original Latin has an English gloss, perhaps not Aelfric's.

Very different from Aelfric in manner was the fiery, vehement Wulfstan (d. 1023), Archbishop of York in the troubled days of Aethelred. Of fifty-three homilies described in Bodl. Jun. 99 as *Sermones Lupi*, though they are in English, very few are indisputably his. The most famous is the address known as *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, delivered in the time of the Danish persecutions. Like a true patriot Wulfstan does not shrink from telling his hearers that their sins have deserved heavy punishment. Wulfstan uses an alliterative rhythmic style intended to impress his matter upon the memory of the unlettered listener.

Besides the homilies there were composed in the tenth century three notable English versions of the gospels. The *Lindisfarne Gospels*, a great vellum quarto now in the British Museum, is one of the most beautiful of manuscripts. It was written about 700; but it concerns us here because, about 950, a Northumbrian priest Aldred added to the Latin script an interlinear gloss in his own dialect. The *Rushworth*

Gospels, in a slightly differing Latin text, has both a tenth-century Mercian gloss and a South Northumbrian, similar to that of the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. A late tenth- or early eleventh-century West Saxon version of the Gospels exists in several manuscripts.

Eastern legends still had their fascination for the English people. Cynewulf's *Elene* had told the story of the finding of the Cross. A tenth or eleventh century prose *Legend of the Holy Rood* tells with moving grace and charm the story of the growth of the Cross from three seeds of cypress, cedar and pine. In addition to the sacred legends there are the secular (and apocryphal) *Letter from Alexander to Aristotle*, *The Wonders of the East* and *Apollonius of Tyre*. The first two have as hero an entirely legendary Alexander the Great, who was [illegible] *Romanorum* and in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, whence it was borrowed for the partly Shakespearean *Pericles*, in which Gower figures as Chorus

As will be seen from the foregoing paragraphs, the age of Alfred and Aelfric was an age of prose. Prose of excellence is a flower of less rapid growth than poetry; but in such compositions as the [illegible] oving to- [illegible] That de- [illegible] est, with its introduction of a foreign idiom, and the whole slow process had to be gone through again. But the Aelfric tradition endured, and [illegible] rhetorical verse had already begun to deteriorate and was being replaced by the "sung" or four-beat metre of the popular ballad. The *Chronicle* offers some examples. The first poem occurs under the year 937 in celebration of Aethelstan's victory at Brunanburh It is admirable both as patriotism and as poetry, and has attracted many translators from Tennyson onwards It adheres, however, to the ancient alliterative line The first poem in "sung" verse occurs under the year 959, and celebrates the accession of Edgar. The general effect is roughly like that obtained later by Layamon; the poetic merit is small; but the run of the verse shows a clear departure from the old traditional form. This is true of some other verses in the *Chronicle*. That the metrical scheme is obscure may be due to imperfect transmission by the scribes. The writing down of popular songs cannot have been easy to the monkish chroniclers.

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spiration from the epic fragment, *Judith*, of which some 350 lines have survived in the manuscript Cott. Vitell. xv containing *Beowulf*. This was at one time attributed to Caedmon and to Cynewulf, but the general assent of scholars places it much later (c. 918), and finds in it a tribute to Aethelflaed, the Lady of Mercia. It is a great achievement, in the front rank of Old English verse. The same high patriotic feeling inspired, doubtless, by the same poem, can be found in the tragic lines describing the last stand of Byrhtnoth and his men before Northern invaders at Maeldune (Maldon, Essex) on the banks of the Panta (Blackwater) in 991. In the tragedy of its matter and its reticent dignity of narrative *The Battle of Maldon* enshrines a spirit that we like to think is essentially English.

The most interesting among the miscellaneous poems of the period is *Be Domes Daege*, a free and enlarged version of the Latin *De Die Judicii*. This is the kind of "vision-poem" typical of medieval literature. It tells how, as the author sat lonely within a bower in a wood, where the streams murmured among pleasant plants, a wind suddenly arose that stirred the trees and darkened the sky, so that his mind was troubled and he began to sing of the coming of death. Then, in a highly imaginative outburst, he describes the terrors that accompany the Second Advent. The poem ends with a passage, partly borrowed from the Latin, on the joys of the redeemed. The translation is one of the finest in Old English. It is more powerful than its Latin original, and many of the most beautiful passages are new matter put in by the translator. A gloomy poem, *The Grave*, made familiar by Longfellow, is perhaps of later date. After 1100, English poetry ceased to be written down for nearly a century; but the "sung" rhythm never died out amongst the common folk, and, lingering specially in the distant north, found new life in the ballads.

VIII. THE NORMAN CONQUEST

The invasion of English literature by French influence did not begin on the autumn day that saw Harold's levies defeated by Norman archers on the slopes of Senlac. It had begun in the time of Edward the Confessor, who was the grandson of a Norman duke and had spent his years of exile in Normandy. Nevertheless, the year 1066 is a crucial point, because, from that date, the language of the ruling classes was no longer English. As the preservation of letters depended on scholars of foreign extraction, English was not written down. Formal manuscripts are neither English nor French, but Latin. The Normans were not apostles of culture, and very little of the vernacular literature of France was transplanted to English soil at the Conquest; but the language came, and with it came a change in the

orientation of our polite literature. When the Normans landed, Taillefer, the *jongleur*, came first, as Wace tells us, and sang of Roland and Roncesvalles. The invasion of England by Taillefer and his song of Roland is as important as the invasion of England by William and his knights. It was the coming not, indeed, of romance, for we had that before; but it was the coming of Romance. In the end it was the English language that conquered; but in conquering it suffered a sea-change. The asperities of the Northern Ocean and the Baltic were softened by the waters of the Mediterranean; and the English poets turned their eyes from the North to the South.

It is useless to speculate upon the probable course of English letters had there been no Norman Conquest; but at least we are entitled to say that the facts presented in the foregoing pages should prevent a gloomy view. The darkest period of the tenth century was the age of [illegible]

[illegible]

be expressed were multiplied; and the cause of learning was strengthened by the coming of great scholars and by the associations that were later to bind Paris and Oxford. Learning and literature further gained by the intercourse with the Continent that made our wander- [illegible]

[illegible]

middle of the eleventh century at the hands of Lanfranc, who made the monastic school at Bec famous for its teaching, and who, when [illegible]

[illegible]

less of a statesman, but a greater genius, and a more profound thinker. Writers in English were at school under the new masters of the land, whose cycles of romance provided material for translation. We do not know what we lost; but we do know what we gained. Norman art may have been stolid, but Norman building was at least solid. Native speech—the true life of any language—continued to flourish and develop outside of "officialdom". When the language had lost its more rigid inflections and had gained by additions to its ornamental vocabulary, the new singers were able to give fuller expression to their creative impulses They were preparing the way for the coming of Chaucer. Meanwhile the Latin chroniclers were busy at their labours.

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IX. LATIN CHRONICLERS FROM THE ELEVENTH TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The revival of learning which followed the coming of the Normans and reached its zenith under Henry II gave us many gifts, but none greater than the Latin chronicles compiled during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Some few of these are real literature, and all of them, whether written by native Englishmen or by Normans domiciled in England, reflect the united patriotic sentiment which it was the design of later Norman statesmanship to foster. Though composed in Latin, the chronicles are histories of England, and are written from a national English standpoint. They embody English traditions. No other country produced, during that period, any historical compositions to be compared with the English chronicles in variety of interest, wealth of information and amplitude of range.

Apart from national incentives, there were external influences which stimulated at this time the study and writing of history. The Norman settlement in England synchronized with a movement that shook Western Christendom to its foundations. The Crusades not only stirred the religious feelings of Europe, they quickened the imagination and stimulated the curiosity of the Western world as nothing had done for centuries. Intercourse with the East, and the mingling of different tribes in the crusading armies, brought about a "renascence of wonder" as far reaching in some of its effects as the great Renascence itself. Modern romance was born in the twelfth century. The institution of chivalry, the mystic symbolism of the church, the international currency of popular *fabliaux*, the importation of oriental stories of magic and wizardry—all these made their contribution of strangeness, fantasy and remoteness to the sober tales of the historians and the wilder inventions of the poets. Though many of the chroniclers were monks, they were not all recluses. Some of them lived in close intercourse with public men, who visited the monasteries and gave first-hand material for the records.

It is naturally in the region of Bede that we find the most ancient school of Anglo-Norman history. The first notable chronicler in the twelfth century is Simeon of Durham, who used Bede's history and the lost annals of Northumbria. His work was continued by two priors of Hexham, the elder of whom, Richard of Hexham, wrote the *Acts of King Stephen and the Battle of the Standard*. John of Hexham brought the narrative down to 1154. The first important Latin chronicler of the south is Florence of Worcester (d. 1118) whose *Chronicon ex Chronicis* is, as its name implies, a compilation. It ended with the year 1117, but was continued by others elsewhere to the close of the thirteenth century. Simeon and Florence were merely conscientious annalists. Literature of a richer colour and

[illegible]

in Anglia, as well as a life of his master. Ordericus Vitalis (1075–1143), a Norman born in Shropshire, was more ambitious and wrote a lengthy *Historia Ecclesiastica* in thirteen books from the beginning of the Christian era to 1141. Orderic was a shrewd and curious observer, and is one of the standard authorities for the Norman period. His style is sometimes rhetorical and even fantastic, but he is always readable.

A much greater historian and far more attractive writer is their [illegible]

national story from the coming of the English in 449 to 1127, and three books called *Historia Novella* narrating the events from 1125 to 1142. He wrote much else that hardly concerns us. William of Malmesbury had learning, industry, judgment and a wide knowledge of the world; and to these general gifts he added a disinterested love of history and an engaging fondness for anecdote, digression and quotation. His graphic account of the First Crusade has a spaciousness and a wealth of colour which all but rival the glowing periods of Gibbon.

Henry of Huntingdon (1084–1155), author of *Historia Anglorum* (55 B.C.–A.D. 1155), is less important. He prided himself on his skill in verse, and frequently drops into poetry during the course of his facile and perfunctory narrative. A much better authority for his period is the anonymous chronicler who wrote the *Acts of Stephen* (*Gesta Stephani*). Though the king's partisan (and possibly his confessor), he writes with conspicuous fairness, and not even William surpasses him in vividness and power

The historian Geoffrey Arthur, or Geoffrey of Monmouth, Bishop of St Asaph (1100–54), has been called the Father of English Fiction. William of Malmesbury had sought to fill the gap between Bede and Eadmer. Geoffrey proposed to go back farther and describe the kings who lived in Britain before the Incarnation of Christ. [illegible] -us, the *History of the Kings* [illegible] -sually considered more re- [illegible] Geoffrey filled the blank spaces of pre-Christian and early Christian history with delightful stories alleged to have been derived from a "most ancient book in the British tongue" providentially supplied to him by Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford. The fact that no such book is now forthcoming proves nothing; and it is a narrow view of history that

considers Geoffrey an unabashed inventor. He caught and embodied many traditions of the Celtic West which we should have lost without him. To Geoffrey we owe our acquaintance with Brutus the Trojan King of Britain, with Lear and Cymbeline, with Bladud and King Lud, with Locrine and Sabrina, with Merlin and Arthur. That he was denounced by duller chroniclers is a tribute to his charm, not an indictment of his veracity. The *History* was completed about 1139 and became the most popular production of its time. Even before Geoffrey's death Wace had begun to translate it into French verse. Geoffrey would probably have been content to exchange the approbation of historians for the affection of the poets. To be praised by Chaucer, Spenser, Drayton and Wordsworth, and to have given stories, directly or indirectly, to Milton and Shakespeare should be enough fame for any man. Geoffrey's dissemination of the Arthurian stories will be dealt with in later pages.

One of Geoffrey's severest critics was William of Newburgh (1136–98) who, in a preface to his *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, which extends from the Conquest to 1198, denounces the genial romancer as one who had profaned the duties of a historian. This preface has gained William of Newburgh the praise of some modern historians; but the *Historia* itself is little more than an ordered and critical statement of affairs in the time of Stephen and Henry II. The final judgment is that Geoffrey is still read; William of Newburgh is sometimes consulted.

Richard Fitz-Neale, or Fitz-Nigel (d. 1198), is perhaps the author of the most authoritative chronicle of the reign of Henry II generally ascribed to Benedict of Peterborough (d. 1193), but he is more certainly entitled to fame as author of the celebrated *Dialogus de Scaccario*, or Dialogue about the Exchequer, which is one chief source of our knowledge of constitutional principles in pre-Charter England. The so-called Benedict Chronicle forms the foundation of the *Chronica*, an ambitious compilation by Roger of Hovenden (d. 1201), extending from 732 to 1201 and including a fairly comprehensive history of Europe during its special period, the reigns of Henry II and Richard I. Roger may be called the last of the northern school. The *Imagines Historiarum* of Ralph of Diceto (fl. 1180), Dean of St Paul's, a sober, straightforward chronicler, and a shrewd judge of character, ranges from 1148 to 1202 and makes judicious use of important contemporary documents.

King Richard's Crusade has been described by many chroniclers, but by none more vividly than Richard of Devizes (fl. 1190), whose *De Rebus Gestis Ricardi Primi* (1189–92) is a brief but brilliant treatment of its theme. His chronicle gives a striking picture of the social conditions of England in Richard's reign. But social conditions, especially the interior economy of the monasteries, are revealed to

X. ENGLISH SCHOLARS OF PARIS AND FRANCISCANS OF OXFORD: LATIN LITERATURE OF ENGLAND FROM JOHN OF SALISBURY TO RICHARD OF BURY

It was fortunate for England that her connection with France became intimate at a time when Paris was about to rise to intellectual dominance over Europe. The university of that city owed its origin to the cathedral school of Notre-Dame. Here, and afterwards at Sainte-Geneviève, taught the eloquent, brilliant, vain, impulsive and tragically unfortunate Abelard (d. 1142). The fame of his teaching made Paris the resort of many scholars, whose presence led to its becoming the home of the Masters by whom the university was ultimately founded. The first important English pupil of Abelard was John of Salisbury, who studied at Paris and Chartres from 1136 to 1148, and returned to England about 1150. He became secretary to Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, entered the service of Becket in 1162, shared his master's troubles, and was said to have been "sprinkled with the blood of the blessed martyr" in the cathedral of Canterbury on the fatal 29 December 1170. Six years later John became Bishop of Chartres. His works include an encyclopaedia of miscellanies, in eight books, called *Policraticus* or *De Nugis Curialium et Vestigiis Philosophorum*, *Metalogicus*, a defence of the method and use of logic, and *Entheticus*, an elegiac poem of 1852 lines. John's Latin has been praised for its classical elegance and correctness. He was a humanist, two centuries in advance of his time.

Walter Map, or Mapes, was born about 1137 on the marches of Wales, and studied in Paris from about 1154 to 1160. He became one of the king's itinerant judges and was appointed Archdeacon of Oxford in 1197. He was no longer living by 1209. Map was the author of an entertaining miscellany in Latin prose, *De Nugis Curialium*, a work in a far lighter vein than that with a similar title by John of Salisbury. But, even in his lighter vein, Map has often a grave moral purpose. To Map are ascribed certain poems in rhymed Latin verse, notably the *Apocalypse*, the *Confession* and the *Metamorphosis* of Bishop Golias, who is taken as a type of clerical vice. From the *Confession* come the familiar lines beginning "Meum est propositum in taberna mori", set to music as a drinking-song. There is very little reason for believing that Map wrote any of these verses, and in any case they were written as satire and without any jovial intention. Map is persistently credited in certain manuscripts with the authorship of the "original" Latin of the great prose romance of *Lancelot du Lac*, including the *Quest of the Holy Grail* and the *Death of Arthur*; but no such "Latin original" has yet been found. Could Map be proved the author of all the works attributed to

him he would certainly be the greatest of English writers before Chaucer.

Only the briefest mention can be made of Gervase of Tilbury, author of *Otia Imperialia* (1211), a miscellany of legendary tales and superstitions, and of Nigel Wireker (d. 1200), witty author of *Specu-*

"Daun Burnel the Asse

bury, to preach the coming Crusade. He was appointed to write its history in Latin prose, and the archbishop's nephew, Josephus Iscanus, or Joseph of Exeter, to write it in verse. Joseph had already composed an epic *De Bello Trojano*, England's solitary Latin epic, and he celebrated the Crusade in his *Antiocheis*, now represented by a solitary fragment alluding to the *flos regum Arthurus*. Gerald neither fought nor wrote. The earliest of Gerald's works, the *Topographia Hibernica*, is a first-hand authority on medieval Ireland. The *Expugnatio Hibernica*, a narrative of the attempt at a Norman conquest of Ireland (1169–85), is more properly historical in matter, and more sober in manner. His *Itinerarium Kambriae* not only has topographical and ecclesiastical interest, but shows us Gerald deeply interested in languages. The companion *Descriptio Kambriae* ascribes many high intellectual accomplishments to Welshmen and preserves some specimens of current English. *Gemma Ecclesiastica* (the author's favourite work) presents a vivid picture of the state of morality and learning in Wales. In *De Principis Institutione* Gerald not only discusses the duties of a prince but tells the story of the finding of King Arthur's body at Glastonbury. His latest work, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, depicts the principal monastic orders of the time in violent language. Gerald may be a vain and garrulous writer; but he was among the most learned of a learned age, and had an engaging personality

returned to that city after a long sojourn at Toledo. There is no evidence that he was ever at Oxford. To his knowledge of medicine and the stars is due his fame as a magician, referred to by Dante, Boccaccio and Walter Scott. His great service to learning was that his familiarity with Arabic enabled him to make known certain physical and metaphysical works of Aristotle existing in that tongue when

Greek was still unknown to the West. Michael Scot's legendary power to read the stars may be taken to mean that he had learned from the great Arabian teachers of mathematics more of that science than any Europeans could give.

The education of Europe might have long remained in the hands of the secular clergy but for the rise of the new orders of the Franciscans and the Dominicans in the second decade of the thirteenth century. The old monastic orders had made their homes in solitary places; the aim of the Franciscan order was to work in the densely crowded towns. The Franciscan order was founded at Assisi in 1210, the Dominican at Toulouse in 1215; and, at an early date, both orders resolved on establishing themselves in the great seats of education. The Dominicans fixed their headquarters at Bologna and Paris (1217), besides settling at Oxford (1221) and Cambridge (1274); while the Franciscans settled at Oxford and Cambridge in 1224, and at Paris in 1230. When once these orders had been founded, all the great schoolmen were either Franciscans or Dominicans. In Paris, the greatest Dominican teachers were Albertus Magnus (1193–1280) and his favourite pupil, the great St Thomas Aquinas, *Doctor Angelicus* (c. 1225–74), who brought scholasticism to its highest development by harmonizing Aristotelianism with the doctrines of the church. St Francis, who was "all seraphic in ardour", and felt no sympathy whatsoever for the intellectual and academic world, nevertheless counted among his followers men of academic, and even more than academic, renown. Foremost of these were Alexander of Hales, Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus and William of Ockham.

Alexander, a Gloucestershire man, was a student at Paris and became one of the leading teachers there. Innocent IV entrusted him with the preparation of a *Summa Theologiae*, which remained unfinished at his death, but which earned him the name of the *Irrefragable Doctor*. Roger Bacon, nevertheless, spoke of his work with contempt. When the first little band of Franciscans settled in Oxford, their chief friend and adviser was Robert Grosseteste, who became Bishop of Lincoln in 1235. His numerous writings include treatises on theology, essays on philosophy and a practical work on husbandry. The most interesting of his works, however, is the *Chasteau d'Amour*, a poetic allegory of 1757 lines in praise of the Virgin and her Son, originally written in "Romance" for those who had "ne letture ne clergie", and translated into Latin and English. Wyclif ranked him above Aristotle, Gower hailed him as "the grete clerc", Roger Bacon praised his knowledge of science, and Matthew Paris saluted him in a succession of honourable titles from "rebuker of popes and kings" to "preacher of the people".

Roger Bacon (1214–94), *Doctor Mirabilis*, greatest of the Oxford Franciscans and one of the greatest of Englishmen, was born near Ilchester. Under the influence of Grosseteste Roger entered the

Franciscan order. He was ordained about 1233, left for Paris about 1245, and returned to England in 1250. His liberal opinions brought him into trouble, and he was kept in strict seclusion for ten years. But Clement IV favoured him and pressed for an account of his re- [illegible] were followed by his *Compendium Studii Philosophiae* (1271–2) and a Greek grammar. Roger was condemned in 1278 for "suspected novelties [illegible] before [illegible] Oxford [illegible] edited by Jebb in 1733, is called by Sandys the *Encyclopédie* and *Novum Organon* of the thirteenth century. *Opus Minus*, first published (with portions of *Opus Tertium* and *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*) by Brewer in the Rolls Series, discusses the six great errors that stand in the way of the studies of Latin Christendom. Only a fragment, equivalent to some 80 pages of print, has been preserved in a single manuscript in the Bodleian. *Opus Tertium*, though written later, is intended to serve as an introduction to the two previous works. [illegible] bitter persecutions that he endured, he was full of hope for the future. His repute was so great that he developed into a popular myth as alchemist and necromancer. Like Virgil, he was supposed to have used a "glass perspective" of wondrous power, and, like others in advance of their time, to have constructed a "brazen head" that possessed the faculty of speech. His speculations, as we know, included the possibility of flight, the properties of the magnet and the nature of Greek fire. The popular legend was embodied in *The Famous Historie of Fryer Bacon* and in Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar* [illegible] printed, amounting to about four thousand pages, have been published under the editorship of Robert Steele (1909–40).

John Duns Scotus (1265?–1308?) was a Franciscan of Oxford. It is not certainly known whether he was born in England, Scotland or Ireland. He wrote very copiously, and steadily opposed the teaching of St Thomas Aquinas; but he was stronger in the criticism of the opinions of others than in the construction of a system of his own. Duns Scotus gradually [illegible] ironies that the *Doctor* [illegible] sometimes, but not inv- [illegible]

was opposed not only by the realist Duns Scotus, but by the nominalist William of Ockham, the *Invincible Doctor* (1280–1349), who had a stirring life. William's great principle, that entities must not be unnecessarily multiplied—"Occam's razor", as it was called—cut at the root of "realism", with its belief in the real existence of "universals". William of Ockham was the last of the greater schoolmen. We need not mention the lesser, not even Thomas Bradwardine, named by Chaucer with Boethius in the Nun's Priest's tale, probably for the sake of a rhyme to "Augustine". The last of the medieval Latinists whom we need consider, Richard of Bury (1281–1345), Bishop of Durham, is appropriately famous as a great lover of books. The ascription of his *Philobiblon* to the Dominican Holkot need not be taken seriously. Holkot probably "wrote" it as the bishop's amanuensis. Richard's love of letters breathes in every page of his work, and few writers have transmitted more convincingly the peculiar ecstasy of the true book-lover.

In the course of this very brief survey, we have observed, in the age of Abelard, the revival of intellectual interests which resulted in the birth of the University of Paris. We have watched the first faint traces of the spirit of humanism in the days when John of Salisbury was studying Latin literature in the classic calm of Chartres. Two centuries later, Richard of Bury marks for England the time of transition between the age of scholasticism and the revival of learning.

XI. EARLY TRANSITION ENGLISH

The century from 1150 to 1250 shows us many changes in the native language. Inflections vanish, pronunciation is modified, the verse develops into new forms, and the very script passes to a modification of the Latin alphabet used by French scribes. While monks were compiling their chronicles and scholars their treatises in the learned language, the popular tongue lived on in songs and verses that have not survived. The material of romance began to assume an English habitation and a name. Legends of Weland and Wade persisted, and we begin to discern the gay and gallant figure of Robin Hood. The modern reader must not expect too much from the earliest attempts to write down native verse. The four lines of the *Canute Song* (c. 1167), recorded by a monk of Ely, cannot be called successful poetry, but they represent an effort to produce a quatrain with rhyme, assonance and a regular rhythm:

Merie sungen muneches binnen Ely,
Tha Cnut chyning reu ther by;
Roweth, cnihtes, noer the land,
And here we thes muneches sang.

In a verse of Godric (d. 1170?), pedlar, pirate and palmer before he turned hermit, we find more symptoms of success:

Sainte Marie, Cristes bur,
Maidenes clenhad, moderes flur,
Dilie mine sinne, rixe in min mod,
Bring me to winne with the self God.

The *Paternoster*, belonging to the same period, is a homiletic treatment of the Lord's Prayer in a poem of some 300 lines, exhibiting the first known consistent use of the rhymed couplet, as well as a regular [illegible] fifteens:

Ich em nu alder thene ich wes awintre and a lare,
Ich welde mare thene ich dede, mi wit ahte bon mare

This metre is attractive for its own sake; it is also important as an adumbration of the ballad stanza.

The so-called *Old English Homilies* (Lambeth 487) are twelfth- [illegible] texts. Both sets exhibit firm command of sound, efficient prose and show that the Aelfric tradition endured It will be observed that during this early period the note of literature is religious or didactic. As we have seen from the preceding section, theology engaged the attention of the greatest minds in the land, and new religious en- [illegible] and material on trifles. Religious manuscripts were meant for hard, constant professional use. They were, in a sense, tools. The literature of recreation was left to the memory. We must be constantly on our guard, therefore, against the temptation to date the beginning of a form or note in literature from its first appearance in manuscript. Songs and stories may exist for centuries without any kind of written record. The Arthurian legend, which at this period begins

to colour popular literature, is an instance. Somewhere in the minds of many generations the stories of Arthur grew. They were ancient stories when Geoffrey of Monmouth gave them the first popular written circulation of which we know anything. Now, again for the first time of which we know anything, they were to be enshrined in the English verse of Layamon's *Brut.* The desire for romance was further gratified by a new kind of love-poetry. France, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, had been swept by a wave of popular love-poetry which brought in its wake the music of the troubadours. Germany, in the twelfth century, produced the Minnesingers. The contemporary poets of Italy were also love-poets, and, at a slightly later date, Portugal, too, possessed poets of the same kind. This general inspiration, originating in France and passing over the frontiers on the lips of the troubadours, reached England soon after 1200. Though it failed at first to affect English secular poetry, it imparted a note of passion to religious writings, which may be divided into four groups according to the aims they have in view. The purpose of the first is to teach Biblical history; of the second to exhort to holier living; of the third to encourage the religious life of women; of the fourth to express the ecstasies of devotion, especially a passion for the person of Jesus and of his Mother.

In bulk the most considerable attempt at a literary exegesis of Scripture is the *Ormulum*, which an Augustinian brother named Orm or Ormin (fl. 1200), living somewhere in the east Midlands, conscientiously wrote to expound for English hearers the gospels of the ecclesiastical year. Though the scheme was not carried out completely, the poem is 20,000 lines long, according to the numbering in White's text, or 10,000 if the two short lines are counted as one. Orm is totally devoid of originality or fancy, and even his theology is antiquated. Yet one cannot help admiring the passionless and scrupulous sincerity of this obscure, God-fearing man as he pursues his endless and pious task. By his method of doubling every consonant immediately following a short vowel, Orm furnishes most valuable evidence about vowel-length at a critical period of the language. He was not a premature phonetician. He was anxious to transmit his teaching in an orthographical notation that would leave no doubt about delivery. Every line of his poem contains exactly fifteen syllables of exactly the same metrical pattern, without rhyme or alliteration. As the earliest example of phonetic spelling the poem is fascinating; as literature it is naught.

The second group, containing the hortatory pieces of the period, needs but short consideration. There are *Genesis and Exodus* lines (c. 1250), not to be confused with the Old English poems described earlier, and shorter pieces, *The Passion of our Lord* and *The Woman of*

Samaria. The satirical *Sinners Beware* is noticeable for its use of a six- [illegible]

capricious wife, with an allegorical equipment of daughters (Virtues) and servants (Senses). The *Bestiary*, in verse, symbolizes spiritual and moral truth, in a time-honoured way, by the habits of certain animals. *Vices and Virtues* (c. 1200) is noticeable for its use of the prose dialogue form—a Soul's confession of its sins, with Reason's description of the virtues. The prose pieces are quite efficiently written.

Interest in the religious life of women is the note of the next group of writings, for the golden age of monasticism witnessed also an increased sympathy with convent life. But *Hali Meidenhad*, an alliterative prose homily, presents ideals of chastity with a crudeness likely to provoke hostility in the modern reader. Certain saints' lives, narrating the stories of St Margaret, St Katherine and St Juliana in rhythmical alliterative prose, will probably be found less repellant, though the note is still hard. The *Ancren Riwle* (c. 1200) is more attractive Its purpose is to give guidance to three anchoresses who, after a period of training in a nunnery, dedicated themselves [illegible]

not tentative, prose.

Remarkable for their feminine note are those works that belong [illegible] best [illegible] . *On* [illegible] *f the Virgin* (in eight-line stanzas), and *A Prayer to our Lady* (in four-line stanzas). The fullest success in this blending of the physical and the mystical is attained in the *Luve Ron* of Thomas de Hales (c. 1240) in eight-line stanzas, designed to exhibit the perfect love that abides with Christ. One stanza has interrogations that remind us of those in Villon's most famous Ballade, two centuries away. The note of [illegible]

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Vision [illegible]
Dante [illegible]
to hell [illegible]
in *An* [illegible]
Warde (in prose) presents Wit as lord of a castle, and Will, his capricious wife, with an allegorical equipment of daughters (Virtues) and servants (Senses). The *Bestiary*, in verse, symbolizes spiritual and moral truth, in a time-honoured way, by the habits of certain animals. *Vices and Virtues* (c. 1200) is noticeable for its use of the prose dialogue form—a Soul's confession of its sins, with Reason's description of the virtues. The prose pieces are quite efficiently written.

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writing exhibits astonishing security and ease. This is accomplished, not tentative, prose.

Remarkable for their feminine note are those works that belong to the Virgin cult and those that are touched with erotic mysticism. [illegible]
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Wohung of ure Lauerd, *On Lofsong of ure Louerde* and *On Ureisun of ure Louerde*. The modern reader will possibly find their physical—indeed almost sexual—ecstasy a little disconcerting, but they have beauty of a kind.

An important part of thirteenth-century literature is that which forsakes theology altogether, and turns to romance for romance's sake. The greatest (and longest) work of this kind is the *Brut* written early in the thirteenth century by Layamon—more correctly written Laghamon, i.e., "Lawman"—a priest of Ernley (Arley Regis) on Severn stream. He proposed to tell the history of Britain from the time of the Flood, but he begins with the story of the Trojan Brutus and comes down to the death of Cadwalader, A.D. 689. His main source can be simply indicated; the minor sources are confused and need not be discussed here. The ever popular *History* of Geoffrey was almost immediately versified by the Norman Wace of Jersey as *Li Romans de Brut* (1155) in octosyllabic couplets. Layamon read Wace in some version, and in his own poem paraphrased and expanded the matter freely. His form is specially interesting. Layamon shows us English verse almost in the very act of change. The poem has alliteration, free movement, syllabic strictness, rhyme and assonance all in turn. Layamon was, in fact, writing with two tunes in his head; he was adapting French syllabic couplets while still thinking of free accentual English verse; and so we get octosyllabic lines neighboured by others that suggest the Old English recitative. Layamon's *Brut* is interesting as a store of legends from which later writers freely drew. Apart from the Arthurian adventures, here for the first time in English we have the story of Lear and Cymbeline, Cloten and Locrine. Layamon's most resonant lines, like those of his literary ancestors, deal with the conflict of warriors or the strife of the elements. Strange and remote as the poem may look to the eye of the modern reader, it has true English quality and feeling. The *Brut* is the work of the first poet of any magnitude in Middle English, and, standing at the entrance to that period, Layamon may be said to look before and after. He retains much of the Old English tradition; he is the first to make extensive use of French material; and in the place of a fast-vanishing native mythology, he endows his countrymen with a new wealth of legends.

The Owl and the Nightingale, in the Dorset dialect, is gaily serious and not theological. It contains 1794 lines and belongs probably to the very beginning of the thirteenth century. The author and sources are alike unknown, for Nicholas of Guildford, named in the poem, and John of Guildford, a recognized verse-writer, cannot be certainly credited with the authorship; and though it embodies the spirit as well as the structure of Old French models, it is not a copy of any known one. It is a "debate", conducted poetically,

yet with almost humorous legal formality, each opponent undertaking the defence of his nature and kind. Here the nightingale represents the world, and the grave owl the cloister. The poem is specially interesting as a long and successful English exercise in octosyllabic couplets, used with great metrical skill and delicate charm. The vignettes of natural scenery are far away from the wilder aspects of nature which had appealed to the primitive English poets. Alike in form, matter, accomplishment and outlook, *The Owl and the Nightingale* testifies to the genuine life of native poetry at the beginning of the thirteenth century. It is a delightful poem.

XII. THE ARTHURIAN LEGEND

The mystery of Arthur's end is not darker than the mystery of his beginning. While the ancient tradition is everywhere, the facts and records are nowhere. The earliest English Arthurian literature is singularly meagre and undistinguished The romantic exploitation of "the matter of Britain" was the achievement, mainly, of French writers, and, indeed, some critics would have us attach little importance to British influence on the development of the Arthurian legend. The "matter of Britain" very quickly became international property—a vast composite body of romantic tradition, which European poets and story-tellers of every nationality drew upon and used for their own purposes. Arthur was non-political and could be [illegible]

knights quite overshadow him in the later romances; but they, in their turn, undergo the same process of denationalization, and appear as natives of some region of fantasy, moving about in a golden atmosphere of illusion. The course of the story is too obscure to be made clear in a brief summary which must necessarily ignore the hints and half-tones that count for much in the total effect, and which can take no account of French, German and Italian contributions to the legend. Old English literature, even the *Chronicle*, knows nothing whatever of Arthur. To find any mention of him earlier than the twelfth century we must turn to Wales, where, in a few obscure poems, a difficult prose story, and two dry Latin chronicles we find what appear to be the first written references, meagre and casual, but indicating a tradition already ancient. The earliest is in *Historia Britonum*, which, as we have seen (p. 11), dates from 679, though the existing recension of Nennius was made in the ninth century. The reference of Nennius to Arthur occurs in a very short account of the conflict that culminated in Mount Badon, usually dated 516, though some would put it as early as 470. Gildas, who was a youth

in 516, also mentions Mount Badon; but the only hero he names is "Ambrosius Aurelianus". In Nennius the hero has become "the magnanimous Arthur", who was twelve times victorious, last of all at Mount Badon; but he is a military leader, not a king.

The poems of the ancient Welsh bards have been discussed almost as fiercely as the poems of Ossian; yet there is no doubt that together with much of late and doubtful invention they contain something of indisputably ancient tradition. But the most celebrated of the early Welsh bards know nothing of Arthur. Llywarch Hên, Taliesin and Aneirin (sixth or seventh century?) never mention him; to the first two Urien, Lord of Rheged, is the most imposing figure among all the native warriors. There are, indeed, only five ancient poems that mention Arthur at all. The reference most significant to modern readers occurs in the *Stanzas of the Graves* contained in the *Black Book of Caermarthen* (twelfth century): "A grave there is for March (Mark), a grave for Gwythur, a grave for Gwgawn of the Ruddy Sword; a mystery is the grave of Arthur." Another stanza mentions both the fatal battle of Camlan and Bedwyr (Bedivere), who shares with Kai (Kay) pre-eminence among Arthur's followers in the primitive Welsh fragments of Arthurian fable. Another Arthurian knight, Geraint, is the hero of a poem that appears both in *The Black Book of Caermarthen* and in *The Red Book of Hergest* (fourteenth century). One of the eighteen stanzas just mentions Arthur by name. *The Chair of the Sovereign* in *The Book of Taliesin* (thirteenth century) alludes obscurely to Arthur as a "Warrior sprung from two sources". Arthur, Kai and Bedwyr appear in another poem contained in *The Black Book*; but the deeds celebrated in the almost incomprehensible lines of this poem are the deeds of Kai and Bedwyr. Arthur recedes still further into the twilight of myth in the only other old Welsh poem where any extended allusion is made to him, a most obscure piece of sixty lines contained in *The Book of Taliesin.* Here, as Matthew Arnold says, "the writer is pillaging an antiquity of which he does not fully possess the secret". Arthur sets out upon various expeditions over perilous seas in his ship Pridwen; one of them had as its object the rape of a cauldron belonging to the king of Hades. That this poem is the blurred and scarcely intelligible record of some tragic disaster of the sea is all we can discern. Ancient British poetry has nothing further to tell us of this mysterious being, who is, even at a time so remote, a vague, impalpable figure of legend.

The most remarkable fragment of the existing early Welsh literature about Arthur is the prose romance of *Kulhwch and Olwen,* assigned by most authorities to the tenth century. It is one of the stories that Lady Charlotte Guest translated from *The Red Book of Hergest* and published as *The Mabinogion* (1838). Of the twelve "Mabinogion", or stories for the young, the word has a special

meaning but is loosely used), five deal with Arthurian themes. Two, *Kulhwch and Olwen* and *The Dream of Rhonabwy*, are British; the [illegible] *abwy*, [illegible] fatal [illegible] The Arthur of *Kulhwch and Olwen* bears little resemblance to the mystic king of later legend, except in the magnitude of his warrior retinue, in which Kai and Bedwyr are leaders. Arthur, with his dog Cavall, joins in the hunt for the boar Twrch Trwyth through Ireland, Wales and Cornwall, and his many adventures are clearly relics of ancient wonder-tales of bird and beast, wind and water. The wild and even [illegible]

The serious historian William of Malmesbury, who wrote a few years earlier than Geoffrey of Monmouth, refers to Arthur as a hero worthy to be celebrated in authentic history and not in idle fictions. He adds, "The sepulchre of Arthur is nowhere to be seen, whence ancient ballads fable that he is to come." Plainly, Arthur was already a popular tradition. The transformation of the British Arthur into a romantic hero of European renown was the result of contact between British and Norman culture. No doubt the Normans got their first knowledge of Arthurian story from Brittany; but the real contact was made in Britain itself, where the Normans had succeeded in establishing intimate relations with the Welsh. Thus the true father of the Arthurian legend is Geoffrey of Monmouth How much he derived from ancient sources we shall probably never find out; but we can reasonably assume that he did not invent the fabric of the story, however fancifully he embroidered it. And, after all, the real point is not how much he invented, but how he used his matter, historical or legendary. Geoffrey had the art of making the improbable seem probable, and his ingenious blending of fact and fable not only gave his book a great success with readers, but made Arthur and Merlin the romantic property of literary Europe. So it has been urged that we should take Geoffrey's compilation, not as a national history, but as a national epic, doing for Britain what the *Aeneid* did for Rome, and finding in the mythical Brutus, great- [illegible]

Merlin appears on the scene, and romance begins to usurp the place of sober history. Arthur is Geoffrey's hero. He knows nothing of

Tristram, Lancelot or the Holy Grail; but it was he who, in the Mordred and Guenevere episode, first suggested the love-tragedy that was to become one of the world's imperishable romances.

In the Latin *Life of Gildas* written at about the time of Geoffrey's death there is a further interesting allusion. Arthur is described as being engaged in deadly feud with the King of Scotland, whom he finally kills; he subsequently comes into collision with Melwas, the wicked king of the "summer country" or Somerset, who had, unknown to him, abducted his wife Guenever, and concealed her in the abbey of Glastonia. This seems to be the earliest appearance of the tradition which makes Melwas (the Mellyagraunce of Malory) an abductor of Guenevere. Some of the Welsh traditions are used in Peacock's delightful story *The Misfortunes of Elphin*, Melwas and the abduction both appearing.

The value of the Arthurian story as matter for verse was first perceived in France; and the earliest surviving standard example of metrical narrative or romance derived directly or indirectly from Geoffrey is *Li Romans de Brut* by Wace, who, born in Jersey, lived at Caen and Bayeux, and completed his poem in 1155. Some of the matter is independent of Geoffrey's *History*. Thus, it is Wace, not Geoffrey, who first tells of the Round Table. The poem, 15,000 lines long, written in lightly rhyming verse and in a familiar language, was very popular. Wace's *Brut*, possibly in some form not now existing, or in some blend with other chronicles, provided the foundation of Layamon's *Brut*, the only English contribution of any importance to Arthurian literature before the fourteenth century; for, so far, all the matter discussed is in Welsh or Latin or French. Layamon added something personal to the essentially English character of his style and matter, and he gives us as well details not to be found in Wace or Geoffrey. Thus, he amplifies the story of the Round Table and narrates the dream of Arthur, not to be found in Geoffrey or Wace, which foreshadows the treachery of Mordred and Guenevere, and disturbs the king with a sense of impending doom. Layamon's enormous and uncouth epic has the unique distinction of being the first celebration of "the matter of Britain" in the English tongue.

Not the least remarkable fact about the story of King Arthur is its rapid development as the centre of many gravitating stories, at first quite independent, but now permanently part of the great Arthurian system. Thus we have the stories of Merlin, of Gawain, of Lancelot, of Tristram, of Perceval, and of the Grail. A full account of these associated legends belongs to the history of French and German, rather than of English, literature, and is thus outside our scope. In origin Merlin may have been a Welsh wizard-bard, but he makes his first appearance in Geoffrey and quickly passes into French romance, from which he is transferred to English story. Gawain is the hero of

more episodic romances than any other British knight; when he passes into French story he begins to assume his Malorian (and Tennysonian) lightness of character. He is the hero of the finest of all Middle English metrical romances, *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight*, and, as Gwalchmai, he plays a large part in the story called *Peredur the Son of Evrawc*, included in the *Mabinogion*. Peredur is Perceval, and the story comes from French romance. The love of [illegible]

[illegible]

Nun's Priest's Tale and Dante in the famous passage of *Inferno* vi is perhaps the great prose *Lancelot* traditionally attributed to Walter Map (see p. 24). The Grail story is another complicated addition to the Arthurian cycle Out of the quest for various talismans, no doubt a part of Celtic tradition, developed the story of Perceval, as told in French and German romances; and the "Grail", a primitive symbol, [illegible]

[illegible]

the subsidiary Arthurian legends, and we find the richest versions in fragments of French poems and fuller German compositions. The English literature of Tristram is very meagre. The whole story bears every mark of remote pagan and Celtic origin. Finally, as an example of how independent legends were caught into the great Arthurian system, let us note the Celtic fairy tale of *Lanval*, best known in the lay of Marie de France (c. 1175), a fascinatingly obscure personality who, possibly English, wrote in French. She is the first poetess of [illegible]

[illegible] we hear "the [illegible] ible that, to the [illegible] ople", we owe much of the fairy-lore which has, through Shakespeare and poets of lower degree, enriched the literature of England. Chaucer, at any rate, seemed to have no doubt about it, for he links all that he knew, or cared to know, about the Arthurian stories with his recollections of the fairy world:

> In th' oldē dayēs of the King Arthoúr,
> Of which that Britons speken greet honóur,
> Al was this land fulfild of fayerye;
> The elf-queen with hir joly companye
> Dauncēd ful ofte in many a grenē mede.

So let us believe with the poets, and leave the British Arthur in his unquestioned place as the supreme king of Romance.

XIII. THE METRICAL ROMANCES. I

Men speke of romances of prys,
Of Horn Child and of Ypotys,
Of Beves and Sir Gy,
Of Sir Libeux and Pleyn-damour;
But Sir Thopas—he bereth the flour
Of royal chivalry.

Thus wrote Chaucer in *Sir Thopas*, that perfect parody of the metrical romances, with their monotony of matter, their flabbiness of metre and their poverty of style. The great change from Old to Middle English story-telling is hard to explain. *Beowulf* and *Waldere* have style and courtliness; *Horn* and *Havelok* have little of either. The Norman Conquest degraded English to the rank of a vehicle for stories suited to the vulgar; but, oddly enough, there is the same kind of degradation at much the same period in Denmark, Sweden, Germany and the Netherlands, where there was no Conquest. A widening of the world and a broadening of taste must be reckoned as factors. A larger public, and especially a larger female public, demanded popular art. In all the Teutonic countries, though not at the same time in all, there was a change of taste and fashion which rejected old epic themes and native forms of verse for new subjects and rhyming measures. This meant a great disturbance and confusion of literary principles and traditions; hence, much of the new literature was experimental and undisciplined. The nations were long in finding a literary standard. The Germans attained it about 1200; the English in the time of Chaucer; the Danes and Swedes not until long after the close of the Middle Ages.

In a world without printing, where books were laboriously written by hand and therefore few in number, however often copied, popular literature was a matter for the ear rather than for the eye. The functions of editor, publisher, circulating library, and sometimes of author, were combined in the minstrel, who, with his moving tales of accident by flood and field was sure of welcome from the assembled company in hall or bower or market-place, according to his rank and skill. In a heroic age the *scop* or gleeman, far-travelled like Widsith, delighted his warrior hearers with tales of battle and strange lands; in a softer age and clime the ambitious troubadour at the court of Raimon or Eleanor disseminated his elaborate lyrics by the mouth of the itinerant *joglar*. *Beowulf* and *The Battle of Maldon* were story poems appropriate to heroic and primitive times. With the development of social amenities, arose the demand for a new kind of story-poem—something, as we should say now, a little more sentimental. What kind of poem pleased the English in the reign of

Harold Godwinsson or of Henry I nothing remains to show. Between *The Battle of Maldon* and Layamon's *Brut* there is a great gap of two centuries. In France, these centuries are rich in story-books still extant; and the English metrical romances depend very largely upon them.

The English language was the tongue of a subject nation, and, save for the moral compositions of the godly, nothing in it appears to have been committed to writing. The songs of the people, whatever they were, lived on the lips of those who sang them, and have perished with them. Twelfth-century France, however, was the home of lyric and romance. The old national epics, the *chansons de geste*, were displaced by a new romantic school, which triumphed over the old like the new comedy of the Restoration over the last Elizabethans. The *chansons de geste* were meant for the hall, for Homeric recitation after supper; the new romances were intended to be read in my lady's bower; they were for summer leisure and daylight. The new romances were, in fact, the nearest approach to popular novels that could exist in the days before printing. In the production of such literature, England was a long way behind France. When France had achieved [illegible]

A striking peculiarity of many medieval romances must be mentioned. The Virgin cult referred to in an earlier page was a symptom of civilization—of a romantic interest in women. In the secular world this was represented by the doctrine of courtly love with its elaborate laws and ritual. Love, as the troubadour lyrists understood it, was homage paid to a liege lady, who might be remote and even non-existent. This religion of love passed from the lyrics into the [illegible]

this ideal love in its extremes of fantastic devotion and fantastic absurdity. The rhetorical love interest of much modern literature can be traced to the literary fashion set by eleventh-century troubadour poetry. The English were naturally less interested than the French in the lengthy and elaborate rhetoric of courtly love, and English versions of French romances therefore tend to abbreviation as surely as the German versions tend to expansion. The English [illegible]

the minstrels themselves, who were not merely the singers and

actors, but the journalists and gossips of their day, resembled the modern "professional" in extremes of success and seediness.

The general subject-matter of romance has been summed up for us in one of the happy indispensable phrases of history. Jean Bodel, at ll. 6–7 of his *Chanson des Saisnes* (Saxons) or *Guiteclin de Sassoigne* (thirteenth century), declares that

> Ne sont que iij matières à nul home antandant,
> De France et de Bretaigne et de Rome la Grant.

The "matter of France" was found in stories of Charlemagne and the Twelve Peers and the subsidiary or contending figures—Roland, Oliver, Ferumbras, Ogier the Dane, Huon of Bordeaux and the Four Sons of Aymon. The "matter of Britain" was, briefly, the Arthurian legend. The "matter of Rome the Great" was all classical antiquity, as far as it was known—stories of Troy (like *Troilus and Cressida*), stories of Thebes (like *Palamon and Arcite*), stories out of Ovid—the author of *Ars Amatoria* being a favoured figure in the days of courtly love—and, above all, stories of Alexander, who usually figures as a feudal sovereign. But there were other stories that cannot be ranged under the three "matters"—stories from the East, like *Flores and Blancheflour*, *Barlaam and Josaphat* and *The Seven Sages*, the story of *Roberd of Cisyle* (familiar in two modern poems), and the wildly unhistorical *Richard Coer de Lion*. It is true that the variety of scene and costume does not always prevent monotony; but that objection can equally be made to the romances of every age. In fact, all heroes tend to be monotonous. Briefly and roughly, the history of the English romances might be put in this way: about the year 1200, French literature came to dominate the whole of Christendom, especially in the matter of stories; not only sending abroad the French tales of Charlemagne and Roland, but importing plots, scenery and so forth, from many lands, Wales and Brittany, Greece and the further East, and giving new French forms to them, which were admired and, as far as possible, borrowed by foreign nations, according to their several tastes and abilities. The English took a large share in this trade. Generally speaking, their taste was easily satisfied. What they wanted was adventure—slaughter of Saracens, fights with dragons and giants, rightful heirs getting their own again, innocent princesses championed against their felon adversaries. Such commodities were purveyed by popular authors, who adapted from the French what suited them and left out what the English liked least. The English romance writers worked for common minstrels and their audiences, and were not particular about their style. They used, as a rule, either short couplets or some variety of that simple stanza which is better known to most readers from *Sir Thopas* than from *Horn Childe* or *Sir Libeaus*.

The far East began very early to tell upon Western imaginations,

not only through the marvels of Alexander in India, but later through the Crusades. One of the best of Eastern stories, and one of the first, [illegible] *Canterbury Tales. Barlam and Josaphat* is the story of the Buddha, and *Robert of Sicily*, the "proud king", has been traced back to a similar origin. *Ypotis* (rather oddly placed along with *Horn* and the others in *Sir Thopas*) is Epictetus: *The Meditations of Childe Ypotis* is hardly a romance, it is more like a legend; but the difference between romance and legend is not always very deep; and one is reminded that Greek and Eastern romantic plots and ideas had come into England long before, in the lives of the saints.

The varieties of style in the English romances are very great, under an apparent monotony and poverty of type. Between *Sir Beves of Hamtoun* and *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight* there is as wide an interval as between (let us say) Monk Lewis and Scott. As regards verse, there are the two great orders, rhyming measures and unrhymed alliterative lines. Of rhyming measures the most usual are the short couplet of octosyllabic lines, and the stanza called *rime coude*, *rithmus caudatus* or "tailed rhyme". *King Horn* exemplifies one stage in the development of English metre—the half-way stage between Layamon and regular octosyllabic couplets; for though the poem is certainly in couplets, the syllables vary abruptly and quite anomalously in number. As long as the rhymes are reached, the poet seems not to mind how he reaches them; one feels all the while that in the back of his mind the Old English tune is running, and that he is unconsciously making, not couplets, but pairs of half-lines. In *Havelok the Dane*, the couplet, though sometimes a little rough, is not unsound; *Ywain and Gawain* is nearly as correct as Chaucer; and *The Squire of Low Degree* is one of the happiest examples of this verse in English.

Besides the short couplet, different types of common metre ("eights and sixes") are used; very vigorously, with full rhymes, in *Sir Ferumbras*, and as "fourteeners", without the internal rhyme, in [illegible] several variations, and there are others, which Chaucer does not introduce. In the stanza of *Sir Thopas* quoted at the head of this section, the main lines contain eight syllables, and rhyme in pairs; the two *caudae* or "tails" contain six syllables and rhyme together. But the length of line and stanza and the arrangement of rhymes and "tails" vary greatly in other poems. One of the romances of *Octavian* is in the old Provençal and old French measure wh[illegible]

roundabout ways, came to Scotland, and was used in the seventeenth century to celebrate Habbie Simson (see p. 499), the piper of Kilbarchan, and, thereafter, by Allan Ramsay, Fergusson and Burns. The French originals of these English romances are almost universally in short couplets, the ordinary verse for all subjects, after the *chansons de geste* had grown old-fashioned. *Rime couée* is later than couplets, though the couplets last better, finally coming to the front again and winning easily in *Confessio Amantis* and *The Romaunt of the Rose.* There are many examples of rewriting; tales in couplets are sometimes rewritten in stanzas. Thus, *King Horn* is in couplets, *Horn Childe* in the *Thopas* stanza. New forms are employed at the close of the Middle Ages, such as rhyme royal (e.g. in *Generydes*) and the heroic couplet (in *Clariodus* and Sir Gilbert Hay's *Alexander*); still, for simple popular use, the short verse proved the most suitable.

Unrhymed alliterative verse suddenly reappeared in the middle of the fourteenth century as a vehicle for romance. Where the verse came from is not known clearly to anyone. The new alliterative verse was not a battered survival of the old English line, but a regular and clearly understood form. It must have been hidden away somewhere underground—continuing in a purer tradition than happens to have found its way into extant manuscripts—till, at last, there is this striking revival in the reign of Edward III. Plainly more went on in the writing of poetry than we know, or shall know, anything about. What the verse could do at its best is nobly shown in *Sir Gawayne*, and, later still, in *Piers Plowman*.

"Breton lays" meant for the English a short story in rhyme, like those of Marie de France, taken from Celtic sources. Some of these were more "artistic" (as we should say) than spun-out efforts like *Sir Beves of Hamtoun* and *Sir Guy of Warwick*; moreover, there is something in them of that romantic mystery which is less common in medieval literature than modern readers generally suppose. The best examples in English are *Sir Orfeo* and *Sir Launfal*. *Sir Tristrem* is a great contrast to *Sir Gawayne*, though both works are ambitious and carefully studied. The author of *Sir Gawayne* took some old wives' fables and made them into a magnificent piece of Gothic art; the author of *Sir Tristrem* had one of the noblest stories in the world to tell, and translated it into thin tinkling rhymes. Tristram and Iseult have hardly yet found their inspired poet in England. *The Tale of Gamelyn* may count for something on the native English side against the many borrowed French romances. It is a story of the younger son cruelly treated by his tyrannical elder brother, and coming to his own again by the help of the king of outlaws. Thomas Lodge made a novel out of it, and Shakespeare improved upon Lodge. *The Tale of Gamelyn* is *As You Like It*, without Rosalind, Touchstone or Celia.

XIV. THE METRICAL ROMANCES. II

The metrical romances began with the twelfth-century revival in literature; they were part of the medieval world; and they ceased when the last feudal king fell betrayed at Bosworth Field. Disregarding Bodel's traditional classification, we can see that they fall into four groups: Carolingian or Old French, Classical, Oriental and [illegible]

relief by Charlemagne. Ferumbras is indeed none other than the redoubtable Fierabras, whose name will be familiar to readers of *Don Quixote*.

In the earlier romances directly springing from English soil, the viking atmosphere is prevalent. True, the raiders who make an orphan of Horn are called Saracens, but they are obviously Norsemen. *Havelok the Dane* tells how a Danish prince and English princess, defrauded by wicked guardians, come to their own again. The ponderous but popular *Guy of Warwick* is a tedious expansion of a stirring English legend relating how Sir Guy saved England by his victory over Colbrand the Dane. *Sir Beves of Hamtoun* is the best example of the ordinary popular tale, the medieval book of chivalry with all the right things in it. The hero's father is murdered, like Hamlet's; the hero is disinherited, like Horn; he is wooed by a fair Paynim princess; he carries a treacherous letter, like Hamlet again; he is separated from his wife and children, like Sir Eustace or Sir Isumbras; and exiled, like Huon of Bordeaux, for causing the death of the king's son. The horse Arundel is like Bayard in *The Four Sons of Aymon*, and the giant Ascapart is won over like Ferumbras In the French original there was one conspicuous defect—no dragon But the dragon is supplied, most liberally, and with great success, in the English version.

Other romances borrow from classical antiquity and appear to be inspired by the piety that attributed the foundation of Britain to Brutus of Troy. The *Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy* tells the ancient story with the apparatus of medievalism. But most inte- [illegible]

stories. *King Alisaunder* presents the conqueror of the East as a legendary person performing legendary exploits in a legendary world. *Richard Coer de Lion* shows us a differently named hero of the same kind, doing the same kind of thing.

The East has touched other romances to an issue unlike that of *King Alisaunder*, as in the love story of *Flores and Blancheflour*. In *The Seven Sages of Rome* we have a story-sequence of the true oriental line. But the most remarkable of the Eastern romances in substance and history is *Barlaam and Josaphat*. This is indeed a curiosity of literature, for the saintly hero of an apparently Christian story current in Europe for several centuries is none other than the Buddha himself. The story found its way into the *Vitae Sanctorum*, and thence into *The Golden Legend*, from which it was translated into later English by Caxton. The identification of Josaphat with Buddha was first made by a Portuguese in 1612, but the suggestion remained unnoticed, and was not fully established till the nineteenth century.

The influence derived from Celtic sources is possibly the most important of all. The stories called Arthurian seem to embody some features of the others—the English names of the places, the combats of the Carolingian heroes, the magnification of the dimly discerned overlord, together with the romantic love-scenes and ever-present magic and mystery of the Eastern tales. *Sir Tristrem* contains all the facts of its wonderful story, and is quite ambitious, though the singer's thin and tinkly lines never rise to the level of their theme. *Sir Launfal* takes us into fairyland, and is a variant of an old theme, the love of a fairy for a mortal. *Sir Orfeo*, a genuinely successful poem, translates the theme of Orpheus and Eurydice most successfully into the terms of Celtic fairy story. *Lai le Freine*, translated from Marie de France, is a charmingly told short story of two pairs of twin children, one infant having been hidden, for destruction, in a hollow ash tree. *Emaré* is the story of a mysteriously beautiful maiden, persecuted by unnatural parents. In *Sir Degare* we find a hero who is the son of a fairy knight and a princess of Britain. *Sir Gowther* is the story of the passions that worked in the son of a mortal woman and her "demon lover". Best of all the fairy stories is the delightful *Thomas of Erceldoune*, telling how Thomas the Rhymer was carried away into fairyland by a fay with whom he dwelt, and who saved him from the devil by bringing him again to Eldone tree. *Golagros and Gawayne* introduces to us the Arthurian figure who long remained the pattern of knightly virtues. Gawain figures, too, in *The Awntyrs of Arthure at the Terne Wathelyne*. *Ywain and Gawain* tells the story of two knights who fight until a long delayed recognition ends the combat. In *The Wedding of Sir Gawaine* the hero saves the life of Arthur by marrying a loathsome hag, who providentially turns into a beauteous maiden. *Libeaus Desconus* has a story like that of Gareth and Lynette. In *The Avowing of Arthur* we have four adventures of Sir Gawain, Sir Kay, Sir Baldwin and the King. *Le Morte Arthur* (in rhyming stanzas and not to be confused with the alliterative *Morte Arthure*) tells for the first time in English poetry the

tragic story of Lancelot and Elaine. The alliterative *Morte Arthure*, a fine poem, takes us to the last dim battle of the west and the end of all the Arthurian chivalry.

Any attempt to group the many extant romances will always leave a few unclassified. Five may be considered as studies of knightly character. *Ipomedon* shows us the traditional knightly lover, fighting disguised, and winning, after protracted labours, the queen whom he might have had at once. *Amis and Amiloun* is a moving story of sublime friendship. In *Sir Cleges* we find a familiar theme—a poor knight bringing a gift to court and being refused admission by greedy officials till he has promised to give them half of what he gets. He asks for twelve strokes, and they get a full share. *Sir Isumbras* varies another familiar theme, the proud, rich man suddenly brought to humiliation and repentance by loss of lands, goods, wife and children. *The Squire of Low Degree* is a delightful, and mercifully brief, story of a humble wooer's toilsome but finally happy winning of a high-born lady. Three more, *Sir Triamour*, *Sir Eglamour of Artois* and *Torrent of Portugal* belong to the "reunion of kindred" type which appealed to Chaucer and still more to Shakespeare in his latest period.

It is not possible in a brief space to name the multitude of romances, much less to describe them. George Ellis's *Specimens* can still delight the ordinary reader; the serious student who wishes to know what full texts are available should consult *The Cambridge Bibliography*. The very multitude of stories indicates the extent to which they fed an existing appetite. Such volumes as the Thornton and Auchinleck MSS. (now our sole authorities for certain pieces) show us *Sir Tristrem* or *Sir Octavian*, *Thomas of Erceldoune* or *Morte Arthure* laboriously copied out and treasured up, with recipes, charms, prayers, and other domestic necessities, as a permanent part of a family's reading. If ever there was a fiction that took men "out of themselves" and gave a gorgeously coloured relief to the boredom of current existence, it was the mass of literature that formed the light reading (or hearing) of our ancestors for two centuries. Four remarkable general characteristics may be briefly noted: (1) the medieval romances, like the medieval cathedrals, are anonymous; (2) they describe a Utopian society in which everything appears to be anybody's and in which there is no consciousness of patriotism or nationalism, but only a sense of universal Christendom at war with the powers of darkness; (3) they indicate a passion for external beauty and ceremonial, for colour and pageantry, for marvels and magic and mystery; and (4) they have their being in a world of abstractions in which there seems to be no definite place or time or politics or problem of existence. Their complete detachment from the life of man, together with their defects of shapelessness, monotony and interminable length, produced

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Their complete detachment from the life of man, together with their defects of shapelessness, monotony and interminable length, produced

the inevitable reaction. Better criticism than the eternally adorable *Don Quixote* was never penned by man, though it was prose and not metrical romance that fuddled the wits of the hero. But Cervantes was still far away. Nearer to hand was another great humanist and humorist. Chaucer catches almost every fault of the romances in *Sir Thopas*, which is, indeed, such a likeness of what it caricatures, that for general readers it has become almost as hard to enjoy as the dullest of its victims. There is no need to catalogue the shortcomings of the old stories. People in all ages are easily amused. It is not for the consumers of crime-novels or the frequenters of picture-palaces to cast stones at the medieval romances.

XV. *PEARL, CLEANNESS, PATIENCE* AND *SIR GAWAYNE*

The remarkable revival or emergence of alliterative verse during the fourteenth century has already been mentioned. This sudden apparition of an ancient form is strange and almost disquieting. We long to ask questions, and there is no one to answer. In comparison with the jog-trot movement of the rhyming romances the best alliterative verse has extraordinary grip and power; yet it has no effect on the main current of English poetry, which continues to develop along the lines now familiar. The greatest productions of the alliterative revival are contemporary with Chaucer; but he writes as if they had no existence, and would have written no differently had he known them.

William of Palerne or *William and the Were-Wolf* is one of the earliest poems in the revived form. It was translated from the French about 1350. The heir to the Spanish throne is changed by his stepmother into a werewolf, and in that shape he protects William, the young prince of Palermo. It is a good story, rather lengthily and tamely told in lines that flow pleasantly.

Morte Arthure, a very striking poem, which occurs only in the Thornton MS., has been attributed to Huchoun of the Awle Ryale. Though ostensibly based on Geoffrey's *History*, it makes clear allusion to contemporary affairs, especially the wars of Edward III. This touch of allegory is very unusual in medieval romances. A specially striking passage of the poem is that near the end of its 4500 lines describing the king's disquieting vision of those "that whilom sate on top of Fortune's wheele".

But the most moving artistic product of the alliterative revival is a group of four poems contained (with some alien matter) in the small volume known as MS. Cott. Nero A x. They are generally called *Pearl*, *Patience*, *Purity* (or *Cleanness*) and *Sir Gawayne and the*

Grene Knight. Not a line of these poems has been found in any other [illegible]

[illegible] at last sees the figure of a maiden, in raiment of dazzling white covered with pearls, who shows him a vision of the celestial city. But the vision passes, and he wakes to find himself once more on the hillside alone. *Patience*, which is a versified account of Jonah, takes us to the sea and gives us an excellent storm. *Purity* (or *Cleanness*) is a lengthy review of the scriptural stories that illustrate the vices opposed to "clannesse".

The masterpiece of this manuscript is the story of *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight* told in 2530 lines, broken irregularly by a short refrain. This "jewel of medieval romance" has extraordinary strength and power, and moves on its appointed way with artistic determination from its strange beginning to a noble end. The elements of the plot are as ancient and unreasonable as are to be found in any mythology. No precise original has been found; but the chief adventure, the beheading game proposed by the Green Knight to the reluctant courtiers of Arthur, occurs in other stories. *Sir Gawayne* is one of the most singular works of the fourteenth century. The author was an excellent artist, getting the utmost out of his wild story, and [illegible]

Nothing whatever is known about the author of these poems. There is no certainty, even, that they are all from the same hand. Guest, the historian of English rhythms, set up a claim for Huchoun of the Awle Ryale, and to him have also been assigned various other alliterative poems, namely, *The Wars of Alexander*, *The Destruction of Troy*, *Titus and Vespasian*, *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, *Wynnere and Wastoure*, *Erkenwald*, and the alliterative rhyming poem *Golagros and Gawane*; but the claims cannot be established. It is safer to consider all these compositions as the literary remains of several alliterative poets who flourished somewhere in the north-west during the second half of the fourteenth and the early years of the fifteenth century. For Huchoun, Huchown or Hucheon see p. 73.

XVI. LATER TRANSITION ENGLISH: LEGENDARIES AND CHRONICLES

The approaching triumph of English over French and a growing recognition of the needs of the middle and even of the lower classes can be discerned in the fact that, for two generations before Chaucer, some of the chief contributions to literature take the form of translations from Latin and Norman-French, made expressly for those who could read nothing but English. We can divide this literature into two main classes, the first religious, including homilies, saints' lives and scriptural paraphrases, the second historical, including the chronicles and political songs: but they are alike in this, that the homilies point their morals with legends, and the histories adorn their tales with exhortations.

The two chief chroniclers of the period are Robert of Gloucester and Robert Mannyng of Brunne. To the chronicle known as Robert of Gloucester's more than one hand contributed. The work dates from the end of the thirteenth century, and plainly embodies the narratives of eyewitnesses. Some passages seem to derive from folk-songs; others are probably based on popular oral tradition. The form of the *Chronicle* is no less interesting than its theme. The metre is an adaptation of the two half-lines of Old English poetry into one long line, and the rhymes help to emphasize a surging movement well suited to narrative verse. The whole work shows that writers of English were becoming sure masters of sustained metrical form. A fine sense of historical narrative is exhibited not only in the old stories from earlier chroniclers, but in the contemporary passages that describe the town and gown riot at Oxford in 1263 and the tragedy of Simon's death at Evesham.

The South English Legendary is a collection of versified lives of the saints written in the dialect and metre of the Gloucester *Chronicle*, and belonging to the same time and place. Of the saints' lives therein contained, none has greater attraction than the story of St Brendan, who is one of the legendary navigators, a sort of Christian Ulysses or Sindbad, with the latter of whom he has strong affinity. Half-remembered legends of ancient adventures on the sea are here represented as the voyage of a Christian saint in search of an earthly paradise.

While the monks of Gloucester were thus busy with history and hagiology, writers of the north were composing literature more directly hortatory. A cycle of homilies in the octosyllabic couplet was written, possibly at the beginning of the fourteenth century, covering all the Sundays in the ecclesiastical year. The gospel for the day is turned into English and then expounded; and, in addition to

this, there is a *narracio*, or story, to illustrate the lesson and drive the moral home. The stories are quite memorable. A very attractive and well-ordered work of the godly kind is the encyclopedic book of scriptural story, *Cursor Mundi*, "the Course of the World", a poem of some 24,000 lines, mainly in the octosyllabic couplet, composed in the early part of the fourteenth century. It was expressly intended to displace the romances of chivalry and to edify by amusing. Men, says the author, are attracted by stories and take delight in their "paramours"; but the best lady of all is the Virgin Mary. Therefore the poet will compose a work in her honour; and because there is much in French, but nothing for those who know only English, he will write it for him who "na French can". He then proceeds to describe the "course of the world", beginning with the Creation. The unknown poet was an accomplished scholar, well-read in medieval literature. His work, admirably written, with a note of sympathetic humanity, is a storehouse of legends, not all of which have been traced to their original sources. The numerous manuscripts show that it was popular.

The most skilful story-teller of his time was Robert Mannyng of Brunne (i.e. Bourne in Lincolnshire) who, between 1303 and 1338, [illegible]

[illegible] priory of Bridlington. In *Handlyng Synne*, a version in 12,000 octosyllabic lines of Wadington's *Manuel*, Mannyng declares that his purpose is to benefit ignorant men who delight in listening to stories. He therefore offers them stories that will edify and instruct. It is interesting to find this moralist banning both tournaments and religious plays as occasions of sin. Only two kinds of plays should be allowed, those on the Nativity and the Resurrection, and they must be played within the church Mannyng excels in all the qualities of a narrator. He combines, in fact, the *trouvère* with the homilist, and [illegible]

[illegible] tion of the essential equality of men, Mannyng resembles the author of *Piers Plowman*, and in words that may not have been unknown to Cha[illegible]
othe [illegible]
of L[illegible]
and rhymed alexandrines may attract the student of prosody.

The literary activity of the south-east of England during this period was less remarkable than that of the west and north; nevertheless three writers call for mention Adam Davy's *Five Dreams about Edward II* (c. 1310), a poem of 166 lines in octosyllabic couplets, is

something of a curiosity, if only in its deliberate and gloomy obscurity; but it has not much literary importance. Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwit* (i.e. The "Again-biting" or Remorse of Conscience) translated, about 1340, from the popular French treatise, *Somme des Vices et des Vertus*, is, like the *Ormulum*, philological rather than literary in its interest. It is an excellent example of the Kentish dialect, most carefully spelt. William of Shoreham, so known from his birthplace at Shoreham, near Sevenoaks, is, from the literary point of view, a much more interesting person than Adam or Michel. Though his seven fairly long religious poems deal with the favourite themes of the medieval homilist, they are written in skilfully varied lyrical stanzas, and are not unfavourable specimens of sacred poetry.

Very different from Davy's gloomily patriotic *Dreams* are the cheerfully patriotic poems of Laurence Minot, written in the northern dialect during the period 1333–52. Minot's theme is the famous victories of Edward III, from the battle of Halidon Hill (1333) to the capture of Guisnes (1352). There are eleven poems, all straightforward and vigorous in the style of a patriotism that sings quite unabashed, "my country, right or wrong". Minot essayed a variety of lyric measures with success, though his touch is not that of a master. He is decisive; he is not delicate. The song to Edward III beginning "Edward our cumly king" shows the kind of thing he did well. Minot is most interesting, not as a lyric poet, but as the first singer of a militant patriotism that had, by his time, become definitely English.

XVII. LATER TRANSITION ENGLISH: SECULAR AND SACRED LYRICS, TALES, SOCIAL SATIRE

The abiding qualities of English poetry are clearly apparent in the general body of Middle English lyric verse. "Spring, the sweet spring" is as fickle, as enchanting, and as provocative, to the singer in the thirteenth century as to the singer in the twentieth. And with this joy in the general wonder of things we find, too, the Englishman's characteristic resentment of injustice and his tendency to voice his social and political discontent in song. Nor is there wanting a sense of personal, rather than collective, religion. The fourteenth-century Englishman would make a song against the Church, but not against the Faith.

We may observe with pleasure that almost the first successful English lyric we know is one that is sung to this day. *Sumer is icumen in* exists, indeed, rather as song than as poem, for the only manuscript is a piece of music, the famous Reading Rota or Round,

in which four equal voices sing in strict imitation (canon at the unison), each voice entering four measures after the preceding. There is, as well, a "burden" held by two additional voices, also in imitation. The tune itself is joyous and delightful. Obviously this cannot be an isolated miracle of music: there must have been more which has not survived. The preservation of this leaf of manuscript is probably due to the piety that wrote a decorous (and clumsy) Latin alternative under the gay words and notes of the English song.

The progress of our early lyric poetry cannot be clearly traced. In the surviving remnants of Old English poetry there is scarcely anything with the lyrical form and spirit. By the thirteenth century, however, lyric poetry was being written with complete success. How far it developed out of native songs and carols and how far its growth was stimulated by French and Latin examples we do not know. By the thirteenth century there was regular intercourse with the south of France, the home of troubadour poetry; but the earliest English lyrics are not Provencal in matter or manner What French influence there was came through the north. Latin hymns and songs

popular in the twelfth century and which was to find its most endearing expression in "Stabat mater dolorosa". But the best English songs are really English. A few early fragments survive in casual scribblings here and there in various documents. Of several manuscript collections the best known is Harley 2253, written during the first decades of the fourteenth century, and containing transcriptions of various pieces, English, French, Latin and "macaronic", by unknown writers from the thirteenth century to its own time. Some of the songs in slightly differing versions occur in other

are as easy to read as the songs of Burns. The secular lyrics are frank, free and unashamed in their rejoicing and take their place in the chain that links Catullus with the Caroline poets. A view of sacred and profane love is given in a pair of lyrics, each beginning, "Lutel wot it anymon", the one considering how "He bohte us with is holy blod" and the other dwelling on the love of woman. In the sacred lyrics of this time we find instinctive, natural poetry often touched with mysticism; but there is no diversion of human feeling into such byways as the laudation of conventual celibacy or erotic ecstasies about the person of Jesus. The note of stern seriousness is often heard. Few short poems of any age are more impressive th

the lines beginning "The lif of this world Ys reuled with wynd" (Harley 7322).

The Harley manuscript (2253) also contains the shrewd and homely *Proverbs of Hendyng*, which appear to have been collected in their present form at the close of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth. Their main interest lies in the form of the verse, as they offer a very early use of the *rime couée* or *Sir Thopas* stanza, with an extra line containing the proverb, and a concluding "tag", *Quoth Hendyng*.

Thomas Wright's valuable collection, *The Political Songs of England from the Reign of John to that of Edward II* (1839), shows us national discontent expressing itself in song. Of the thirteenth and fourteenth century poems preserved, some are in Latin, some in French, and some in English. A few combine two languages, e.g. the *Song against the King's Taxes* (as Wright calls it) in French and Latin (temp. Edward II). The unknown singers denounce the venal bishops, the church and the favoured foreigners of Henry III's rule, and hail Simon de Montfort as a national hero or mourn his loss as a martyr. Not the least unpopular person of the time was Henry III's brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, who had been elected titular king of the Romans and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. The stanzas of a vigorous song made against him end with the refrain, "Richard, thah thou be ever trichard, tricchen shalt thou never more". The song of the husbandman, beginning "Ich herde men upo mold make muche mon", illustrates, in its matter, the ordinary man's feeling against the war-like adventures of Edward I, and, in its manner, the persistence of alliteration in popular song. The general indignation against foreigners and foreign wars, however, did not preclude popular sympathy with the Flemish burghers in their struggle against France. A powerful *Song of the Flemish Insurrection* (as Wright calls it) was composed soon after the battle of Courtrai (1302). *A Song against the Retinues of Great People* (Wright) expresses popular discontent in vigorous rhymes and extravagant words, some of which defy interpretation. *A Song on the Times* (Wright) resorts to parable, and presents its characters in the form of animals—wolf, fox, ass and lion.

We meet the familiar animals of fable again in a much longer verse story of the thirteenth century, *The Vox and the Wolf*, which relates, in bold and firm couplets, the familiar story of the escape of Reynard from the well at the expense of the wolf Sigrim. The poem is an admirable example of comic satire, perhaps the best of its kind before the days of Chaucer. Social satire can also be found in the few Middle English examples of the *fabliau* still extant. The short and broad verse-tale probably appealed to the Englishman as strongly as to the Frenchman; but very few English examples have survived,

and even those are of foreign origin. The deceived husband and the [illegible]

becomes, as in fact it did become, when translated into English, a popular story book; and it provided plots for many later writers. The title is a singular misnomer, for not a few of the tales are oriental. There were other collections, such as the *Summa Praedicantium* by John de Bromyarde (fourteenth century), a Dominican friar. This was the age of tale-sequences, for the middle of the fourteenth century gave us the most famous of European collections, the *Decamerone* of Boccaccio.

Those who were familiar enough with the "romances of prys" to enjoy parodies of them were amused by such salutary tales as *The Turnement of Totenham*, which describes, with excellent command of burlesque, a countryside wedding preceded by the mysteries of a medieval tournament. The spirited octosyllabic couplets of *The Land of Cokaygne* depict a Utopia of gluttony and idleness, a kitchen-land, not where it was "always afternoon", but where it was always feeding-time. The walls of the monastery are built "al af pasteiis" with pinnacles of "fat podinges", and geese already roasted fly to it crying "All hot!".

Nearly all the degrees between gravity and gaiety can be found in the abundant anonymous songs of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. What we should like to have is more knowledge of the tunes to which the earliest secular songs were sung. But the history of early English music is a difficult subject, and beyond our purpose.

XVIII. PROSODY OF OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH

In form Old English poetry resembles the poetry of other early Teutonic and Scandinavian languages. This form may be described [illegible]

of these at least three should be alliterated

Weman mid wynnum. Wat se þe cunnað.

Around the stressed syllables can be grouped a varying number of unstressed syllables; and attempts have been made to classify the variations. Actually we do not know whether there were any rules at all, or whether there was freedom to use any number of syllables that could be held together by the main stresses. The "sprung rhythm" of Gerard Manley Hopkins is a modern revival of free syllabic writing. What should be remembered as important is first, that this freedom in number of syllables is a persistent characteristic of Old English poetry, and next, that apparent irregularities are no more irregular than the blank verse of Shakespeare in his latest plays. In fact, the bulk of Old English poetry is very regular, with the natural variations of rhythm characteristic of all accomplished verse. The lines are consecutive, as in *Paradise Lost*; that is, there is no attempt at any stanza form; though, as we have noted, the lines of *Deor* are broken at irregular intervals by a kind of refrain. Whether this is a more primitive or a more developed form cannot be profitably discussed through sheer lack of evidence. In Old English poetry the lines do not rhyme, save by the accidental occurrence of similar inflections. The one important exception is found in *The Rhyming Poem* of the Exeter Book. Further, there is no evidence that, though rhyme was eschewed, assonance was deliberately sought, as it is in the *Chanson de Roland*. Except in nursery rhymes assonance has never become acclimatized in England, and even modern attempts read like mistakes. Assonance makes what we call a "lower class" rhyme, as when the old song matched "In and out the *Eagle*" with "Pop goes the *weasel*". The educated English ear demands not assonance, i.e. similarity of vowels, but true rhyme, i.e. similarity of consonants, and will tolerate "love" and "move" as rhymes, even though the vowel sounds are dissimilar. To these general characteristics of Old English verse we may add one more, a quasi-trochaic rhythm which dominates it, which sometimes retreats, but which always comes back. By the tenth century, the Old English line showed a tendency to break into two halves, and become an unrhymed couplet, with four stresses, strong or weak, in each line. One early—and rather rough—example of this is the "Edgar" poem that begins under the date 959 in the *Old English Chronicle*. Whether the change happened by design or by decay—whether it was the development of a new technique or merely a breakdown of the old—cannot be discussed here. The fact must be accepted that, before the Conquest, "sung metre", i.e. the regular metre of song, was beginning to replace the large freedom of the Old English recitative.

After the Conquest there is a gap of nearly two centuries in the recorded evidence. During that period the Normans had diffused in England not only a new language, but a new scheme of verse, the rigid syllabic system, still characteristic of French poetry. Now just

had lost the secret of its com-
in something resembling the

octosyllabic lines, the *Christabel* metre which Coleridge thought he invented more than 500 years later. Happily, the Old English tradition of a pair of half-lines, especially when broken into "sung metre", offered no obstacle to the acclimatization of French stanza-forms; and soon (late thirteenth century) we get, as in Hendyng's *Proverbs*, the *rime couée* which Chaucer ridicules in *Sir Thopas*. By the time we reach the lyrics and romances at the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth we are moving among familiar

had to wait till Chaucer; for the triumph of five-stress blank verse we had to wait till Surrey.

The re-emergence in the fourteenth century of the Old English alliterative line, altered, rhymed, and even used for elaborate stanza-arrangements, is one of those historical literary curiosities of which

casual ornament, and not as a constituent or property. And, tenaciously, from first to last, English verse clings to syllabic freedom, and refuses to be a slave to French syllabic regularity. In later centuries the trisyllabic foot, as a variant, seemed to vanish, and the eighteenth century frowned upon it as an impediment to "numbers" and "smoothness"; but it came back, and with it returned the characteristic flexibility of the English line.

XIX. CHANGES IN THE LANGUAGE TO THE DAYS OF CHAUCER

The three Germanic peoples—the Jutes from Jutland, the Angles from Schleswig and the Saxons from Holstein—who in the fifth and sixth centuries made themselves masters of southern Britain, spoke dialects so nearly allied that they could have had little difficulty in understanding each other. There was no name for their common race and common language. The Britons called all the invaders Saxons; St Gregory had to call them Angles for the sake of his famous pun; but an emperor called the Anglian king of Northumbria *rex Saxonum*. Though Bede sometimes speaks of *Angli sive Saxones*, his name for the language is *sermo Anglicus*. Alfred, a West Saxon, calls his language *Englisc*. Actually the Anglian name was appropriate, for the history of southern English is largely concerned with the spread of Anglian forms. When Camden used *lingua Anglosaxonica* for pre-Conquest English, he meant not a blend of Anglian and Saxon, but simply "English Saxon" as distinguished from "German Saxon". The term, though misunderstood, tended to survive. Grimm introduced the practice of dividing a language into its Old, Middle and Modern periods, and so the term Old English came into use. There is, of course, no precise point at which people ceased to speak "Old English" and began to speak "Middle English". The terms are merely philological conveniences. However, we may regard the form of language we call Middle English as having emerged about 1150, and as having ceased about 1500, when the printing press conquered the *scriptorium*.

Old English retained its inflectional system; but in course of time the inflections tended to be assimilated. Thus in the declension of Gothic *guma*, a man, there are seven distinctive forms in the eight cases of singular and plural; in the declension of Old English *guma* there are only three. The almost universal substitution of *-es* for the many Old English endings of the genitive singular and nominative and accusative plural began before the Norman Conquest; and in the fourteenth century the English of educated Londoners had lost most of its Southern characteristics and had become a Midland dialect. Chaucer's plurals and genitives end in *-es*, the number of exceptions being hardly greater than in modern English. The dative disappeared from Midland English in the twelfth century. Southern English (Kentish and West Saxon) was much more conservative. The forms of the Old English pronouns of the third person in all dialects were very similar in pronunciation—the pairs *him* and *hoem*, *hire* and *heora*, being easily sounded alike. The ambiguity was got rid of by a process very rare in the history of languages, the adoption of

foreign forms. It is from the language of the invading Danes that we get such forms as *they, their, them.* But the older forms persisted. Chaucer used *her* for *their* and he always has *hem* for *them.* The Old [illegible]

alike. All these changes were once generally believed to have been [illegible]

and development of intercommunication tended to diffuse grammatical simplifications; but if we except such effects as the use of *of* instead of a genitive inflection, and the polite substitution of plural for singular in the second person, hardly any specific influence of French upon English grammar can be traced.

As we have said in an earlier page, the runic alphabet of the heathen English was superseded, under Christian influence, by the Latin alphabet of twenty-two letters, to which were added the runic letters ƿ (called *wynn*), þ (called *thorn*) and ð (called *eth*). The last two were used indifferently and did not represent voiced and unvoiced *th.* The vowels were sounded nearly as in modern Italian, except that *y* was like French *u* and *ae* like *a* in *pat.* The consonants had much the [illegible]

to read and write French. When, later, a new generation tried to write English, they spelt in French fashion. The changes in pronunciation are too intricate for summary. How different was the course of development in different parts of the country can be seen in the fact that the English pronunciation *home* and *stone*, and the Scottish *hame* and *stane* both derive from the Old English long *a* as in *father.* The "Zummerzet" pronunciation of initial *f* and *s* as *v* and *z* was common all over the south and is exactly recorded in the Kentish *Ayenbite of Inwit* (1340).

The Norman Conquest had a profound influence on vocabulary. [illegible]

homily on St Gregory there are twenty-two words which had [illegible]

for "man" or "warrior"—*bern, renk, wye, freke*; but they did not last.

Only a few peculiarities of dialect can be mentioned here. The use of a dialect, of course, did not indicate an inferior education. Writers employed for literary purposes the language they actually spoke. Chaucer would not have found it easy to read the Kentish *Ayenbite of Inwit* and the North-western *Sir Gawayne* would have puzzled him. The diversity of the written language in the different parts of the country during the fourteenth century may be indicated briefly thus: *they say*=Kentish *hy ziggeth*, South-western *hy siggeth*, East Midland *they seyn*, West Midland *hy* (or *thai*) *sayn*, Northern *thai sai*; *their names* (in the same distribution)=*hare nomen, hure nomen, hir names, hur namus, thair names*. The ultimate triumph of the East Midland dialect was largely due to the fact that it *was* midland, i.e. midway between *hy ziggeth*, and *thai sai*. The fact that Oxford and Cambridge were linguistically in this area had an influence. The London English of Chaucer and the not dissimilar Oxford English of Wyclif became, in fact, the literary language of England.

XX. THE ANGLO-FRENCH LAW LANGUAGE

A special case of the influence of the Conquest upon vocabulary is offered by the Anglo-French law language. The Act of 1362 tried to substitute English for French as the oral language of the courts, but it could not disestablish French as the language of the law itself. Arguments might be conducted in English; the pleadings remained French; and we find Roger North exclaiming, "Really, the Law is scarcely expressible properly in English." This seems a strange utterance from an Englishman living in the age when Berkeley and Bolingbroke, Pope and Swift were writing. But, actually, the law was not expressible properly in English until that language had appropriated to itself scores of French words. The lawyers had made a language as highly technical as that of the chemist or the mathematician; and the result, with that touch of paradox which seems never absent from English affairs, is that the law remained English because it was French. In the critical sixteenth century the national system of jurisprudence which showed the stoutest nationalism was a system that was hardly expressible in the national language. Being in a foreign (technical) language it was tough and impervious to foreign (external) influence. It was protected from the meddlers of many ages; and Roman law did not triumph here as it did in Germany.

Many of the words that once "lay in the mouths" of our serjeants and judges—words descriptive of logical and argumentative pro-

cesses— [illegible]
law; " [illegible]
determ [illegible]
conversion of infinitives into substantives, and so we have "a voucher, a disclaimer, a merger, a tender, an attainder". We need not dwell upon "assize", but may call attention to the strange word "asset", which is no other than *assez* (*asetz*) in disguise—*asetz* being taken as a plural, and giving us the coined and modern singular "asset". In the days when there was little science and none of it popular science, the lawyer mediated between the abstract Latin logic of the schoolmen and the concrete needs and homely talk of gross, unschooled mankind. Law was the point where life and logic met.

CHAPTER II

THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

I. *PIERS PLOWMAN* AND ITS SEQUENCE

The anonymity of many poems in Middle English is no cause for regret. We do not greatly care who wrote *Poema Morale* or *King Horn*, and we are even content to let the authorship of the numerous lyrics remain an unanswered question. Almost the only veil we should like to raise is that which hides from us the remarkable poet who wrote *Sir Gawayne*. But we now come to a poem or group of poems more deeply appealing than anything we have yet considered; and we are a little troubled when we find that the major author is scarcely even a name. Few English poems of the Middle Ages have had more influence than those grouped under the general title of *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman*. Eagerly read in the latter half of the fourteenth century, the time of their composition, they remained popular throughout the fifteenth century, were regarded by reformers in the sixteenth as an inspiration, and, in modern times, have been cited as a vivid picture of contemporary life and as a stern exposure of social and religious abuses. In all ages they have been read as poetry, that is, as "something more philosophic and of graver import than history". But of the author we know almost nothing.

Let us consider the main facts. We have what appears to be one long poem in alliterative verse of the old form, divided into numerous "passus" or "books", and extant in several versions differing considerably from each other. So popular was the poem that some fifty or sixty manuscripts are still in existence, though, rather strangely, it remained unprinted till 1550. Skeat, its major editor, distinguishes three principal versions or texts, the A text, B text and C text. The A text contains three visions that come to the writer as he is sleeping by a stream-side among the Malvern Hills. From various clues, some internal, some external, the following reconstruction has been made: The author was William Langland (or Langley) born in 1331–2 somewhere near the Malvern Hills. He was educated in the school of the Benedictine monastery at Malvern and probably took minor orders, but never rose in the church. By 1362 he was in London, poor, and writing his poem. He began with the vision of Lady Meed (prologue and passus I–IV), went on to the vision of Piers the Plowman (passus V–VIII), and presently added the vision of Do-well, Do-bet, Do-best (passus IX–XII). This constitutes the A text—twelve

lines. About 1393 (or 1398) the author took up the poem again and redistributed the B text with some alterations. This makes the C text, very like B, but arranged in twenty-three passus, containing

four passus (the last a fragment) That, apparently, was the end of his work. The reader must not suppose that there is anything at all improbable in these periodical enlargements and reconsiderations of a long poem by its author during his life. The nineteenth century

has led to a mistaken charge of vagueness and obscurity, and has contributed to a misunderstanding of the objects and aims of the satire contained in the poems separately and collectively. The first,

church or state. It is written in a style picturesque, vivid, full of

work of a continuator, who tried to imitate the previous writer, but succeeded only superficially, because he was an inferior poet and because he misunderstood his model. The most obvious difference

the copy in the Rawlinson MS. So ends the A text with its three authors, the third of whom, upon any hypothesis, is an unimportant person requiring no discussion. The author of B had before him the three visions of A. He made many insertions and wrote in a loose. inconsecutive manner that proves him the victim, rather than th master of his thought. The original poem (A I-VIII) can be clearl;

ummarized: it is impossible to summarize the haphazard matter of
B. Nevertheless, the author of B was an admirable writer, full of deep sincerity, and expressing his convictions with moving eloquence. Some of his themes—the corruptions in the church, the dangers of riches, the excellence of temperance, the brotherhood of man and the healing power of love—have moved other and greater poets, but have rarely been expressed with fuller personal conviction. The changes and additions made by the author of C appear to follow no well-defined plan. There are several alterations that are not improvements in matter or in style; and there are transpositions that sometimes illustrate and sometimes obscure the sense. Some insertions give hints of the writer's own interests, e.g. the passage accusing the priests of image worship and of forging miracles, the account of the fall of Lucifer, and the attack on regraters. Certain opinions expressed in B appear to be modified in C. On the whole, the author o C was a man of much learning, of true piety and of genuine interes in the welfare of the nation, but unimaginative, and a pronounced pedant.

Such, briefly, are the views of Manly. They have been vigorously contested by scholars of the greatest eminence, and the discussion has involved a marshalling of facts beyond the scope of a general sketch. The ordinary reader has no reason, and, of course, no justification, for taking sides. In all disputes about authorship there are two dangers: first, the tendency of certain minds to believe instantly tha everything said to be written by somebody was written by somebod else, and second, the tendency of even more minds to resist the sane attempts at critical discrimination. The reader of any kind literature, from *The Odyssey* to *Wuthering Heights*, must learn avoid the extremes of anarchy and reaction, and to adopt no heret belief, however attractive, without the conviction given by pers and unprejudiced study of the facts. The Piers Plowman contro can be touched only by a few scholars of special competence, si because to them alone is the evidence intelligible or accessible. Skeat's monumental edition needs some emendation. To the reader the mere existence of the dispute will be valuab stimulates him to approach a great poem as a living thing, qu with intimations, and not as so much dead paper. Our state the dispute has indicated the general character of the poem content. What needs further to be said is that *Piers Plowm* be read as a great poem, and not as material for the highe or as a text-book of social discontent. Its fervent ad reformers, ecclesiastical and economic, has tended to o absolute poetic greatness by which alone, like Dan *Commedia*, it endures in the heart. Its grave and movin charity, its vivid pictures of person and place, a

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native criticism of life, make it one of our greatest long poems. It is, in one sense, a beacon light of farewell. In it the Old English alliterative line, strangely rekindled, blazes up to a glorious end, and is seen no more.

In a Cambridge MS. of the B text occurs the poem which Skeat called *Richard the Redeless* from a phrase in the first line of the first passus. An old note indicates that it was known as *Mum, Sothsegger* (Hush, Truthteller). Nothing was known of it but the Cambridge fragment, which contains 857 lines; but in 1928 a manuscript was casually discovered, apparently part of the same poem, adding another 1750 lines. The whole is now published as *Mum and the Sothsegger*. The attribution to Langland is no longer accepted. In the poem there is no vision as in *Piers Plowman*, but there is plenty of allegory or symbolism to express its criticism of Richard II's weakness and the misdeeds of his friends.

Two very interesting poems, *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* and *Wynnere and Wastere* (see p. 47) may have preceded P
Like the greate
popular machi
interest. To 13
Peres the Ploug ...ication is imitated from *Piers the Plowman*, and the theme, as well as the title, was clearly suggested by it. It is, however, not a vision, but an account of the writer's search for someone to teach him his creed. The poem is notable both for the vigour of its satire and the vividness of its descriptions. With the *Crede* is associated the pseudo-Chaucerian poem in stanzas known as *The Ploughman's Tale*, attributed to the same author. Part of the piece as existing was written during the
teenth cent

...*Rejoinder of Jacke Upland*
...gorous examples of popular religious controversy, but they have no merit as literature.

The influence of *Piers the Plowman* lasted, as we have seen, for several centuries. Interest in the poem and in its central figure was

century of the Black Death comprises within its limits the beneficent

and salutary lives of Chaucer, of Wyclif, and of others less known, or known not at all, who fought for mercy, justice, and the light in the mind and the soul. Not least among these were the authors of *Piers Plowman* and the poems that cluster round it.

II. RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

As we have seen, it is difficult to identify individual writers in the Middle Ages. Both the general disposition and the literary habits of the time tended to hide the traces of individual hands. The importance now attached to personal authorship would have been incomprehensible to the medieval mind. No one wrote for gain; nor could there be anything like property rights in books until printing multiplied them and made them marketable; and even then, what was sold was the work of the printer, not the work of the author. When books were still literally written, several hands sometimes contributed to a lengthy manuscript; and works of special appeal were widely copied and imitated, often with changes, designed or accidental, that make text and authorship uncertain. So it happens that the work of one man may be attributed to a school or collection of similar thinkers, or the work of such a school may be attributed to one man. We have already seen that all alliterative poems of a certain type were attributed to the author of *Piers Plowman*, just as all Flemish paintings of a certain type used to be attributed to Van Eyck; we have now to observe two further examples of the same tendency, namely, the attribution to Richard Rolle and John Wyclif of all the mystical or controversial works composed under their inspiration.

Richard Rolle of Hampole (1300?–49?), "Richard Hermit", as he was called, left Oxford at nineteen, eager, for his soul's health, to live the life of a recluse. He took with him into retirement the usual knowledge of religious philosophy and a great love for the Scriptures. He settled finally at Hampole near Doncaster, where he was regarded as a saint. He stood aloof from life academical, ecclesiastical or civil, and sought the closest knowledge of God. He spread his doctrine, first by preaching, and next by writing. His works, with their intense personal feeling, sympathy and simplicity, give him a high place among those who have recorded religious convictions and experiences. In form Rolle marks a stage of transition, for he makes extensive use of alliteration in prose and in verse, whether Latin or English. His Latin works, some of which have autobiographical interest, hardly concern us, though they had considerable influence on the Continent. His works in English give us a clear view of his

mind and feelings. An English Psalter contains, with much that is experimental, some excellent renderings, and with Lollard additions and interpolations had a wide circulation. *Meditations on the Passion* may suggest the prose ecstasies of an earlier period (see p. 31), but there is clear gain in lucidity. Rolle's few lyrics resemble his prose, which seems constantly at the point of breaking into song. For a recluse at Ainderby he wrote or translated in prose *The Form of Living*, the finest of his English works, and for a nun of Yedingham

him that he could not have written. Rolle was a practical mystic. Recognizing that, for most people, life must be active, he tried to teach the spirit in which that life may be lived *The Pricke of Conscience*, a summary of medieval theology in nearly 10,000 lines of octosyllabic couplets, was generally attributed to Rolle; but the evidence is against his authorship Rolle is among the best prose writers of his time, achieving often an ease and conciseness rare among writers of his special character

Like Rolle, John Wyclif (1320–84) was a Yorkshireman, born near Richmond. He spent much of his life at Oxford, where he lectured on theology and incurred the first suspicion of heresy. No place was more democratic than a medieval university. Thither all classes came, and the ideas born in a lecture room at Oxford were soon carried to distant places in England and in countries abroad. Bohemian scholars like Jerome of Prague made Wyclif's teaching familiar in central Europe, where his most famous follower was John

Archbishop of Armagh. From the latter he drew the doctrine of dominion or lordship, to which a special meaning came to be

combats with opponents helped to make widely known his firm belief that endowments were the root of all evil in the church and

that it was the duty of civil power to enforce reformation by seizing church property. The years 1366–7 saw the resistance to the tribute paid by England to Rome and the growth of a strong court party favourable to the taxation of the church and hostile to the employment of ecclesiastics in political office. Wyclif's views were welcomed by this party, and John of Gaunt asked him to London to preach on the anti-clerical side. His activities aroused many enemies, and Rome endeavoured to silence his teaching. One of his larger Latin works *De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae* belongs to this time. The Great Schism arising from the election of "anti-pope" Clement VII (1378) in opposition to Pope Urban VI made Wyclif definitely anti-papal. Henceforth for him the Pope was "Anti-Christ", not in any mystical sense, but as the enemy of Christ's teaching. Wyclif no longer confined himself to the criticism of abuses; he questioned the righteousness of every part of the ecclesiastical system. The one feature of church life with which he had sympathy was the poverty and the popular preaching of the friars. This feeling led him to institute his "poor priests", who began their itinerant preaching about 1377. Wyclif's preachers at first were priests; but later many of them were laymen, and, as happens sometimes with enthusiastic disciples, they hardened his teaching into general hostility to all social and ecclesiastical institutions. Wyclif stimulated public opinion, but he must not be held responsible for the excesses of the later Lollards.

The Scriptures were the rock upon which Wyclif built, and his constant appeal to them gained him the title of *Doctor Evangelicus.* There is a strong tradition that he translated the whole Bible into English: but the extent of his participation is not actually known. There are two Wyclif versions, one earlier in date, stiff, uneasy, and afraid to leave the safe anchorage of Latin, the other later, bolder and daring to be English. Both were made from the Vulgate. As we have seen, versions and paraphrases of various parts of the scriptures had been made from early times. The obscure history of pre-Wyclif translations, some made for special reasons, cannot be discussed here. The Wyclifite versions, however, had a much wider purpose, and were meant for the whole general public. The numerous manuscripts are an indication that the aim was achieved. With Wyclif worked Nicholas Hereford and John Purvey. One manuscript containing part of the earlier version directly attributes the translation to Hereford. The revised version ascribed to Purvey is, however, manifestly superior in all respects. But no doubt several hands contributed to the great task. The translation, widely known as it was, assisted the development of English prose as a means of expression. Some parts are uneasy, and there are few touches of the almost miraculous felicity that was to establish later versions in the hearts of the people; nevertheless, there are equally few lapses into the mire of formless-

Modern necessities tend sometimes to give a limited specific

names: *sandwich* and *boycott* remain necessary; *hansom* is now merely historical; *gamp* was scarcely needed; *bowdlerise* and *spoonerism* illustrate the ease with which new coinages can be made. Transatlantic periodicals and "talkies" have given to some words and phrases a currency that may be merely temporary. The curious fact about some of the "smart" phrases is their verbosity. We do not

vation—are extensively employed in modern English. It is sometimes asserted that English has lost the power of composition and has, in that respect, become enfeebled. The claim will not bear a moment's examination. A language that can borrow freely has no need to resort to clumsy compounds—a *perambulator* (even when called a *pram*) is better than the *pushwainling* of misguided enthusiasts like William Barnes; but, in actual fact, English can make new compounds as readily as it wishes. Some of them shock the pedants, whose emotion, however, is not insupportable. Leaving aside the compounds that abound in all the poets, we find modern coinages, sometimes frank hybrids like *superman*, that we cannot do without. A word like *absent-minded*, i.e. adjective *plus* noun *plus* *-ed*, represents an inexhaustible source of supply. Even a journalistic coinage like *suffragette* expressed in a single word something that would have needed a whole phrase of description. Abbreviations like *mob, bus, cab, taxi, phone* are opposed by the polite but make their way firmly into the language. "Back-formations" represent another source of

om *stoker*), *swindle* (from

resurrect (from *resurrec-*

coinages, some perma-

War, travel, exploration, commerce and politics have constantly increased the national vocabulary. A word like *camouflage* was unknown before the War that began in 1914; it is already at home among us. There is, indeed, hardly a language of the world that has not contributed something to our stock of speech. The coinages of

and *strayed*".

absolveth"—

of meaning

III. THE BEGINNINGS OF ENGLISH PROSE

The triumph of English over French is attested by certain facts that can be briefly noted. Three successive parliaments (1362–4) were opened by speeches in English from the Chancellor. A statute of 1362 ordered legal proceedings to be conducted in English on the ground that French was no longer sufficiently understood. After the Black Death, English instead of French was used as the medium of instruction in schools. Trevisa, writing in 1385, tells us that this vital reform was the work of John Cornwall and his disciple Richard Pencrich. By the end of the fourteenth century it could no longer be assumed that French and Latin were familiar to all lettered persons. The pseudo-Mandeville wrote in French for gentlemen who had no Latin, and was able to steal his matter from Latin works without detection. Books of information had therefore to be put into English, and among those translated were *De Proprietatibus Rerum* by Bartholomeus Anglicus, the *Polychronicon* of Ranulf Higden, and *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville.* These translations became recognized authorities among the reading public of the fifteenth century, and they may be regarded as the beginning of popular readable English prose. All were accepted as veracious. The geography of Mandeville, the science of Bartholomew, and the legends of Higden were taken as literally as their citations from Holy Writ.

The first of our great translators, John Trevisa (1326–1412), was a contemporary of Wyclif at Oxford and suffered ejectment in 1379, probably for Wyclifite leanings. Ranulf Higden (d. 1364) had written his *Polychronicon* about 1350, beginning (as usual) with the Creation, and coming down to his own time, taking all the legends of all the known histories by the way. Trevisa's version was completed in 1387, and by 1398 he had finished a translation of *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, the author of which, known as Bartholomew the Englishman (Bartholomew de Glanville, fl. 1250), was a minorite friar and theological professor in the university of Paris. His work is an encyclopedia of universal knowledge in nineteen books, and in the later version of "Batman upon Bartholomew" was current in Elizabethan times, although much of its information was at least a thousand years out of date. The section on birds includes bees, and its picture of these industrious and orderly creatures was the immediate origin of the innumerable apologues that adorn the literature of the time. Trevisa was no pedant. He did not care how far he strayed from his Latin as long as he gave Englishmen good English to read. He is expansive, and he is fond (as we all are) of the doublet. Thus, *limites* becomes "the meeres and the marke", and *antiquitas* is stretched into "long passynge of tyme and elde of deedes". A point

ness that makes some of the pseudo-Wyclif or Lollard utterances a heavy trial to the endurance. Whatever part was played by Wyclif himself in the actual translation, he was the moving spirit of the work. It came as the reply to his demand that the written source of the faith should be available for all in the language most familiar to them. The version may not be Wyclif's; but it is Wyclifite, and it was the first complete rendering of the Bible into English.

The last few years of Wyclif's life were marked by the controversy that followed his teaching against transubstantiation—the fundamental basis of priesthood. He denounced the doctrine as a philosophical impossibility; he made no attack on the sacrament as a ceremony. A council at Blackfriars (1382) condemned Wyclif's teaching, but there seems to have been no attempt at restraint of person, for after censure of his doctrines at Oxford he retired to Lutterworth, where he died on the last day of 1384. The work he produced in Latin and English towards the end of his life is enormous in bulk and uncompromising in spirit. The writings in Latin, such as the *Opus Evangelicum* and the *Trialogus*, with its three interlocutors, are more important than those in English. One effect of the universality of Latin in medieval times is that this great Englishman has left no original English book by which he can be remembered. The three volumes of Wyclif's English works collected by T. Arnold (1869) contain very numerous brief sermons or expositions and controversial tracts, but from this mass of plain, pedestrian writing nothing emerges *to arrest the attention of later readers unconcerned in the party* politics of theology. Two tracts in English, *De Officio Pastorali* and *De Pap*[illegible]olume (1880), [illegible] There can, ho[illegible]own. Much t[illegible]ut his influence was very widely spread, and he was, perhaps, the first writer in English to make an appeal to his countrymen of all ranks, districts and dialects as one united body. Wyclif had always been moved by the warmest national feeling. It is shameful, therefore, to have to relate that, at the bidding of the Council of Constance in 1415, the bones of a great Englishman were dug up and burnt and the ashes cast into the water of the Swift. Hus was burnt alive. Wyclif is one of those who give rise to great movements and are lost in the life they have created. To us his writings are remote and obscure, and the man himself dim as a shadow on the heaving waters of ecclesiastical controversy; but his work abides, transmuted into the freedom of faith and thought which he helped to win for us.

IV. THE SCOTTISH LANGUAGE: EARLY AND MIDDLE SCOTS

In the fourteenth century, the language of Barbour's *Bruce*, written in Aberdeen, is closely akin to the language of *The Pricke of Conscience*, written in Yorkshire. The differences are almost negligible. To Barbour and his successors their tongue is not "Scots" but "Ynglis". In its original application "Scots" is the speech of the Scottish settlers in Alban, that is, Celtic of the Goidelic group, the ancestor of the present Scottish Gaelic. Later the name was applied to the language of the entire area north of the line joining the estuaries of Forth and Clyde. In the thirteenth century, "Ynglis" is the speech of the "Scottish" court and of the surrounding Anglian population in the Lothians and Angus, and "Scots" the speech of the northern and western provinces. Even at the close of the fifteenth century "Scots" is the name for the Gaelic speech of north and west. By Lothian writers this "Scots" is referred to as the speech of savages; they themselves, Scots, subjects of the king of Scots, and proud of their Scotland, are careful to say that the language they speak is "Ynglis". It is not until the sixteenth century that what was called "Ynglis" becomes "Scots" and what was called "Scots" becomes "Ersch" or "Yrisch" (Irish). This break with the family name indicates a change in the language itself, resulting from the gradual cessation of intercourse with England after the War of Independence, and the change is discernible from the middle of the fifteenth century. Though the names are open to objection, it is convenient to adopt the following terms for the stages of language: before 1300, Northumbrian or Early Northern English; 1300–1450, Early Scots; 1450–1620, Middle Scots. The typical examples of Early Scots are Barbour's *Bruce* and Wyntoun's *Chronicle*; of Middle Scots the writings of Henryson, Dunbar, Douglas and Lyndsay. For the sake of exactness, we may distinguish an Early Transition Scots (1420–60), typified by *The Kingis Quair*, and *Lancelot of the Laik*; but the language of these poems represents no type, literary or spoken; it is a bookish fabrication, containing southern and pseudo-southern forms derived from Chaucer.

The greater Middle Scots writers used what was in some respects an artificial language, a language which was not the spoken language of any people. They were conscious literary artists, delighting in "aureate" mannerism, and seeking to "illumine" the vernacular with "fresh, enamelled terms". The chief modifying causes at work in the language were English, Latin and French. The English influence, which is the strongest, came from Chaucer, from religious and controversial literature, and from the political and social relations

of special interest in the translation of Bartholomew is the rendering of Scriptural quotations. These Trevisa puts forth in a version certainly not Wyclif's, and probably his own. Always simple and

eleven languages and for five centuries before it was ascertained that Sir John never lived, that his travels never took place, and that his alleged personal experiences were compiled out of all the authorities back to Pliny. Ostensibly the book is a guide and itinerary for pilgrims to the Holy Land (with diversions to Tartary and China), but actually it is a collection of tales and legends and oddities of natural history admirably put together from many sources. The author takes no account of time, for though his references to Hungary are up to date, some of his observations on Palestine are three centuries out. In his convincing presentation of fiction as fact, he anticipates Defoe The "plot" of the story is simple. A certain John de Mandeville, knight of St Albans, left England in 1322 to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He travelled all over the world, and on his return in 1343 was taken ill at Liège, where he was at-

Myreur des Histors contains the story of an old man who confessed to Outremeuse on his death-bed that he was John de Mandeville, Earl of Montfort, etc., who had been compelled to live in disguise because he had killed a man of rank. Outremeuse adds other details, none of which can be confirmed. Whoever the author was, Jean d'Outremeuse or another, he carried out the most successful literary fraud ever known in one of the most delightful books ever written. No less than 300 MSS. are said to be in existence, and there are at least ... unknown translators of Mande- ... to English literature. The prose ... hout the lavish colloquialism of Trevisa or the uncouthness of the Wyclifite sermons In a sense it was a new venture in our literature, a prose work which, thinly disguised as a manual for pilgrims, was written as a book of pure amusement. Prose, which had maintained a high level in homiletic compositions, had hitherto been associated with edification. True, "Sir John" is at times soberly instructive; but we like to think of him as the unknown benefactor who added the Lady of Lango, the Lady of the Sparrowhawk, the Great Cham and Prester John to general mythology.

V. THE EARLIEST SCOTTISH LITERATURE

Of a Scottish literature before the War of Independence there is no trace. It is difficult to believe that no such literature existed; but, as the dialect of Scotland was not yet clearly differentiated, a Scottish literature could hardly be identified, save by clear local allusions. The earliest poetry extant appears in the few pathetic verses on the death of Alexander III (1286). It is with Barbour, whose poem *The Bruce* is a triumphant chronicle of the making of the new kingdom by Robert and Edward Bruce and the great "James of Douglas", that Scottish literature begins. John Barbour (1320–96) was a typical prosperous churchman, who must have been between fifty and sixty when he finished his poem. *The Bruce*, like other national epics, mingles fancy with fact, for it begins by confusing Robert the Bruce with his grandfather, and treats the principal actors as heroes of romance. But though Barbour is an ardent patriot, he does his best to be fair. He can hardly be called an inspired poet. He was a God-fearing churchman and statesman, who sought to put on record the story of his country's deliverance, before it should be forgotten. What he attempted he achieved. He writes easily—too easily, for he finds the octosyllabic couplet so facile that at times he falls into the merest commonplace. The battle of Bannockburn occupies a disproportionate space in the poem; but Bannockburn was a famous victory, and the account of it is the poet's masterpiece. If Barbour has not the highest qualities of an epic or narrative poet, he is at least rapid, simple, sincere and unpretentious. To Barbour have been attributed other pieces—*Lives of the Saints*, a lengthy work in couplets, adapted from various Latin sources, *The Stewartis Orygynalle*, which carries the genealogy of the Scottish kings back to the builder of Nineveh, a fragmentary *Siege of Troy*, found in a Cambridge MS., and *The Buik of Alexander*. The last is a good poem; but Barbour's claims to the authorship of these works need not be discussed; it is by *The Bruce* that he endures.

Lasting popularity was secured by another national epic, Blind Harry's *Wallace*, which, in a modernized version, was a popular volume up to the nineteenth century. The hero, being more genuinely a Scot than Bruce, and more certainly a tragic figure, appealed to the popular imagination. The poem departs even further from historical fact and chronology than Barbour's. *Bruce* is in the main a chronicle; *Wallace* is a patriotic poem with all the defects of its kind. Next to nothing is known of the author. He seems to have been a wandering minstrel, blind from birth, and to have lived between 1460 (the probable date of the poem) and 1492. There is not much conviction in the argument that he could not have been blind

with England before and after the accession of James VI. In poetry Chaucer's influence is the most important, and it led to an increase in the Romance elements of the language. Not only was the vocabulary influenced, but fantastic grammatical forms, unknown and impossible to the northern dialect, were borrowed. In prose the [illegible]

imported from England, and the Bassandyne, as authorized by the Reformed Kirk, is a close transcript of the Geneva version. Knox himself is the most English of Scottish prose writers, and the Catholic pamphleteers girded at the Protestants for their southernism. The going of the court to England in 1603 ended the artificial Middle Scots. All the singers, Alexander, Drummond and the rest, became "Elizabethan" in language and sentiment. When Scottish literature revives a century or more later, its language is the spoken dialect of the Lothians and the west

The influence of French has been exaggerated. The French element [illegible]

adopted from central French during the close relations between [illegible]

Gavin Douglas, the accomplished poet, and the author of *The* [illegible] they felt of [illegible] The influence [illegible]

the alliterative *Morte Arthure* of the Thornton MS. at Lincoln (see p. 36). *The Anteris* (adventures) *of Gawayne* is perhaps *The Awntyrs of Arthure at the Terne Wathelyne*, or *Golagros and Gawayne* or even *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight* (see pp. 42, 47). *The Epistill of Suete Susane*, which occurs in several versions, is a versified form of *Susanna and the Elders* from the Apocrypha, a story which, as many paintings prove, appealed to the medieval mind. It is written in twenty-eight *Howlat* stanzas, but with a "bob" of two syllables like *Tho thare* or *So sone* at the ninth line. *The Awntyrs of Arthur* tells a good story in fifty-five *Howlat* stanzas. *Golagros and Gawayne* contains a hundred and five stanzas of the same type. As no manuscript is known—the piece surviving in a printed pamphlet of 1508—little can be inferred about its date.

The popular and amusing *Rauf Coilyear* passes from Arthur to Charlemagne. The story describes how Charles, lost in a snowstorm, finds a night's lodging in the house of Rauf, a collier or charcoal-burner. The inevitable complications of royalty *incognito* take place, and the blunt, honest Rauf, as usual, shows up well, and the good fellow is made knight and marshal of France. It is almost a parody on the old romances; but the tale has plenty of movement and, what is lacking in other romances, plenty of humour. Two other stories, mentioned by Gavin Douglas, are *John the Reeve*, clearly an English work, and *The Tale of Colkelbie's Sow*, as clearly Scottish. This animal is sold for three pennies, each of which has a great adventure. The story was obviously very popular, but it makes a sorry end to the old romances.

But the Scots of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries did not spend all their leisure in hearing or reading romances or Barbour's *Lives of the Saints*. They had an equal interest in the chronicles. *Scalacronica*, compiled in Norman French by Sir Thomas Gray (c. 1355) and *Scotichronicon* compiled in Latin by John of Fordun and his continuator Walter Bower or Bowmaker (c. 1384–1449) hardly concern the student of English literature. Even Andrew of Wyntoun (d. 1420?), who wrote *The Orygynale Cronykil* in Barbour's couplet and in the Scottish tongue, is merely a chronicler with no claim to be received as a poet. The name of his work means that he went back to the beginning of things, as do the others; but Wyntoun surpasses them in beginning with a book on the history of angels. The most famous of his stories tells of Macbeth's meeting with the weird sisters and the coming of Birnam wood to Dunsinane. Into his perversions of history for patriotic purposes we are not required to enter.

because he has descriptive passages and borrows freely from Barbour and Chaucer, for blind persons can imitate descriptions and borrow from authors read to them. The main charge against the poem is that

author's dictation. Regarded as a late traditional romance, *Wallace* has merit: it is quite good minstrel work. The decasyllabic couplet is well used, and there is no lack of verve in the battle scenes. George Neilson, who has closely examined the borrowings from Barbour, is severe upon it. "As history (he says) the poem is the veriest nightmare. As literature it requires an almost deranged patriotism to accept as worthy of the noble memory of Sir William Wallace so vitiated a tribute."

One incident in *Wallace* is borrowed from *The Buke of the Howlat*, a poem written about 1450 by Sir Richard Holland in an elaborate lyrical stanza (found in other pieces) composed of thirteen alliterative rhyming lines, nine long followed by four short, rhyming *ababababcdddc*. It tells the familiar tale of the bird in borrowed plumes, a tale at least as old as *Barlaam and Josaphat*, and it had some historical

Indeed, much of the piece is occupied with Douglas matters, not now interesting, though it is the source of the still traditional Douglas epithets, "tendir and trewe".

Like this poem in form, but of an earlier date, is a series of romances which cluster about the name of "Huchoun of the Awle Ryale",

has treated this matter; and in a spirit of admiration mentions other works by him—*The Gret Gest of Arthure, The Anteris of Gawane* and *The Epistill als of Suete Susane*. The identity of Huchoun has never been clearly established, in spite of ingenious efforts and vigorous discussion. All we need say is that there seems good evidence for the existence of a Scottish poet called Huchoun in the middle of the fourteenth century, and that he may be the statesman Sir Hew of Eglintoun, who was an older contemporary of Barbour. The "Awle Ryale" is the *Aula Regalis*, and would be an appropriate addition to the name of one who had served as justiciar But no less a person than Henry Bradley believes it to be Oriel College. The next difficulty is the identification of the poems attributed to Huchoun in Wyntoun's lines. *The Gret Gest of Arthure* has been identified with

of sermons; but the poet, unfortunately, says everything at such length that he becomes wearisome. The most remarkable feature of the work is the mastery which the writer displays over the language and the verse. The rhythm is both French and English, being strictly syllabic as well as accentual. Chaucer's verse also depended upon this combination of the French syllabic principle with the English accentual principle—a combination so alien to English traditions that it could not survive the changes caused in the language by the loss of weak inflectional syllables; and therefore, in the fifteenth century, English metre showed signs of collapse. In Chaucer's verse we see only the final results of the French influence; in Gower we see both the French and the English tendencies.

The very interesting social material of the *Mirour de l'Omme* is used again in Gower's next work, the Latin *Vox Clamantis*. Here, however, a great political event is made the text for his criticism of society. The Peasants' Rising of 1381 seemed a fulfilment of the prophecies contained in the *Mirour*, and it made a strong impression upon Gower, whose native county of Kent was deeply affected. The poem is in Latin elegiac couplets, and extends to about ten thousand lines. The first book, about one-fifth of the whole, contains a graphic account of the insurrection. In general, the *Vox Clamantis* is an indictment of human society; and so the picture, which appears in several manuscripts, of the author aiming his arrows at the world fairly represents its scope. There is no need to dwell upon the poetical style of Gower's Latin poems. Judged by the medieval standard, *Vox Clamantis* is fairly good in language and in metre, but the fact has recently been pointed out that many couplets and longer passages are borrowed from other writers.

In *Confessio Amantis* Gower partly abandons his former determined morality, and, admitting frankly that he was not born to set the world right, proceeds to tell stories about Love, which, after all, is a main motive in the world of men. Accordingly we have in *Confessio Amantis* more than a hundred stories of varying length and of very diverse origin, from Ovid to the Bible, told in a pleasing and simple style by one who clearly had a gift for story-telling, though without the large humanity which makes the stories of Chaucer unique in the literature of his time. The supposition that Chaucer owed anything to it can be at once dismissed. The plan of the work is not ill-conceived; but, unfortunately, Gower had no sense of proportion in execution and no control over his fatal weakness for digressions and dissertations. The influence of Chaucer is apparent in the opening and concluding scenes, and something was clearly derived from the *Roman de la Rose*. But to say this is not to accuse Gower of wanting originality. No previous writer, either in English or in any other modern language, had versified so large a collection

VI. GOWER

The work of John Gower (1325–1408), apart from its intrinsic merit, deserves special notice as indicating the faint doubt with which educated men of his time regarded the English language. If a fourteenth-century poet wished to do justice to himself and a noble theme, in what language should he write? He had the choice of [illegible]

[illegible]

conclusion of *Troilus and Criseyde* in which that poet directs his book to "moral Gower" and "philosophical Strode".

[illegible]

English *Confessio Amantis*. In his own Latin note the poet tells us why he wrote each of these works. The first, in French, was designed to teach the way by which sinners could return to a knowledge of the Creator. The second, in Latin, was intended to point the moral of Richard II's misdoings. The third, in English, marks out the time from Nebuchadnezzar onwards, tells how Alexander was instructed by the discipline of Aristotle, but relates chiefly the infatuated passion of [illegible]

[illegible]

in a single copy, under the French title *Mirour de l'Omme*. For sev[illegible]

In i[illegible]

bir[illegible]

and declares that we must approach God and Christ through the help of Mary, whose life he proceeds to narrate The poem is a true literary work with a due connection of parts, and not a mere string

attempt to collect his writings, or to catalogue them, or even to finish them. What we do know of Chaucer is that he inherited the high courtly tradition of French poetry, and that, with all his Italian acquirements and his English spirit, he was French in the grace and skill of his technique. He led a useful public life, enduring personal and general misfortune with courage, and never lost faith in truth, beauty and goodness. He took a large, sagacious, charitable view of mankind, and (like another poet) travelled "on life's common way in cheerful godliness".

Geoffrey Chaucer (1340?–1400), born in London, was connected in some official capacity with the royal court. In 1359 he was taken prisoner in the French wars, and was ransomed in 1360. Apparently he was in France again in 1369, abroad somewhere on royal business in 1370, in Italy during 1372–3, abroad again somewhere in 1376, in France and Flanders in 1377, and in Italy once more in 1378. He died in his own house at Westminster, and was buried in the Abbey, his place of interment being the chapel of St Benedict, thereafter named Poets' Corner. These foreign visits naturally contributed to his literary education by enlarging his knowledge both of men and of books. He may have met Froissart. He may have met Petrarch, who died at Arqua in 1374; and he may have met Boccaccio, who died a year later. Dante had been dead for over half-a-century. But whether Chaucer met any of the Italian writers in the flesh is less important than the fact that the Italy of his time was filled with their spirit. French and Italian poetry in the fourteenth century were accomplished when English poetry was still tentative; and from them Chaucer drew the stimulus and example that make him the first English poet who is a first-rate literary artist, the first English poet who takes by absolute right a place in the hierarchy of the world. Statements like these must be read intelligently. No influence, general or specific, can convert a mere literary artisan into an artist; but where there is a native instinct for artistry, persuasive example may save a long laborious process of trial and error. It is often forgotten that, since the Renascence, nearly all great English poets, from Spenser to Swinburne, have been disciplined in their art by the works of the classical writers. The French and Italians were to Chaucer what the Greeks and Latins were to later poets; and they helped him to such mastery that English poets of his own century and of the next hailed him as their chief. Occleve has left us a portrait of his "maister dere and fader reverent" illuminated in the margin of one of his manuscripts. Nevertheless, nearly three hundred years had to pass before a sound edition of *The Canterbury Tales* (Tyrwhitt 1775) replaced the old prints of Caxton (1478? and 1484?), Wynkyn de Worde (1498), Pynson (1493? and 1526), Thynne (1532), Speght (1598 and 1602), and Urry (1721). These old editions included

of stories or had devised so ingenious and elaborate a scheme of combination. Gower's style of narration is simple and clear. In the actual telling of a story he is neither tedious nor diffuse. But he has no humour and no command of character. Yet he has definite poetic qualities of a kind. The descriptive touches indicate that he had observed as well as meditated. It is unfortunate that most readers know him by one of his less happy efforts, the long story of Apollonius used by the author of *Pericles*, in which Gower appears appropriately as Chorus. The language, like that of Chaucer, indicates the development of a cultured English speech replacing the once prevalent French as the language of polite literature. The most marked feature of Gower's English verse is its great regularity and [illegible]

The other works of Gower do not call for notice. In French we have the series of ballades commonly known as *Cinkante Balades*, dealing with love according to the conventions of the age, in a graceful and poetical fashion. In Latin, the author sets forth his final view of contemporary history in the *Cronica Tripertita*, a poem in leonine hexameters. Early in the reign of Henry IV he became blind, and, like a more famous poet, makes in one place a touching allusion to his affliction.

That Gower, through the purity of his English style and the easy fluency of his expression, exercised a distinct influence upon the development of the language cannot be questioned. But though he may fairly be joined with Chaucer as one of the makers of standard English, his mind was narrowly medieval and shows nothing of Chaucer's creative imagination.

VII. CHAUCER

Chaucer is not m[illegible] he is one of the g[illegible] without definite [illegible] no autograph manuscript of any of his works; we have no more than a conjectural knowledge of the order in which he wrote his poems; and we were long in ascertaining what constitutes the genuine Chaucerian canon. We are now so accustomed to clearly published [illegible]

the great stanza called "rhyme royal", that is to say the seven-lined decasyllabic stanza rhymed *ababbcc*, which held the premier position for serious verse in English poetry till the Spenserian dethroned it. Its "royalty" derives from the use made of it by James I in *The Kingis Quair*. The third piece, *Chaucer's ABC*, adapted from the French of Deguileville, is in the chief rival of rhyme royal, the octave *ababbcbc*. In *The Complaint of Mars* and *A Complaint to his Lady*, metrical exploration is pushed even further, as a reference to the works will show. These evidences of experiment are most interesting and nearly decisive as to date; but none of the pieces can be said to have high poetical value. In *Anelida and Arcite* and *The Parliament of Fowls* this value rises very considerably. Both are written in the rhyme royal. The first named is still a "Complaint", but it escapes the artificiality of the earlier poems. *The Parliament of Fowls*, with its memorable opening, is the first poem in which we meet the true Chaucerian qualities—the happily blended humour and pathos, the adoption and yet transcendence of medieval commonplaces (the dream, the catalogue of trees and birds, the classical digressions, and so forth), as well as the faculty of composition which makes the poem a poem, and not a mere copy of verses.

In *Troilus and Criseyde*, Chaucer has entirely passed his apprentice stage; indeed, in its own line, he never did better, though he was to do very different things and to do them superbly. The story is one of those developments of the tale of Troy which, unknown to classical tradition, grew up in the Middle Ages. Criseyde or Cressida is, in origin, the girl Briseis, cause of the wrath of Achilles. Probably first sketched in the curious and still uncertainly dated works put forth with the names of "Dictys Cretensis" and "Dares Phrygius" (fourth or fifth century?), the story had been worked up into a long legend in the *Roman de Troie* of Benoît de Sainte-More, a French *trouvère* of the late twelfth century. Thence it had been adapted a hundred years later in the prose Latin *Historia Troiana* of Guido delle Colonne. On this, in turn, Boccaccio, somewhat before the middle of the fourteenth century, based his poem of *Il Filostrato* in *ottava rima*; and from the *Filostrato*, Chaucer took the story, and told it in rhyme royal stanzas, excellently fashioned. Not more, however, than one-third of the actual *Troilus and Criseyde* is, in any sense, translated from Boccaccio. The piece is too long; it has too many digressions; there is too much talk and too little action. But these were faults so ingrained in medieval literature that even Chaucer could not entirely avoid them. Nevertheless, from the fine opening to the finer close, the poem rarely falls below the level of its opportunities. It happens to be in verse, but it is the first English psychological novel.

Troilus was followed somewhere about this time by *The House of Fame*, *The Legend of Good Women* and *The Knight's Tale*. *The House*

works now assigned to other hands, but at least they presented the material out of which later scholarship has been able to construct the accepted Chaucerian canon.

We have seen that, in his youth and early manhood, Chaucer was much in France, that in early middle life he was not a little in Italy, and that he apparently spent the whole of his later days in England. Now if we take the generally authenticated works, we shall find that they sort themselves into three fairly well-defined groups. The first consists of work translated or imitated from the French, and couched in forms mainly French in origin—*The Romaunt of the Rose*, the three *Complaints*, *The Book of the Duchess*, the minor *Ballades*, etc. [illegible] most characteristic of the *Tales*, which are purely and intensely English. Such a grouping is neither completely accurate nor completely indicative of the substance and form of Chaucer's work; it is useful merely as an intimation of his progress as a craftsman. He did not adopt a French manner and drop it to adopt an Italian manner: he was always himself. The division of any man's work into "periods", whether the man be Shakespeare or Beethoven, must not be mechanically applied as a formula. Nevertheless it is clear that Chaucer, like Beethoven, laboured at his art, and passed, like Shakespeare, from one kind of writing into another, and thence into yet another.

The English version of *Le Roman de la Rose* represents only a small part of the great original of Guillaume de Lorris (thirteenth century) and Jean de Meun or Jean Clopinel (c. 1250–1305). What became of Chaucer's own translation we do not know. Modern [illegible] original. The first author and his continuator were writers of different spirit, but their English translator has shown himself equal to every requirement, with a mastery that only a consummate man of letters could display. The metre is that of the original—the octosyllabic couplet—and it is admirably handled. There is nothing [illegible] *The Deeth of Blanche* (c. 1369), is a poem of more than 1300 lines in octosyllables, not quite so smooth as those of *The Romaunt*, but rather more adventurously split up. The much shorter *Complaint unto Pity* has for its special interest the first appearance in English of

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of Fame is a reversion—in metre to the octosyllable, in plan to the [illegible]

command of the metre and a richer skill in ironic humour, it failed, [illegible]

metre which had not been regularly used in Middle English, which had been largely used in France, and which he had himself employed with facility at the end of each stanza of *Troilus*—the great decasyl- [illegible]

In particular that rapid shifting from the serious to the humorous, which puzzles readers not to the English manner born, pervades the whole piece. Both in the *Prologue* and in the stories themselves the metre is handled with a mastery that Chaucer did not excel till he came to write *The Canterbury Tales.* But perhaps because he found the stories of these fair martyrs of love becoming monotonous, he abandoned the whole project, and turned to *The Canterbury Tales,* [illegible] lea is [illegible] *The Decameron* are two of the most famous examples The more compact collection known as *T*[illegible] long before Chaucer's [illegible] either a special or a g[illegible] thing was in the air of the time, when tales had to be told and pilgrimages were many. Chaucer's work is incomplete, both as a whole and in parts It is sketched out but not filled in. The only clear string of connection from first to last is the pervading personality of the Host, who gives a unity of character to the whole work, inviting, criticizing, admiring, denouncing, but always keeping himself in evidence. It is conjectured that the pieces in couplets were written or rewritten directly for the work, and that those in other metres and in prose were the adopted part of the family. What is certain is that the couplets, especially of the *Prologue,* are the most accomplished, various, thoroughly mastered verse that we find in Chaucer himself or in any English writer up to his time, nor are

they exceeded by any foreign model, unless it be the *terza rima* of Dante.

The ever present humour of the work cannot be missed; and the exquisite and unlaboured pathos which accompanies it has been acknowledged even by those who have failed to appreciate Chaucer as a whole. The stories cover nearly the whole ground of medieval poetry. *The Knight's Tale* is high romance on a full scale, told in heroic couplets. The tales of the Reeve and Miller are examples of the *fabliau*, the story of ordinary life with a farcical tendency. *The Man of Law's Tale* returns to romance, but it is pathetic romance, told in rhyme royal. The Prioress's beautiful story is an excursion into hagiology—romance with a difference; and its neighbour, Chaucer's own tale of Sir Thopas, is a burlesque of all the weakness of the romances put into the weakest of the romance verse forms. *The Tale of Melibeus* illustrates the extraordinary appetite of medieval hearers for long, serious and (to our minds) boring and unremunerative prose narrative. Chaucer, in some respects as modern as Dickens, is here medieval. The pilgrims, it should be observed, are neither bored by Melibeus nor shocked by the Wife of Bath. *The Monk's Tale*, objected to by the Knight on the score of its lugubriousness, may be intended as a set-off to the frivolous description of that ecclesiastic in the *Prologue*. After the admirable *fabliau* of the Cock and the Fox told by the Nun's priest, the Wife of Bath's delightful prologue, the diablerie of the Friar's tale, and the story of Griselda told by the Clerk, romance comes back in the "half-told" tale of the Squire, the "story of Cambuscan bold". The romantic tone is kept up in *The Franklin's Tale*, one of the most poetical of all, and specially interesting in its portrayal—side by side with an undoubted belief in actual magic—of the extent of medieval conjuring. With *The Canterbury Tales* we reach, for the first time in this story, the literature of everyman, that is to say, the kind of work that belongs to the same world as the work of Shakespeare and Dickens. It is idle to suppose that such expressions of the medieval mind as *Cursor Mundi* or even *Confessio Amantis* will ever be widely enjoyed. The best of *The Canterbury Tales* can be enjoyed by the people who enjoy *Pickwick Papers* and *The Tempest*.

The two separate prose works, a translation of Boethius and a short unfinished *Treatise on the Astrolabe* (an instrument for observing the positions of the stars), show Chaucer's ability to deal successfully with vastly different subjects. The main attraction of the *Astrolabe* treatise is the additional evidence it gives of Chaucer's interest in astronomy or astrology, an interest which kept its hold on English men of letters as late as Dryden. The translation of Boethius is interesting as one in a long sequence of English versions of this author. An earlier translation by King Alfred, has already been noticed (p. 14);

of Fame is a reversion—in metre to the octosyllable, in plan to the [illegible] command of the metre and a richer skill in homely humour, it failed, apparently, to satisfy the author, as he left it unfinished, and did not use the octosyllabic couplet again.

For the substance of *The Legend of Good Women*—stories of famous and unhappy ladies of old—Chaucer had precedents in two of his favourite authors, Ovid and Boccaccio; and to tell his tales he took a [illegible]

In particular that rapid shifting from the serious to the humorous, which puzzles readers not to the English manner born, pervades the whole piece. Both in the *Prologue* and in the stories themselves the metre is handled with a mastery that Chaucer did not excel till he came to write *The Canterbury Tales.* But perhaps because he found the stories of these fair martyrs of love becoming monotonous, he abandoned the whole project, and turned to *The Canterbury Tales,* in the large humanity of which he found himself at home.

The plan of collecting tales and uniting them by a central idea is one of the stock methods of the world *The Arabian Nights* and *The Decameron* are two of the most famous examples The more compact collection known as *The Seven Sages* had been known to Englishmen long before Chaucer's time. It is unnecessary, therefore, to seek for either a special or a general original of *The Canterbury Tales* The thing was in the air of the time, when tales had to be told and pilgrimages were many. Chaucer's work is incomplete, both as a whole and in parts It is sketched out but not filled in. The only clear string of connection from first to last is the pervading personality of the Host, who gives a unity of character to the whole work, inviting, criticizing, admiring, denouncing, but always keeping himself in evidence. It is conjectured that the pieces in couplets were written or rewritten directly for the work, and that those in other metres and in prose were the adopted part of the family. What is certain is that the couplets, especially of the *Prologue*, are the most accomplished, various, thoroughly mastered verse that we find in Chaucer himself or in any English writer up to his time, nor are

VIII. THE ENGLISH CHAUCERIANS

The influence of Chaucer upon English poetry of all dialects during the century (and more) after his death is almost unparalleled in literature. But the admiration he called forth was not very critical and was too generously extended. One of his disciples, Lydgate, was elevated (with Gower) to equal rank with the master, and awarded an excess of praise that later judgment feels bound to mitigate. We know little of Lydgate's life, beyond the facts (or inferences) that he lived somewhere between 1370–1450, that he was baptized John and called Lydgate from his Suffolk birth-place, that he was a monk of Bury St Edmunds, that he spent some time abroad and perhaps had personal acquaintance with Chaucer. He was a lamentably prolific writer. Ritson, who catalogues an enormous number of his compositions, calls him, with characteristic violence, "a voluminous, prosaic and drivelling monk", and each epithet of that summary judgment can be defended. Lydgate shows some traces of Chaucerian humour, largely diluted, but none of Chaucer's vigour, pathos and vivacity. His enormous *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* translated from Guillaume Deguileville stands in some remote relation to *The Pilgrim's Progress*, but has nothing of Bunyan's command of vigorous language, character and shrewd wisdom, though its vast extent (over 20,000 lines) includes a greater and more varied assortment of adventure. Lydgate's *Troy Book*, translated from Guido delle Colonne's *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, extends to 30,000 lines of heroic couplets, and is duller than the *Pilgrimage*; but it seems to have been read, for it was twice printed in full during the sixteenth century. *The Falls of Princes or Tragedies of John Bochas*, translated at second hand from Boccaccio in rhyme royal, is longer still, and was to have later, as we shall see, connection with another famous work. *Reason and Sensuality* in octosyllabic couplets, dimly related to *The Romaunt of the Rose*, has been found livelier than other of his compositions. *The Temple of Glass* and *The Assembly of Gods* are in similar allegorical vein. The best and most poetical passages in Lydgate's vast work are to be found in the rhyme royal stanzas of *The Life of our Lady*, and these, when read in Warton's enthusiastic quotations, have deluded hasty persons into a too generous estimate of the poet. Of several lives of the saints the best is the *Saint Margaret*. The beast-fable had something in it peculiarly suitable to Lydgate's kind of talent, and this fact is in favour of his *Aesop*, and of the two poems (among his best) known as *The Churl and the Bird* and *The Horse, the Sheep and the Goose*. *The Complaint of the Black Knight*, long assigned to Chaucer, is tolerable, though it has Lydgate's curious flatness. The remainder of the minor poems includes his most

a later by John Walton (c. 1410) was to come. Chaucer's version is specially interesting because he has translated into prose, not merely [illegible]

English, deliberately ornate prose, aureate in vocabulary, and rhythmical in cadence. In his rendering, Chaucer shows the freedom which all great translators have used But we should be ready to admit that, plain or adorned, the prose of Chaucer is far below his [illegible]

Chaucer was one of those who (like Shakespeare) extract the maximum of personal nourishment from reading. He knew the usual Latin authors, especially Ovid, always one of the most important in medieval literature; he was familiar with French and Italian literature, and he knew the English romances which he parodied in *Sir Thopas* He was a man of originating genius, and [illegible] naturally as Shakespeare in the line of progress. His humour, like Shakespeare's, is kindly and never cruel. It is broad and unashamed; but it never sides with evil or mocks at good. The charity of Chaucer is immense. He is, further, a great artist in verse. Earlier poets tended to stumble between English syllabic freedom (spaced by accent) and French syllabic rigidity (spaced by caesura). Chaucer took an unfaltering way between both. He made an English dialect into a first-rate literary medium. The old charge against him of Frenchifying English has been disproved, and he is so far modern, [illegible] poetry. Very few poets in the world's history ever did so rise. That Chaucer had access to those heights and remained there long enough to sustain a title to greatness can only be denied by the perverse. His power to communicate poetic grace, and charm, and that large comprehension of humanity which we may call a criticism of life is clear beyond any controversy. And he really understood people and their place in the world, and so could bring his crowd of [illegible] development of [illegible] true [illegible] our literature.

two chief are George Ripley and Thomas Norton. Ripley's *The Compound of Alchemy or the Twelve Gates* (1471), in varied and insecure stanzas, is a curiosity of "poetic science". Thomas Norton's *Ordinall of Alchemy* (1477), in exceedingly irregular couplets, is even less a poem, but his greater discursiveness may make his work more interesting to some readers.

The most attractive part of the period is that which gives us the poems at one time attributed to Chaucer. *The Tale of Beryn* or *The Second Merchant's Tale*, a story of commercial adventure in foreign parts, has clear merits as a narrative and fully deserves reading, though it is long and complicated. *La Belle Dame sans Merci*, ascribed to Sir Richard Ros (c. 1450) and translated from Alain Chartier, is dull and pretentious, and indisputably post-Chaucerian. Very much better is *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale*, also called *The Book of Cupid God of Love*, attributed to Sir Thomas Clanvowe (early fifteenth century), which is at least Chaucerian in date. Numerous as are the pieces which deal with May mornings and bird songs, this may keep its place with the best of them. *The Assembly of Ladies* and *The Flower and the Leaf*, both in rhyme royal, and both perhaps by the same author, are alleged to be written by a woman. *The Assembly* is the usual kind of allegorical piece, peopled by personified abstractions. *The Flower and the Leaf*, also allegorical, with the Flower as a symbol of the gay and passing and the Leaf as a symbol of the (comparatively) enduring, is much finer, and shows a certain grace of choice, arrangement and treatment of subject. Out of Chaucer it is difficult to find anything of the time better done. There is a singular brightness over it all, together with a rare power of pre-Raphaelite decoration and of vivid portraiture. *The Court of Love*, by a Cambridge "clerk", shows the rhyme royal competently handled, and made the vehicle of genuine poetry. The poem contains some excellent episodes, and ends with a charming, if not entirely original, bird chorus to the initial words of favourite psalms and passages of Scripture. If *The Court of Love* is to be placed within the sixteenth century, we must regard it as the latest piece of purely English poetry which exhibits strictly medieval characteristics. It is the last echo of the music, the last breath of the atmosphere, of *The Romance of the Rose*, that perfect song and essence of medieval allegory.

IX. HAWES

The close of the fifteenth century and the opening of the sixteenth found the English language still unstable. The final *e*, influential for much that is good in Chaucer, had fallen into disuse in the spoken language, and the accentuation, especially of words borrowed from foreign tongues, was uncertain. It was difficult for the men of Henry VIII's reign to understand the speech of another shire or the English of an earlier age. The matter and the manner as well as the

attributed the popular versified instruction in manners known as *Stans puer ad mensam.* Lydgate seems to us a dull, long-winded and metrically incompetent poet He rarely rises above sheer flatness of diction, the dull, hackneyed, slovenly phraseology, emphasized by occasional aureate pedantry, which makes the common commoner and the uncommon

example we have of the medieval mind in poetry

The inseparable companion of Lydgate in literature is Thomas Occleve or Hoccleve (c. 1368–c. 1450). He received much less attention than Lydgate from
work is still uncertain. The
tions is *De Regimine Princip*
Henry Prince of Wales (i.e.,
5500 verses. It is partly political, partly ethical, partly religious, and based on a blending of Aristotle with Solomon. The long introductory passage contains his famous tribute to Chaucer and Gower. Next to this in importance come two verse-stories from *Gesta Romanorum, The Emperor Jereslaus's Wife* and *Jonathas,* and a really fine *Ars Sciendi Mori,* the most dignified and the most poetical thing that Occleve has left us. In one curious poem, *La Male Regle,* he confesses to a long course of not very violent dissipation. Self-revelation, indeed, is one of Occleve's personal tendencies There are other pieces that do not call for
Occleve is tha
and his feelings
refreshing; for about good fellowship or even about personal infelicities, than to be confronted with extensive moral commonplaces expressed without mitigation of earnestness.

Other writers of the group include Benet or Benedict Burgh (d. 1483) who continued Lydgate's pseudo-Aristotelian *Secrets of old Philosophers (Secreta Secretorum)* and wrote on his own account *Aristotle's ABC, A Christmas Game* and the *Great* and *Little Cato,* the first version of the distichs of Dionysius Cato. Of the poems (mainly didactic) written by, or attributed to, George Ashby and Henry Bradshaw little need be said, except that they illustrate the complete loss of grip that had come upon English verse. Certain of the Chaucerians have a kind of attraction because they followed up the alchemical interest exhibited in *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale.* The

altars, and pyramids, as in some poems of George Herbert. In choice of theme, in method of exposition and in mode of expression, Hawes was limited by his fixed ideal of poetry. He repeatedly insists that every poet should be a teacher. Living though he did at the opening of a new age, he still shows the characteristic marks of medievalism. His writings abound in long digressions, debates, appeals to authority, and prolix descriptions. He employs all the familiar medieval machinery and firmly believes that all poetry is allegory. What Hawes did feebly in *The Pastime of Pleasure* and *The Example of Virtue* was to be done nobly in *The Faerie Queene*. That Spenser had read Hawes and even learned something from him may be considered possible; but certain supposed resemblances are nothing but the likenesses bound to occur in all allegorical representations of life.

The verse of Hawes is disconcerting to modern readers, perhaps because we try to fit his lines to a tune he did not intend. Dryden tried to fit Chaucer to Dryden's own tune, and, failing, declared that Chaucer was a faulty metrist. The eighteenth century thought the tune of the old ballads wrong, because it lacked "smoothness" and "numbers". We are wrong when we try to extort from *The Pastime of Pleasure* the mellifluous ease of *The Faerie Queene*. We might remember more often, in reading the fifteenth-century poets, the liberties of the ballads and the nursery rhymes. Hawes himself certainly believed that his verses had a tune, or he would hardly have prayed to be delivered "Frome mysse metrynge, by wronge Impressyon". He has immortalized himself in one couplet, at least. Death, says the epitaph in Chapter XLII of *The Pastime*, is the end of all earthly joys; "after the day cometh the derke nyght",

For though the day be never so longe,
At last the belles ryngeth to evensonge.

X. THE SCOTTISH CHAUCERIANS

It is customary to describe the fifteenth century in Scotland as "the golden age of Scottish poetry", and to say of James I, Henryson, Dunbar and Gavin Douglas that they, rather than Lydgate or Occleve, were the true descendants of Chaucer. That is part of the truth, for intrinsically these Scottish writers were far better poets than Lydgate and Occleve. What may be overlooked is that the success of the Scottish Chaucerians was very deliberately obtained. The alliterative tradition and chronicle-romances like Blind Harry's *Wallace* and Wyntoun's *Chronicle* lasted later in the north than in the south; but with James I and the "makaris" there is a change—an adoption of the

language of medieval literature belonged to the past. Popular poetry and morality plays flourished, history written in English made tentative beginnings, the newly printed prose books were read, but the courtly poetry of the Chaucerian tradition had become antiquated, and found its last exponent in Stephen Hawes, who, amid the men of the new age, has the forlorn air of a survivor from another era. He felt his solitariness, and in his most important work, briefly known as *The Pastime of Pleasure*, lamented that he remained the only true votary of poetry. And if we remember that his idea of poetry was that of Gower and Lydgate, namely, some- [illegible]

[illegible]

Conversion of Swearers (1509), *A Joyful Meditation of the Coronation of Henry VIII* (1509) and *The Temple of Glass* (1505?). The dates are those of the first-known printed texts. His other pieces are unimportant. With the exception of one episode, which is in decasyllabic couplets, *The Pastime* is in rhyme royal, and contains about 5800 lines divided into forty-five [illegible] the true medieval fashion, [illegible] "morall Gower" briefly, [illegible] Having reached his long [illegible] "lacke of scyence", prays th[illegible] his scansion, and laudably aspires [illegible] bokes to compyle of morall vertue" after the fashion of his "mayster Lydgate".

Hawes had really very little to say, and put into *The Pastime* much that he had already written, with slight variation of form. *The Example of Virtue*, his most important work after *The Pastime*, was written earlier It is a complete allegory of the life of man from Youth to Age. *The Conversion of Swearers* contains an exhortation from Christ to princes and lords to cease swearing by His blood, wounds, head, and heart. The metre of this, as of *The Example*, is the seven-line Chaucerian stanza, except a fantastic passage in form as follows:

Se
Ye
Be
  Kind
Again
My payne
Reteyne
  In Mynde;

and so on the metre goes, increasing to lines of six syllables and decreasing again to words of one syllable. It is an early example of "shaped" verses, which in later days take the form of wings, crosses,

lament of Orpheus. In *The Testament of Cresseid*, Henryson essays boldly to continue the story told by "worthie Chaucer glorious". His theme is the later tragedy of Cresseid, when, cast off by Diomede, she becomes a leper, and passes to a living death in the spital. The poem is deeply moving and deserves to take rank with its model. Thirteen shorter poems which have been ascribed to Henryson are varied in kind and verse-form. The majority are reflective, and deal with the topics that are the delight of the fifteenth-century minor muse. Two of the poems, the pastoral dialogue of *Robene and Makyne* and the burlesque *Sum Practysis of Medecyne*, deserve special mention. The *estrif* between Robene and Makyne develops a familiar sentiment, expressed in the girl's own words:

> The man that will nocht quhen he may
> Sall haif nocht quhen he wald.

These pieces are almost entirely non-Chaucerian, and represent a strain of the older popular poetry which persisted into a later period. It is uncritical to suppose that because King James and Henryson wrote lofty and serious poems they were incapable of the rougher, racier pieces. Sir Walter Scott (to say nothing of Shakespeare) is a sufficient answer to such objections.

William Dunbar (c. 1460–c. 1520) has generally held the place of honour among the Scottish "makaris" and, on the whole, his position is secure. Like all the greater Scottish poets of the time, with the exception of the schoolmaster Henryson, he was of good birth and connected with the court. This must be remembered when the courtly and non-popular character of the Scottish Chaucerian verse is considered. Dunbar became a Franciscan, but seems to have had no clear call to the ascetic life. In Paris (we may suppose) it was not the Sorbonne, but the wild life of the faubourgs and the talent of Bohemians like François Villon (whose poems had just been printed posthumously) which had the strongest claims upon the restless friar. Dunbar's poems fall into two main divisions, the allegorical and the occasional. Both show the strength of the Chaucerian tradition, though it must be remembered that he wrote as a courtier for the court. What is outstanding in Dunbar is not, as in Henryson, the creation of new genres or fresh motives. Compared with Henryson, Dunbar shows no advance in broad purpose and sheer originality—in fact, he is more artificial; but he had genius, and not only gave new rhythms to old movements, but added original life and humour to the old matter. *The Goldyn Targe* has the simple allegorical motive of the poet's appearance (in a dream) on a conventional May morning before the court of Venus. A similar theme appears in his short poem *Sen that I am a prisoneir* (sometimes

medieval artifice outworn in the south but new to the north, and a moulding of the language to suit the purpose. Thus, though the "new" Scottish poetry is more modern than the old, it looks backwards rather than forwards. There is no revulsion from medievalism, no anticipation of the Renascence. The Scottish Chaucerian poetry succeeded because, in a sense, it was behind the times.

The herald of this change in Scottish literary habit is the love-allegory of *The Kingis Quair*, or *King's Book*, ascribed to James I (1394–1437), the atmosphere of which is that of *The Romance of the Rose*. Upon that poem it was probably modelled, and Scottish literature was fortunate in being introduced to the new genre in a piece of such literary competence. Not only is *The Kingis Quair* superior, in literary craftsmanship, to any poem by Chaucer's English disciples, but in happy phrasing and in the retuning of old lines it is hardly inferior to its models. *The Kingis Quair* (which runs to 1379 lines, divided into 197 "Troilus" or rhyme royal stanzas) may be described as a dream-allegory dealing with two main topics —the "unsekernesse" of Fortune and the poet's happiness in love. It uses the medieval machinery of the dream and the allegory and manages them deftly. At the conclusion, the writer refers to his masters Gower and Chaucer with more than the usual appropriateness, for he was Chaucerian by assimilation, not by imitation. Indeed, it is the power of assimilation—a symptom of original talent—that discriminates the Scottish Chaucerians generally from such blundering imitators as Lydgate and Occleve. The story of the poem is James's capture in March 1405, his imprisonment by the English, and his wooing of Joan Beaufort. Whether it was actually written by James and whether its date is 1423 or some years later are matters still in dispute. The period of his captivity would [illegible]

Christis Kirk on the Grene belong to a genre in which there are no traces of southern literary influence

Of Robert Henryson (c 1425–c. 1500), in some respects the most [illegible] little. Henryson's [illegible] *Fabilis of Esope*, [illegible] dgate, he clearly separates story and moral and gains thereby freshness and humour of presentation. He is traditional in his general attitude to nature, but his particular descriptions of some of the animal characters are delightfully vivid and appealing. *Orpheus and Eurydice*, based on Boethius, resembles the *Fables* in type and in literary quality It contains some lyrical passages of considerable merit, notably the

direction, as high-flown phrase and "aureation" are an extension in another. Both are right—when they succeed.

Like Dunbar, Gavin or Gawain Douglas (1475?–1522) was of good family and a cleric; but he had influence and fortune which made him a bishop when the ex-friar was running about the court and writing complaints to his empty purse. He was the third son of "Bell-the-Cat", Archibald, fifth earl of Angus. His later history is exclusively political. *The Palice of Honour*, Douglas's earliest work, is an example of the later type of dream poem, and carries on the tradition of Chaucer's *Hous of Fame*. Of *King Hart* the same may be said, though it is a better poem, better shaped as an allegory, and better tuned in verbal music. Douglas's translation of the twelve books of the *Aeneid* (and of the thirteenth by Mapheus Vegius) begun in 1512, is the most interesting of his works, with special attractions in the thirteen prologues and supplementary verses. A picture of a Scottish winter introduces book VI, another of May, book XII, and another of June, book XIII. A *tour de force* in the popular alliterative stanza, not without suspicion of burlesque intention, is offered as a preface to the eighth book. The opening homage to Virgil is instructive, but Chaucer is not really far away. Douglas names him ere long, and loads him with the old honours, though he places him second to Virgil. But his Virgil is, for the most part, the Virgil of the dark ages, part prophet, part wizard. The language of the translation is specially interesting. No other Scot has built up such a diction, drawn from so many sources. Douglas has been inexplicably denied the honour due to him as a fine Scottish poet. His *Eneados* is a noble effort, and is memorable as the first translation of a great classical poet into English, northern or southern. The minor poets mentioned in Dunbar's *Lament for the Makaris*, Douglas's *Palice of Honour* and Lyndsay's *Testament of the Papyngo* add nothing to our notion of Middle Scots poetry and need not be discussed.

The discipleship of the Scottish Chaucerians, though sincere, was by no means blind. They imitated well because they understood with discrimination; and, being less addicted than Lydgate and his like to finding a moral in everything, they could give their attention to poetry for its own sake.

XI. THE MIDDLE SCOTS ANTHOLOGIES

Strong as was the Chaucerian influence on the Scottish poets during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it by no means suppressed or transformed the native habit of Scottish verse. The Chaucerian influence came from the courtly side. The movement was begun by the author of *The Kingis Quair*, and may be rightly regarded as part of the general European effort to dignify the vernaculars and make

known as *Beauty and the Prisoner*). In *The Thrissil and the Rois* the familiar machinery of the dream poem is used to celebrate the marriage of James IV and Margaret Tudor. In Chaucer's simpler narrative manner we have the tale of *The Freiris of Berwik*, dealing with the old theme of an untrue wife caught in her own wiles. *The Tretis of the Twa Mariit Wemen and the Wedo* echoes the gossip of the Wife of Bath, but it speaks with a freedom from which Chaucer would have shrunk.

The satirical and occasional poems constitute at once the greater and more important part of Dunbar's work. His humour is unlike Henryson's in lacking the gentler and more intimate fun of their [illegible]

[illegible] *Joustis of the Tailyeour and the Sowtar* and his *Black Lady*, where the fun is a covert attack on the courtly craze for tourneys. Of all the pieces in this category, the *Ballad of Kynd Kittok* best illustrates that elfin quality which relieves his boisterous strain of ridicule Its conclusion recalls the close of Burns's *Address to the Deil* and *The Dying Words of Poor Mailie*. The reach of Dunbar's fancy is at its greatest in the "interlude" [illegible] the "banns" or "crying" [illegible] triumph of the grotesque. [illegible] poetic rival Walter Kennedy) we have a Scottish example of a widely-spread European genre in its extremest form. It remains a masterpiece of scurrility. *The Lament for the Makaris* is a poem on the passing of human endeavour. The solemn effect of the burden *Timor mortis conturbat me* and a sense of literary restraint give the piece high distinction. Its historical interest is great because Dunbar tells us much about his own contemporaries. He names his greater predecessors, and properly puts Chaucer first on the roll Dunbar has been called the Scottish Skelton as well as the Scottish Chaucer; but if there had been borrowing it must have been Skelton's from him. The two are alike in their unexpected turns of satire, their [illegible]

disaster. *The Wowing of Jok and Jynny* is Burns's *Duncan Gray* some centuries earlier.

But there are pieces of a different kind—the supernatural treated more or less humorously. The brief *Gyre Carling* is a burlesque tale of what happened to a flesh-eating witch. Another comic love-tale of fairyland is told in *King Berdok*. In *The Laying of Lord Fergus's Gaist* there is some attempt at a parody of the old romance style. A third variety of popular verse is the bacchanalian—an intimation that Burns's preoccupation with "Scotch drink" was not peculiar to him or to his time. The best of all the Middle Scots convivial verse is Dunbar's *Testament of Mr Andro Kennedy*. The anonymous *Quhy sowld nocht Allane honorit be?* is a sprightly "ballat" on "Allan-a-Maut", alias John Barleycorn. Another piece anathematizes the bad brewing and praises the good. *Fabliaux* are less numerous, one of the best being the old, old tale of *The Dumb Wyf* made to speak by her husband's request, and his bitter repentance. Of historical and patriotic verse there is little. The purely poetic quality is highest in the love lyrics, which combine something of the popular directness with the aureate style of the courtly "makaris". The best is *The Murning Maidin*.

The Asloan MS. contains a number of passages which are among the earliest remains of Scotch prose, other than official documents. They belong to the fifteenth century, when Latin had long been the prose medium, but they show no trace of conscious attempts at style. Their literary merit is inconspicuous. Early in the sixteenth century, Murdoch Nisbet wrote out his Scottish version of Purvey's recension of the Wyclifite translation of the New Testament. This anticipates the Bassandyne Bible by half-a-century but it does not appear to have been generally circulated.

XII. ENGLISH PROSE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. I

The work of creating a sound written idiom of communication in English was a slow process. We may take it as a sign of advance that books of simple utility as well as of high endeavour began to be written and circulated. Instruction in manners and in cookery, service books and didactic essays, as well as old romances copied and modernized, and chronicles growing briefer and simpler, helped to familiarize the middle class with books and with written prose as an instrument of communication. Dictionaries, such as the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, indicate the spread of study, and many letters and business papers survive to show that soldiers, merchants, servants and women were learning to read and write with fluency. The House of Commons and the King's Council conducted their business in English;

them a fitting vehicle of great poetry. We have now to consider the non-Chaucerian matter and especially the anonymous poems preserved in anthologies of the sixteenth century made by antiquaries who had no literary axe to grind. These collections are (1) the Asloan MS. written c. 1515 by John Asloan, and formerly in posses- [illegible]

daughter in 1586 (Pepysian Lib.). Collections of less importance are the Makculloch MS. (1477) and the Gray MS. (c. 1500). Chepman [illegible]

was really familiar and appreciated is made clear by the record of poets in Dunbar's *Lament for the Makaris* and by the allusions in a familiar passage of Douglas's *Palice of Honour*.

The two best-known examples of this popular literature are *Peblis to the Play* and *Christis Kirk on the Grene*, attributed to James I. Their [illegible] ford valuable [illegible] se and of its [illegible] verse form, which supplies a link in the transition from the older northern romances to the later northern ballad. From the long irregular stanza of *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight* through the thirteen-lined stanza of *The Buke of the Howlat* and the eleven-lined stanza of *Sir Tristrem* to the pieces under discussion we find, not imitation, but simple continuity. The habit of these "popular" fifteenth and sixteenth century poems—the alliteration, the rhyme, and, above all, the breaking away in the "bob"—is an effect of antiquity. This form represents the native element which is obscured for a time during the Chaucerian ascendancy; but this is the permanent element —it is the courtly manner of the "golden age" that is the exception and accident. History confirms this, for when aureation and other fashions had passed, the reviving vernacular broke forth anew in the old forms. The actual form of the *Christis Kirk* stanza (eight lines with "bob" and refrain) lived on, and persisted as the medium for the narration of rustic frolic. Another example of the same type is *Sym and his Brudir*, a good-humoured satire on church abuse. In *The Wyf of Auchtirmuchty* we have the familiar story of the labourer who thinks the house-wife's work is easy till he tries it and comes to

virtues. Pecock was not a deep thinker, but he sought earnestly to give currency to such thought as was available to him. His lesser works, *The Reule of Cristen Religion*, *The Donet* with its later *Folewer* (i.e. sequel), and *The Book of Feith* deserve as much attention as *The Repressor*, because in them a careful writer was attempting a rendering of technical theology into the kind of English which should not be too learned for general reading and which should not descend to the slovenliness of Lollard tracts. Pecock writes so clearly that his achievement is hardly realized at first in its magnitude. His wide command of words shows that he had studied the poets as well as the theologians. That Pecock will ever be generally read is not to be expected; but he should at least be remembered as an intrepid writer, shrinking (and who shall blame him?) from the last extremity of the stake. Further, though he was in no sense a literary artist, he is one of our first writers of an ordered, reasonable prose which does not sprawl, and lose itself in its own writhings, and which can therefore be used for the clear presentation of abstract argument.

Sir John Fortescue (1394–1476?), an intrepid chief justice and constitutional lawyer, wrote much in Latin to justify the claims of the house of Lancaster. Tewkesbury field left the Lancastrians without a cause, and Fortescue could only bow to the inevitable and lay before the new sovereign *de facto* his last treatise upon his favourite subject. It is in English, and is sometimes entitled *Monarchia*, and sometimes *The Difference between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy*. It was probably finished about 1471. Its connection with literature may seem slight, but it served a literary purpose, for, being accepted as an authority, it was freely quoted in controversy, and so helped the diffusion of a rational English prose.

The devotional, as distinguished from the controversial, religious literature of the age derived from the school of Richard Rolle. The chief writer is Walter Hylton (d. 1396), an Augustinian canon of Thurgarton in Nottinghamshire, whose beautiful *Ladder of Perfection* supplied both system and corrective to Rolle's exuberance of feeling. Hylton's works are far more modern than Rolle's, both in matter and expression. They were favourites with the early printers and have retained their interest to the present time. The lofty thought, the clear insight, the sanity and the just judgment of *The Ladder of Perfection* and *The Cloud of Unknowing* (improbably his) are not more striking than the clarity of the style. Probably there was much more devotional literature which was literally read out of existence. Only fragments survive. The best-known work after Hylton's is the *Revelations of Divine Love*, by the anchoress Juliana of Norwich (c. 1342–1442), an utterance of fervent piety, showing acquaintance with Hylton. A fascinating addition was made both to religious literature and to fifteenth century prose when the manuscript of

and politicians in the fifteenth century, like Wyclif in the fourteenth, sought to appeal to the sense of the nation in short tracts. The art of prose writing, in the creative sense, advanced no further. The translations of Mandeville mark the high tide, for *The Master of Game*, the Duke of York's elaborate treatise on hunting, was, save for the slightest of reflections, purely technical. The learned still used Latin as the formal medium; and so, of the chronicles compiled during the fifteenth century, nearly two dozen were written in Latin, with a bare seven in English.

John Capgrave (1393–1464), the learned and travelled friar of Lynn in Norfolk, was the best-known man of letters of his time; but the bulk of his work is in Latin. Nevertheless, he composed in [illegible] an "Abbreviacion of Cronicles" rather than a book. Capgrave, who had no sympathy with heroes of the "left" like Wyclif and Oldcastle, has been harshly judged by socialistic editors like Furnivall. But even a chronicler is entitled to his convictions.

The most striking figure in fifteenth century prose is Reginald Pecock (1395?–1460), a brilliant, vain and too clever thinker, who managed to get himself ground between the upper and nether millstones of York and Lancaster, and of Church and Lollardy. Pecock's laudable aim was to overcome the heresies of the Lollards by persuasion, and he therefore issued many books or pamphlets to [illegible] *Much Blaming of the Clergy*, which its author thought would destroy Lollardy and prevent further criticism of the hierarchy, brought about his ruin. Yorkist politicians accused him of Lancastrianism, ecclesiastics accused him of heresy, and he had to choose between recantation or the stake. After a vain attempt to obtain protection from the papacy, Pecock was committed in 1458 to a dreary imprisonment for life in Thorney Abbey; and there he died. Like [illegible] rities made against him was that he wrote on great matters in English, and another that he set the law of nature above the Scriptures and the sacraments. These crimes have now the complexion of

typists do now. The Stationers' Guild, in existence much earlier, was incorporated in 1403 and had a hall in Milk Street. "Paternoster Row" was already known. Prices of materials were stable and costs for ordinary transcription varied from a penny to two-pence a page, according to size. Of course elaborately illuminated books were luxuries, paid for at luxury rates. Ordinary people, then as now, had ordinary books, but were naturally more careful about them. Several of the Pastons owned books and were chary of lending them. Written literature, once the hand-maid of theology, now ministered to rational amusement. The reading public had grown. What was needed was a way of increasing the production of books.

XIII. INTRODUCTION OF PRINTING INTO ENGLAND

The fifteenth century is one of the pauses in history. If ever the life of England seemed to stand still it was during the years from the usurpation of the first Lancastrian to the death of the last Yorkist at Bosworth. The smoke of sacrifice that went up from Lollards in England and from St Joan in France showed the determination of ecclesiastical, dynastic and feudal powers to keep their possessions exempt from any contagion of novelty or change. The known world was small. The Mediterranean was almost literally its centre, as the earth was the centre of the universe. And then, upon the outworks of obstinate medievalism, rang out a series of hammer-strokes that shook the old world to pieces. About 1455 the great printed Bible of Gutenberg appeared at Mainz. In 1453 Constantinople fell before the conquering Turk, and the leaven of classical thought and literature began to spread more rapidly through Europe. In 1492 the New World was discovered. In the same year the last of the Spanish Caliphs left the Peninsula. In 1498 Vasco di Gama reached India by sea.

The coming of print is the most important event of the fifteenth century. As the pen is mightier than the sword, so the press is mightier than the pen. It was soon after the year 1455 that the new art showed its possibilities in Germany. Its progress was rapid. It reached Italy in 1465, Switzerland in 1467, France in 1470, Austria and the Netherlands in 1473, and Spain in 1474. Printers were at work in seventy towns and eight European countries before Caxton set up his press at Westminster. Neither in quality nor quantity does early English printing rank high, but in one respect it is superior to all. The first products of the foreign presses were in Latin; the English press produced books in English, and produced them, not for scholars, but for general readers. So it happens that the greatest literary figure in fifteenth century England is not an author but a

Margery Kempe's autobiography, hitherto known only in brief extracts, was discovered and printed first in 1936, and more exactly in 1940, five centuries after it was written down at her dictation. She confesses her bodily and spiritual difficulties with complete frankness and narrates her pilgrimage to the Holy Land with attractive detail. Margery, like Capgrave, belonged to Lynn. She had read Rolle and Hylton and visited Juliana at Norwich. In her personal experience of religious ecstasy she was so full of tears and outcries as to make herself heartily disliked, but in her public dealings she exhibits the fearless conviction of divine inspiration that we find later in George Fox's Journal, though she was neither heretic nor Lollard, but more orthodox than the

century as in the century of Fox and Bunyan.

Wholly different in kind are the moralized skeleton tales, by no means always moral in themselves, of the famous *Gesta Romanorum* (see p. 53), the great vogue of which is witnessed by the fact that the book was being continually copied in the fifteenth century, and

work which ranks high among medieval forgeries, for it professed to be no less than an epistle on statesmanship addressed by Aristotle to his pupil Alexander the Great.

In historical writing little of importance was accomplished. The *English Chronicle* (1347–1461) made by a monk of Malmesbury or Canterbury, the staid *Cronycullys of Englonde* and the more scholarly *Chronicle* of the Lancastrian John Warkworth (d. 1503) need no more than bare mention. Far more important than any contemporary chronicle is the collection of letters and business papers preserved by the Paston family and first printed in 1787 with an addition in 1789. The modern and much enlarged edition of James Gairdner has superseded the old quartos. *The Paston Letters*, written during the fifteenth century, give a detailed picture of three generations of a well-to-do Norfolk family, their friends and enemies, their dependants and noble patrons, and form an inexhaustible treasure of personal, domestic and historical information about the period.

During the fifteenth century there was a steady increase in the production of books. The monasteries had long ceased to supply the market, and professional scribes produced copies as professional

Presses were set up at Oxford in 1478, and about 1479 at St Albans. Both produced learned rather than popular works. The last book from the latter press is well known under the title of *The Book of St Albans* (1486). It contains three treatises, the first on hawking, the second on hunting, and the last on coat-armour or heraldry. Much has been written about the authorship of this book, which is probably not all from one hand. A reference in one place to "Dam Julyans Bernes" has led to a ridiculous attribution of the book to a prioress, Julyana Berners; but no woman, certainly no prioress, wrote any of it. "Julyana Berners" is a Mrs Harris.

The first printing press in London itself (as distinct from Westminster), set up in 1480 by John Lettou (i.e. the Lithuanian), produced only two Latin books. Lettou entered into partnership with William de Machlinia (i.e. of Mechlin) and produced law books. Their typographical work was better than Caxton's. It was not until about 1483, when Machlinia was at work by himself, that books in English were printed in London. One of his best was the curious *Revelation how a Monk of Evesham was rapt in spirit* (1485), treating allegorically the pilgrimage of a soul through Purgatory to Paradise. Caxton's successor, Wynkyn de Worde (d. 1534?) an Alsatian, and Machlinia's successor, Richard Pynson (d. 1530) a Norman, were efficient printers, not literary amateurs like Caxton. It will be noticed that the immediate post-Caxton printers were not English. Pynson's record of publications includes Lydgate's *Falls of Princes* (1494), Mandeville's *Travels* (1496), a version of the *Imitatio* (1503), Barclay's *Ship of Fools* (1509), Fabyan's *Chronicles* (1516)—first of the series of modern chronicles—and Berners's translation of Froissart (1523). Wynkyn de Worde's list includes Trevisa's *Bartholomew* (1495), *The Pastime of Pleasure* (1509) and other poems by Hawes, a *Canterbury Tales* (1532), and many romances. But the demand for religious and educational books kept the printers busy on less literary work.

Soon after Caxton's death various Antwerp printers began to issue books for the English market. One of these, known as Richard Arnold's *Chronicle* (c. 1502), unexpectedly includes among its commercial and antiquarian entries the famous ballad (really a dramatic lyric) generally called *The Nut Brown Maid*. Nothing whatever is known about the poem, and this inappropriate book is its best source. The appearance of Tindale's New Testament at Worms in 1525 marks an entire change in the character of English books printed abroad. After this time, the foreign presses issued nothing but the works of refugees whose religious or political opinions had made them outcasts. The Reformation dealt a heavy blow at books of entertainment.

During its first fifty years the English press apparently did little for contemporary writers. Skelton seems to be very poorly

printer. William Caxton (1422?–1491) was born in Kent, and lived abroad in Flanders and Burgundy. During a visit to Cologne in 1471, he saw, for the first time, a printing press at work. He determined to practise the new art, and about 1475, in the city of Bruges, the first printed book in English made its appearance. It was *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, translated out of French by Caxton himself. Indeed, Caxton was something of an author. Nearly all his literary work was in the form of translations, but to most of his publications, he added prologues or epilogues which have a pleasant personal touch, and show us that he had one valuable possession, a sense of humour.

In 1476, Caxton returned to England and set up his press at Westminster. His first productions were small books such as Lydgate's [illegible] *and the* [illegible] of Burg[illegible] *ment of Fowls* (1478), Boethius (1478), and the *Stans puer ad mensam* (1479). From what we know of Caxton's tastes, these are just the kind of books that he would be anxious to issue, and there may have been others. The first two large books from his press were *The History of Jason* (1477) and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (1478). In November 1477, was finished the printing of the *Dictes or Sayengs of the Philosophres*, the first dated book issued in England.

[illegible] Th[illegible] 13[illegible] of [illegible] *Legend*, Caxton's most important translation (1483), and Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur* (1485). One manuscript of *Le Morte d'Arthur* has been found. It differs from the printed text. Caxton revised the compilation, adding a prologue, which is the printer's best piece of writing as well as a sound criticism of Malory's romance. The *Eneydos*, translated in 1490, and printed about the same time, is not in any way a translation of the *Aeneid*, but the version of a French romance. The printer's preface is specially interesting, for in it Caxton sets out his views of the English language, its changes and dialects. One other translation by Caxton remains to be noticed, the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, which he mentions himself, but of which no printed copy of his own time is known, though part of a manuscript, "translated and finished by me William Caxton", is in the Pepysian library at Cambridge. Caxton deserves special esteem for his sound sense. He gave the public both what it wanted and what he thought it ought to want. He was a great admirer of Chaucer, and expressed in print his appreciation of the poet and placed a memorial to him in the Abbey. England was fortunate in its first printer.

translated anew from the French and is not a version of the old English edition. The far-away thirteenth century Latin original of Jacopus de Voragine (1230–98) is much altered, as in all translations. The book is a cyclopaedia of sacred legend and instruction, and the public evidently preferred it to Malory or Chaucer, for it went through edition after edition. A blend of religion and entertainment in book or play is perennially popular.

Like *The Golden Legend*, *Le Morte d'Arthur* looks back to the Middle Ages. Though in substance a mosaic of translated quotations, it is, nevertheless, a single literary creation such as no work of Caxton's own can claim to be, and it is the earliest prose book in English to form part of everyman's reading. Author and printer came together at the perfectly right moment. Sir Thomas Malory has been identified with an actual person of the same name; but the identification tells us nothing we need to know. The author of a book so remote and impersonal should remain the shadow of a name, mysterious as the Arthur of his imagination. The book belongs to no age and no condition of normal life, and this "bodiless creation" is an element in its immortality. These tireless champions of the helpless, these eternal lovers and their idealized love, are as remote from time and place as the forests and the fields among which they travel. Medieval stories were, naturally, negligent of causes in a world where the unaccountable so constantly happened. The atmosphere of magic places Malory's characters outside the sphere of criticism, since, given the atmosphere, they are consistent with themselves and their circumstances. Most admirable is the restraint in the portrayal of Arthur, who, as here depicted, is Malory's own creation. He is neither human nor superhuman, but the strong though elusive centre of the magical panorama. The prose in which is unfolded this barely Christianized fairy-tale is almost childlike, but, unlike mere simplicity, it never becomes tedious. Malory, who reaches one hand to Chaucer and one to Spenser, escaped the stamp of a particular epoch and bequeathed a prose epic to literature. He was a poet who wrote in prose, and his lively speech, which is both epic and lyrical, is so simple in its sincerity that it has baffled all the literary imitators.

Tudor prose owes its foundations to three men of affairs who took to literature late in life. Next to Caxton and Malory stands Sir John Bourchier, Lord Berners (1467–1533). It was partly to solace his anxieties while captain of Calais, as well as "to eschew idleness, the mother of all vices" that he executed the series of translations which secure to him the credit of a remarkable threefold achievement. Berners was the first to introduce to our literature the famous figure of Oberon, the fairy king; he was the first to attempt successfully in English the ornate prose style which shortly became fashionable; and he was the first to give our historians a new source-book and a

represented. But it is unsafe to make general charges. Very few early books of any kind survive; and the probability is that small

years between Skelton's satires and *Tottel's Miscellany* were a barren period of book production.

XIV. ENGLISH PROSE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. II

The course of English reading, for a long time, was determined, not by an author, but by a printer. Unlike his fellow-craftsmen abroad, Caxton made no attempt to issue religious texts; and, unlike his fellow-readers at home, he had small interest in the old metrical romances. He preferred to satisfy the chivalric-romantic taste of the court and lettered middle-class by prose translation from French works of already established repute. That *The Four Sons of Aymon* or *Paris and Vienne* had small intrinsic value in no way lessens their importance as a step in the progress of English literature. Books such as these handed on material not disdained by Spenser. They formed a link between medieval and modern romance, and from among them has survived an immortal work, Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur*.

There is no evidence that Caxton's enthusiasm for Chaucer created any demand for books of verse on a large scale, and Lydgate was the only other poet he printed *Piers Plowman* would not have appealed to Caxton's patrons, and he did not touch it. The greater part of Caxton's output took the form of prose translation; and his translations, like his press, must be reckoned as having the stamp of his authority, though other hands undoubtedly helped. A comparison of his editions of *The Golden Legend* and *Polychronicon* with the original English versions leaves the older prose easily first; and in his interesting prefaces we see how it was that he sometimes went wrong. When he had no French example to guide him, he wrote, so to speak, beyond his means. In desiring to avoid a low style he went too high and became involved. When he is content to be plain he is almost as vigorous as Latimer; when he tries to build an elaborate paragraph he loses himself. In this power of writing with a naïve

not of the old. Henceforth, not the substance alone, but its form will challenge attention. Prose, like poetry, becomes conscious literature.

Caxton's largest and most popular book, *The Golden Legend*, was

of studies, and three thousand scholars dispersed, some to Reading, some to Paris, and some to Cambridge. By the end of the twelfth century, Cambridge was a town of importance; but it is not till early in the thirteenth century that genuine history records the presence there of a concourse of clerks. In 1229 a riot in Paris led to a similar migration of scholars from the metropolitan university, and Cambridge shared with Oxford the benefit of the exodus. Thenceforward, Oxford and Cambridge advanced on parallel lines, Oxford having a start of fifty years.

When the irruptions of the barbarians burst upon western Europe, learning had taken refuge in the monasteries. The Benedictines preserved humane culture, and their schools were long in high repute. But the Benedictine scheme of education was directed exclusively to the requirements of the religious life. Though they had schools in Oxford and Cambridge before the rise of the two universities, it was not until after the coming of the mendicants that they were roused to play an active part in English university life. In 1217, within two years after the foundation of their order, the Dominicans planted a settlement in Paris; in 1221 they invaded Oxford; in 1274 they were in Cambridge. They were followed at Oxford in 1224 by the Franciscans, who, at the same time, appeared at Cambridge. Entering in the guise of mendicants, they soon became possessed of valuable property, and their magnificent buildings astonished the scholars of both universities. Other orders followed. It was not their studies but their ambition which lost to the mendicants the favour of the medieval universities. Beginning as assailants of the abuses of the older orders, within a very few years they furnished to the world a still more striking spectacle of moral degradation. They had outstayed their welcome in both universities a full century before Chaucer launched at them the shafts of his humour, Piers Plowman lashed them with invective, and Wyclif poured out on them the vials of his vituperation.

The bulk of the students who thronged the streets of a medieval university were poor, though there were some who were able to set a scandalous example by a display of finery. The poorest resorted to menial or manual tasks to get their daily bread. Others were supported by wealthy friends, patrons, or institutions. Benefactors, even before the college era, endowed loan-chests or founded "exhibitions". The latter half of the thirteenth century is marked by two notable events in university history, the foundation of Walter de Merton's College at Oxford in 1274, and the foundation of what is now Peterhouse at Cambridge in 1284. The college, as the endowed home of students who lived under a rule that was not monastic, was found to be a desirable and practical institution. Before the year 1400 there had arisen in Cambridge six of the present colleges. In Oxford the college of Merton had rivals in six of the existing colleges. We

new model in his famous rendering of Froissart. He made this work [illegible] in impressing the sense of actuality. If Hall and Holinshed borrowed little from Berners in style, they learned from him the way and shape of an enduring chronicle.

In *Arthur of Little Britain* (1555) and *Huon of Bordeaux* (1534), Berners took up the extravagant prose romance of the ordinary medieval type. Huon reminds us of the ignobly born simpleton heroes of German peasant story. Auberon (Oberon) is half-way to [illegible] "lady of the isle" and a [illegible] iddle Ages had the same [illegible] of *Huon* is extremely straightforward, and bears hardly more trace of the graceful fluency of the *Froissart* than of the fantastic prose its translator was next to attempt. To a modern reader it appears strange that the most popular work by the translator of Froissart should have been his rendering of a verbose didactic book by the Spanish secretary of Charles V, Antonio de Guevara, an author whose involutions of language rapidly captivated fashionable taste in Spain, France and England. One writer whom he sophisticated was Marcus Aurelius. [illegible] century. The desire to make prose an art in itself was beginning to be felt; and Berners may be called an initiator of the manner which was to receive its epithet from its most perfect example, *Euphues* What [illegible] the defects of his self-conscious fantastication.

XV. ENGLISH EDUCATION: UNIVERSITIES AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS TO THE TIME OF COLET

When the twelfth century drew to its close, Paris was the English academic metropolis There were already masters and students in Oxford; but what drew them to that town it is not possible to say. Modern research points to the year 1167 as the date at which Oxford became a *studium generale*. By the end of the twelfth century the number of scholars had grown very large. In 1209, when certain Oxford clerks were hanged by King John on suspicion of complicity in the death of a woman, the Oxford masters proclaimed a suspension

XVI. TRANSITION ENGLISH SONG COLLECTIONS

Though the surviving manuscripts are few, many English songs of this period have been preserved, some evidently much earlier than the date of transcription and showing the influence of folk-song. The characteristics of folk-poetry are, as to substance, repetitions, interjections, questions, and refrains; and, as to form, a verse accommodated to the dance. The refrain is so generally employed that a song without it is the exception. The interjections ("Troly, loly", "Hey, ho", and so forth) were perhaps stamping rhythms, with sounds imitated from some musical instrument. Some of the songs have preserved refrain, interjection and repetition as well, as in the familiar piece of which each stanza begins with "*I have twelve oxen*", includes "With hey, with how", and ends with the refrain, "Saweste not you myn oxen, you litill prety boy?" This is the kind of song that can still be heard in children's games, when individual singers in turn detach themselves from the chorus to perform some ritual of dancing or counting or touching. A delightful fragment of repeated question and answer is that beginning, "Maiden in the moor lay"; and pure repetition is the characteristic of the well-known "Adam lay ibowndyn". Frequent ecclesiastical denunciations testified to the prevalence of communal singing in medieval England; but so much more potent are custom and cult than authority, that women, dressed in the borrowed costumes of men, continued to dance and sing in wild chorus within the very churchyards, in unwitting homage to the old heathen deities.

The carol was originally a dance-song. It scandalized the clergy, and both words and motions were, in time, made respectable. Carols were sung at any festive season; but Christmas, being a time of traditional rejoicing to mark the lengthening days, became the chief occasion of carols, and they have generally the repeated refrain, "Noël". Some of them, in their metres, lean for support on Latin hymns, and use, as refrains, actual phrases or lines from the canticles, sequences, and graduals in missal or breviary. Christmas carols deal either with sacred themes suggested by the Nativity, or with secular themes appropriate to rejoicing. Charming are the songs of ivy and holly which were sung in connection with some little game or ceremony of the season. "Holly and his mery men" were matched in friendly contest with "Ivy and her jentyll women". But whatever the song may be, the conclusion of the matter is that "Holly must have the mastry". Related to the Christmas carols are the spiritual songs: some simple cradle songs, some dialogues between mother and babe, and some anticipations, by one or the other, of the coming Passion. They are deeply affecting. From "Lullay, by by,

[illegible]

sity which is the puzzle of the continental observer.

To William of Wykeham (1324–1404) is due a further development of the educational conception of both university and college. He was inspired to establish in Oxford a college which should outrival the most splendid foundation of the university of Paris. The "New College" was to combine the features of a society of learning with those of a collegiate church William also conceived the idea of [illegible]

to proceed to priests's orders It was as a direct imitator of Wykeham that Henry VI, in 1440–1, founded the allied institutions of King's College, Cambridge, and "the College Roiall of oure Ladie of Eton beside Windsor". Half the fellows and scholars of Winchester were transferred to Eton to constitute the nucleus of the royal school, of which William Waynflete (1395?–1486), the Winchester schoolmaster, became an early provost.

The studies of the medieval university were based on the seven liberal arts. Three of these, grammar, logic and rhetoric, constituted the *trivium*; the bachelor passed on to the *quadrivium*—arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy—his conquest of which was denoted by the licence or degree of master of arts. To these seven arts, the thirteenth century added the three philosophies—natural, moral, and metaphysical. Of written examinations the medieval student knew nothing whatever; his progress was secured by the reading of set books and enforced attendance at assigned lectures, by frequent "posing" and debate, and, lastly, by the necessity of himself delivering lectures after attaining the baccalaureate. The education offered to the young student in the Middle Ages was essentially utilitarian: he was trained for a particular kind of service. A few rules of grammatical expression, some elementary calculations, geometry, some ill-informed geography, music enough for the singing of a mass, and Ptolemaic astronomy, directed to the correct determination of Easter—these, with skill in argument, constituted the ripe fruit of the course in *trivium* and *quadrivium*. But though the medieval universities offered their scholars nothing resembling an education in the large humanities, they were the centres of intense, if narrow, intellectual enthusiasm, and their worst products would [illegible]

scope of the present sketch.

unrequited love or the treachery of a false lover. The form easily lent itself to the presentation of overheard ribaldry. The *chansons à personnages* shade into the English May poems, the refrain of a *chanson* sometimes being taken from popular English verse. The May poems that follow the English tradition all breathe the blithe, out-of-doors spirit. Of kindred spirit are hunting songs, songs of the "joly fosters" who love the forest, the bow, and the horn, and desire no other life. All the songs, delightful in themselves, are important as part of the national history, for they tell us that the Elizabethan lyric was no sudden coming of a new thing into English literature.

XVII. BALLADS

The word ballad is used rather loosely. Sundry shorter poems, lyrics, hymns, "flytings", political satires, mawkish stories, last confessions of malefactors, and so forth, have gone by the name of ballad. Ballad societies have published a vast amount of street-songs, broadsides and ditties, which are not ballads in any sense. The genuine ballad has these special marks of character: (1) it is a narrative poem without any discernible indication of personal authorship; (2) it is strong, bare, objective, and free from general sentiments or reflections; (3) it was meant originally for singing, and, as its name implies, was connected at some time with dancing; (4) it has been submitted to a process of oral tradition among unsophisticated people fairly homogeneous in life, habit and outlook, and below the level at which conscious literary art appears. Conditions favourable to the composition of such poetry ceased to be general after the fifteenth century; and though ballads were both preserved and produced after that date in isolated rural communities, the instinct that produced and the habit that transmitted them were survivals from a vanished age. In the process of oral transmission ballads tended to lose their dramatic, mimetic, and choral character, and to become narrative or epic; and thus many have failed to keep their once essential refrains; but they have kept both the impersonal note and the freedom from all trace of deliberate artifice. No verse of this sort can be produced under the conditions of modern life, and the three hundred and five ballads represented by some thirteen hundred versions in F. J. Child's collection (1882–98) set the patterns which later revivals or recoveries tended to follow.

Misunderstanding the references of certain chroniclers, people have assumed the existence of a body of early "ballads" now lost. But not a single specimen can be produced. The surviving heroic poetry, from *Beowulf* to *The Battle of Maldon*, is not ballad poetry. Early lyric verse is not ballad poetry. The earliest recorded piece of English verse with signs of the ballad upon it is the *Canute Song*

lullay" to "Stond wel, moder, under rode", these old songs carry us, with their moving simplicity, from Crib to Cross.

Growing out of the simple religious songs we find hortatory and

counterparts of the brawling scenes in the old plays, and bid for laughter by representing the goodman defeated and driven out by a shrewish and voluble wife. Of all popular poems, the convival songs, with their festivity and their rollicking spirits, are the most engaging. Some drinking songs are daring parodies of hymns, justifications of drinking by the Sacrament, *credos* of wine, women and song. These were already venerable in the fifteenth century. Drinking songs are early types of communal verse, and the folk-element is apparent in many of them, especially in that which has for its refrain: "But bryng us in good ale."

b

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phrase it holds the hearers' minds relentlessly to the contemplation of that which must come.

I

to

wh

include the address, the *débat*, the *pastourelle*, and the *ballade*. The address is a poem in stately and formal language wherein the poet

one song by Henry VIII still survives in a popular modern form:

> Hey, troly loly lo, maide, whether go you?
> I go to the medowe to mylke my cowe.

A more primitive type of *pastourelle* is that in which a shepherd laments the obduracy of a shepherdess. Light-foot measures, such as the *lai* and the *descort*, exerted a noteworthy influence upon the late transition lyrics. A French type which has influenced several English songs without being exactly imitated in any is the *aube*, or com-

morn, a theme to be

f Romeo and Juliet.

Though English songs

gradually changed it into something suited for narration, with a tendency towards the epic, the chronicle, the story, the romance. We may note, as a parallel, that among children the "action song" gradually becomes the "recitation", as they grow older.

The ballads fall into two main classes. One, demonstrably the older in structure, tends in form to the couplet with alternating refrain or burden, and in matter to the rendering of a single situation. A dominating feature here, often recorded and always to be assumed, is repetition, in a form peculiar to balladry. When, however, the "action poem" began to move towards narrative, the ballad was lengthened in plot, scope, details, and was shorn of its now useless refrain. Thus arose a second class, the long ballad, recited or chanted to a monotonous tune by a singer. Instead of the short singing piece, steeped in repetition, we have deliberate narrative, without the old repetitions and refrains, and dealing with progressive situations, sometimes at length. By a happy chance, this epic process can be followed into its final stage. We have numerous ballads which tell different adventures in the life of Robin Hood; and we have an actual epic poem, formed upon these ballads or their very close counterparts, which embodies the adventures in a coherent whole. Between the style of *The Gest of Robyn Hode*, however, and the style of the best Robin Hood ballads, there is almost no difference at all; and these may well represent the end of the epic process of balladry. In metrical form, they hold to the quatrain made up of alternating verses of four and three measures, which is not very far from the old couplet with its two alternating verses of the refrain. The well-known opening of *Robyn Hood and the Monk* shows the change in form and the new smoothness of narrative:

In somer, when the shawes be sheyne
  And leves be large and long,
Hit is full mery in feyre foreste
  To hear the foulys song.

After another similar stanza, the story begins with a dialogue between Little John and Robin, passes into the third personal narrative, and so tells its tale with a good plot and plenty of incident.

Old as it is by record, this Robin Hood ballad seems far more finished, familiar, and modern than a ballad recovered centuries later from oral tradition in Scotland, short, intense, abrupt, with communal song for every other line of it from beginning to end, a single dominant situation, a dramatic and choral setting. The refrain is repeated with each stanza:

There were three ladies lived in a bower,
  Eh vow bonnie,
And they went out to pull a flower

(see p. 28). This fragment is of great historical value, for it is not [illegible] no one can say. There is nothing like it for many years after.

The "ballad question" has been fiercely debated and must here be summarily dismissed. Opinions have ranged between the extremes of the "original artist" theory and the "communal composition" theory. [illegible] It is certai [illegible] de, preserved or transmitted by professional minstrels, though later minstrels may have sung versions of some of them, as modern street-singers sing what they suppose to be the words and tunes of old songs. Such poems as minstrels are known to have made do not resemble the genuine ballads. The old ballads were not made and sung *for* the people, they were made and sung *by* the people. As in children's singing games, performers and audience were one. This has been considered improbable and even impossible; but nothing is impossible in the making of poetry, and, in any case, we must remember the times and circumstances. Ballads were not produced in a final form (there is no "final form") either by individual artists or by communal committees earnestly anxious to create genuine "folk-poetry" for later admiration. Someone suggested, improvised or made something for a particular or general occasion, and, after that, many others *made that something over again for their own particular or general* occasions. Whatever was made lived, so to speak, a mouth-to-ear existence for several generations; and so the surviving ballads exhibit evolutionary processes of adaptation, accretion and attrition. All genuine poetry of universal appeal is, in a sense, miraculous; the [illegible] too strongly upon chronology, for one of the latest recorded ballads may be older in form than another written down in a much earlier manuscript. The ballad may not be specially miraculous; but the circumstances of composition and preservation make it an independent poetic species. A choral throng, with improvising singers, is the almost certain origin of the ballad as a poetic form. It is to singing and improvisation that one turns for origins, and it is to tradition that one turns for the growth and spread of the versions themselves. Origin made the ballad something suited for group-acting, group-singing and group-dancing; oral preservation and transmissio

comes a long outlaw ballad, *Adam Bell, Clim of the Cleugh and William of Cloudesley*; and, slightly later, there follow in manuscript, *Cheviot* and *Otterburn, Captain Car* and a version of *Sir Andrew Barton*. Only eleven ballads, as Kittredge notes, "are extant in manuscripts older than the seventeenth century". The most important of all ballad sources is the folio volume (written about 1650) found and rescued by Bishop Percy. This contains a strange medley of poems good and bad, with many of the finest ballads interspersed. From this Percy drew his *Reliques*, printed in 1765 and sophisticated to suit eighteenth-century taste. The whole folio has since been printed. It is the most important of all ballad sources. To this has been added material gathered by many collectors—the name of Walter Scott standing nobly among them.

Regarded as material, the oldest are the ballads of question and answer made at dances and games. Close to this form is the "flyting" or challenging ballad, with its alternate request for impossible things. The ballad of domestic complication, or tragedy of kin, with a dramatic "recognition", looms large in all European tradition. The stealing of a bride was an obvious subject of this ballad of situation. Among elopement stories, *Gil Brenton* is worthy of note; the type, however, easily passes into the rout of tales about runaways, fair or foul, mainly localized in Scotland. Very different is the tone of two good ballads, *Willie's Lyke-Wake* and *The Gay Goshawk*, where love finds out the way by stratagem and inspires robust verse of the old kind.

Tradition at its purest characterizes the great ballads of domestic tragedy. *Edward*, for example, is so inevitable, so concentrated, that some critics would refer it to art; but tradition can bring about these qualities in its own way. *Lord Randal*, with its bewildering number of versions, *Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard*, a favourite in Shakespeare's day, *Glasgerion*, a simple but powerful ballad on a theme which no poet could now handle without constraint, *Child Maurice, The Cruel Brother, The Twa Brothers*—all these offer tragedy of the false mistress, the false wife, the false servant, and tragedy of more complicated matter. Wives false and wives true are pictured in two Scottish ballads, *The Baron o' Brackley* and *Captain Car*, both founded on fact. *The Braes o' Yarrow* knew another faithful wife. The treacherous nurse in *Lamkin*—a satiric name for its bloody and revengeful villain—long frightened Scottish children. Finally, there is the true-love. The adjective is beautifully justified in *The Three Ravens*, less well known than its cynical counterpart, *The Twa Corbies*. True-love is false in *Young Hunting*; and fickle lovers come to grief in *Lord Lovel, Fair Margaret and Sweet William*, and *Lord Thomas and Fair Annet*. Fate, not fickleness, however, brings on the tragedy in *Fair Janet, Lady Maisey, Clerk Saunders*; *Child Waters*, which both Child

[illegible]
refrain of the throng is constant; and the action advances, not by continuous narrative, but by a series of repetitions, each repetition containing an increment, a new phrase or word, to match the new posture of affairs. This incremental repetition is the main mark of the [illegible]
relatives being as long or as short as need arises. Of course, few ballads remain in this mimal stage. They pass into oral tradition, and are sung as stories rather than presented as action.

We may thus summarize the facts of ballad progress: What gave the ballad its existence as a poetic species was a choral, dramatic presentation. Refrain of the throng, and improvisation by various singers, leant heavily, as all primitive poetry teaches us, on repetition. To advance the action this repetition became incremental. The rhythmic form into which the ballad verse naturally ran is that four-accent couplet known everywhere in popular song. With the refrain this couplet formed a quatrain; in later and longer ballads, as also in some of the short "situation" ballads, the refrain is replaced by a second and fourth line, constituents of the regular stanza, which may be an actual substitution for the refrain, or a carry-over of the three-accent portion of the old *septenarius* or "fourteener". This account of the ballad discusses it as a poetic species. A discussion of the matter dealt with in actual ballads is a different question, which must not be confused with the other. This, taking us into the realm of folk-lore, myth, superstition and traditional history, does not call for investigation in an outline of literary development.

Let us now briefly consider the ballads as a body. The quantity of material is so great that only a few examples can be cited. Familiar and charming pieces like *The Nut Brown Maid* and *The Children in the Wood* are individual poems in the ballad manner, but have not the marks of popular tradition upon them. The oldest ballad, by record, is *Judas*, from a manuscript of the thirteenth century. *St Stephen and Herod* may be dated about 1450, the time also of *Robyn Hood and the Monk* and *Robyn and Gandeleyn*, which are followed, half a century later, by *Robin Hood and the Potter*, and by the earliest printed copy of *The Gest of Robyn Hode*. In print of the early sixteenth century

sunshine play through them; and the distinction, old as criticism itself, which assigns them to nature rather than to art, though it was overworked by the romantic school, and will always be liable to abuse, is practical and sound.

XVIII. POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS VERSE TO THE CLOSE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The Anglo-Norman literature of the period hardly falls within the scope of this volume. Our main concern is now with literature in English. The troublesome reigns of the kings from Edward III to Richard III moved poets to many kinds of utterance. Of the greatest, *Piers Plowman*, we have already spoken; we must now consider the more fugitive verse. Many specimens can be found in *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. Thomas Wright, 2 vols., Rolls Series (1859–61). Both Latin and English poems against the Lollards and songs against the friars are common. In the Middle Ages, popular singers who followed their calling along the king's highway helped, often enough, to fan the flames of rebellion, political and religious; and thus, consciously or unconsciously, they contributed to political and religious emancipation. The victory of Agincourt and the later siege of Calais gave further employment to song writers. But there were verses also of constructive intention. In 1436–7 a poem called *The Libel* (i.e. little book) *of English Policy* begins by "exhortynge alle England to kepe the see environ". This remarkable piece is the first example of propaganda in favour of a strong navy, and its influence was considerable in later years. The author does not overlook the importance of Ireland and Wales in strategy and commerce alike, and his "unionism" is fervid. It is difficult to resist his conclusion:

> The end of bataile is pease sikerlye,
> And power causeth pease finally.

The last political poem to which reference need be made is a mocking dirge called forth by the high-handed execution of Henry VI's favourite, the unpopular Duke of Suffolk, in 1450. This, like other fifteenth-century songs—for it was probably sung—is remarkable for its metrical resource.

In the preceding chapter something was said in praise of the early religious songs. The same tenderness of feeling combined with perfection of form can be found in such poems as that beginning "Somer is comen and winter gon", in Eve's lines in the *Ludus Coventriae* beginning "Alas that evyr that speche was spokyn", in the exquisite carol from the early fifteenth-century Sloane MS. beginning "I syng of a mayden that is makeles", and in the *Quia*

and Grundrvig praise as the pearl of English ballads, belongs to the group of poems celebrating woman's constancy under direct provocation.

Ballads of the funeral, echoes of the old *coronach*, are scantily preserved in English; *Bonnie James Campbell* and *The Bonny Earl of Murray* may serve as types; but the noblest outcome of popular [illegible]

Epic material of every sort was run into the ballad mould, and possibly the romances of Europe sprang, in their own turn, from ballads. History, often perverted, but true as tradition, forms the matter of such ballads as *Sir Andrew Barton, King James and Brown* [illegible]

the same fight, *Cheviot* and *Otterburn*. The version of the former known as *Chevy Chace*, "written over for the broadside press", as Child remarks, was the object of Addison's well-known praise; what S[illegible]
prefer [illegible]
Johnie C[illegible]
But the great figure is Robin Hood. Absolutely a creation of the ballad muse, he is the hero of a sterling little epic, and of thirty-six extant individual ballads, good and bad.

The aesthetic values of the ballad call for no long comment. They are the values which attach to plain, strong verse, intent upon its object. Tropes, figures and sophisticated literary tricks are alien to the ballad style. The metrical freedoms of the ballads are daring and successful and offer a stimulating contrast to the jog-trot measures afterwards imposed in the name of smoothness. Signs of musical setting or accompaniment can be easily recognized, for there is more life and freedom in words sung or spoken than in words merely written and printed. In "accomplishment of verse" the ballads are as little primitive as *Beowulf* or *The Iliad*; but they give a primitive and unspoiled poetic sensation, for they speak not only in the language of tradition, but also with the voice of the multitude. [illegible] free: they have n[illegible] feeling". They c[illegible] air; wind and

CHAPTER III

RENASCENCE AND REFORMATION

I. ENGLISHMEN AND THE CLASSICAL RENASCENCE

The classical Renascence, or rediscovery of classical thought and literature, implied both a knowledge of the classical writers and ability to use the Greek and Latin languages. Italy gave it birth, and it gradually spread beyond the Alps into Germany, France and England. It created a kind of cosmopolitan republic in a Europe almost savage, supremely war-like and comparatively untaught. It spread widely and silently until the mark of a well-educated person of either sex was ability to read Greek and to speak and write in Latin. There was, of course, another side to the picture. The devotees of Greek and Latin became disdainful of their mother tongues and were inclined to believe that cultured thought could find fit expression only in the language of Cicero. But their use of the common speech of this literary republic gave them an audience in all parts of educated Europe, and, in the course of years, enriched the vernaculars both with new words and with new graces of style and expression.

The cosmopolitan character of the Renascence is especially illustrated by the career of Erasmus, who belongs almost as much as Linacre, Colet and More to the intellectual history of England. Gerrit Gerritszoon (1466?–1536) was born at Rotterdam and took as a public name "The One Desired" in Latin and Greek, "Desiderius Erasmus". He visited England for the first time in the summer of 1499, and during a six months' stay came to know the chief English scholars, especially Colet, Grocyn, Linacre and More, of whom he writes with enthusiasm. Their influence upon him was profound; for they were not only great scholars, but men of lofty spiritual aspiration. Erasmus the humanist became Erasmus the Christian humanist. Colet taught him to distrust Aquinas as much as he had distrusted Duns Scotus, and to see in the editing and translation of the Scriptures a task worthy of a scholar's powers.

The pioneers of classical learning in England were obscure persons, whose names need not detain us here. One of them kindled the flame of scholarship in his pupil Thomas Linacre (c. 1460–1524), who later at Oxford studied Greek under Cornelio Vitelli, the first to teach Greek publicly in England. Thereafter Linacre spent some years in Italy, where he met the great figures of the Renascence and pursued the study of medicine. On his return to England he became famous both as scholar and physician. It was from Linacre that

rev. 1903) and in Carleton Brown's *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*. There are, of course, duller and more sophisticated utterances than these. Mysticism often defeats by excess, and didactic purpose usually ends in boredom. But that happy sense of familiarity with the company of Heaven, which is one of the characteristics of an age of simple faith, finds delightful expression in hymns, and, above all, in the religious plays. These, which were written to be understood by the common folk, clearly reflect the taste of the people in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It was not gold and frankincense and myrrh that would appeal most to the imagination of the idler in the market place, but a ball, a bird, and a "bob of cherys" which the visiting shepherds give to the Christ-Child, as they address him with "Hayll, lytyll tynē mop!" These writers and actors "served God in their mirth", but they were not allowed to go on their way unmolested. There are poems against

century), a versified translation from Latin. To this we may add *The Babees Book* (c. 1475), *The Lytille Childrenes Lytil Boke* (c. 1480), *The Boke of Curtasye* (c. 1450), and other works of instruction, in which the wise man teaches his son and the good wife her daughter. The middle of the fifteenth century gives us the *Book of Quinte Essence*, an early treatise on "natural science", from which we may learn (among other things) how "to reduce an oold feble evangelik man to the firste strenkthe of yongthe". And in a fourteenth-century manuscript the curious will even learn how "to make a woman say the(e) what thu askes hir". Woman was ever a disturbing factor, and

, in the

That it

lacks a Chaucer or a Spenser is certain; but a century, the beginning of which saw the English Mandeville translators at work, and the end of which saw one of those versions printed, a century to which may be credited *The Flower and the Leaf*, *The Paston Letters*, Caxton's prefaces and translations, *Le Morte d'Arthur*, *The Nut Brown Maid*, the ballads, the lyrics and carols, sacred and profane, and many of the miracle plays in their present form, can hold its own with even the best.

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More learned Greek at Oxford. William Grocyn (c. 1446–1519) followed Linacre to Italy and met the same scholars. His lectures at Oxford on the writings of the so-called Dionysius the Areopagite, long supposed to have been a convert of St Paul, had remarkable effect, notably on John Colet (c. 1467–1519), Dean of St Paul's, whose own influence as the chief Christian humanist of England worked powerfully upon the generation that made the Renascence the instrument of Reformation. Colet seems to have awakened to his special vocation in Italy, probably under the influence of Savonarola. His was a typically English mind, conservative, practical, [illegible] turned to the earlier fathers and especially to the pseudo-Dionysius, who supported his belief that God could not be imprisoned in formulas. In particular he revolted from the prevalent mode of [illegible] of a true interpretation of Scripture was to discover the personal message which the individual writer meant to give; and this led him, in his lectures on the Epistle to the Romans, to seek for every trace of the personality of St Paul. Colet was, in fact, the first to introduce the historical method of interpreting Scripture, and, as such, was far in advance, not merely of his own time, but of many succeeding generations. Colet is now best remembered by his educational work, and specially as the founder of St Paul's School. The Latin grammar written by himself and William Lily, the first headmaster of the school, and afterwards revised by Erasmus, remained the standard text-book for two centuries, and its use was very nearly made compulsory by Parliament. In 1758, after further emendations, it became the *Eton Latin Grammar*. Colet's determination not to allow any ecclesiastical control over his school, his openly expressed disbelief in the efficacy of relics and pilgrimages, and his refusal to leave money to be expended in masses for the benefit of his soul, indicate the spirit of a convinced religious reformer.

John Fisher (1459–1535), Bishop of Rochester, deserves brief mention in this place, not because he took high rank himself as a humanist, but because he was the means of bringing Erasmus to lecture on Greek in Cambridge (1511–14) at the very time when the [illegible] and the beloved friend of Erasmus, was the one member of the band

of English humanists who had a distinct gift of literary genius. At Oxford he became a good Latinist and a fair scholar in Greek. Even when he was a highly successful lawyer with a lucrative commercial practice he lectured on the philosophy and history of Augustine's *City of God.* As a member of Parliament he resisted the royal exactions, and was reluctantly drawn into the royal service, in which, however, he rose rapidly, becoming in the end Lord Chancellor in succession to Wolsey. He was the first layman to hold that office. More had no illusions about his royal master, and the end came almost as he had foreseen. Having refused to take any oath which denied the Pope's supremacy in matters of faith he was confined in the Tower amid circumstances of spiteful and gratuitous hardship. The humorous serenity characteristic of his life never forsook him, and displays itself in the moving letters to his daughter, Margaret Roper, scribbled on scraps of paper with a piece of charcoal because writing materials had been taken from him. He went to his death in July 1535, jesting with the executioner in the act of mounting the scaffold. English history can show few baser acts than the judicial murder of this great and good man. More's literary fame rests on his book universally known as *Utopia* ("Nowhere"), though he gave it a lengthy Latin title that actually does not include that famous name. It discusses in its few pages many of the problems, interests and activities of its time—political speculation, voyages of discovery, the iniquitous wars and leagues of rulers scrambling for extensions of dominion in Europe, royal indifference to social injustice, the growth of crime caused by lack of employment, and the possibilities of a polity in which health and well-being for all are deliberately sought, in which national service is applied to construction instead of to destruction, and in which a liberal existence is made possible by good-will and toleration. It is interesting to detect anticipations of modern social development in More's imaginary island, but the longest and most valuable part of the book is that which describes, not Utopia, but England. The brief account of Utopia itself is little more than an appended parable. In others words the book (like all its later progeny) is mainly a picture of its own time—a criticism of the present rather than a construction of the future. The force of its appeal is attested by the fact that it has added an indispensable word to the world's vocabulary. The book itself illustrates the pleasing internationalism of scholarship, for it was written by the Englishman More in the universal Latin, it received additions from the Flemish Peter Giles, it was revised by the Dutch Erasmus, it was first printed (1516) at Louvain, then at Paris, and then later at Basle, where it was illustrated by two woodcuts from the hand of the German Holbein. No edition appeared in England or in English until after More's death. Ralph Robynson's translation (1551) has the flavour of the

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perhaps, the author's condemnation of the use of French and Italian phrases and idioms, which, he complains, are "counterfeiting the kinges Englishe".

It remains to note briefly another instance of the spread of classical knowledge. School and college plays began to draw as much as possible from classical sources, both in character and in expression, and the great men of antiquity became familiar figures to the commonalty. Thus, classical learning, at first the possession of the few, passed gradually into the general inheritance. Shakespeare is not far distant from Chaucer by measurement of time; but the now familiar classical allusions, intelligible to Shakespeare's audience, would have been almost meaningless to the readers of Chaucer.

II. REFORMATION LITERATURE IN ENGLAND

The Reformation left its mark upon the national literature. It gave us, most notably, the English Bible and *The Book of Common Prayer*; but it also produced a number of tracts, treatises, sermons and books of devotion, which seemed to the age itself of hardly less importance. The temptation is strong to regard this Reformation literature as the descendant of Lollard tracts and versions; but it is the successor rather than the descendant; and the two movements are best regarded as successive manifestations of the same tendency toward critical and constructive revolt in religion.

The revival of letters had already shown its power at Oxford, where, as we have seen, Colet, More and Erasmus had directed it into religious channels. A few words should be said about the impulse which Erasmus gave to religious thought and learning in Cambridge. Fisher welcomed him there, and he became Lady Margaret Reader (1511). Tindale and Coverdale both admired him. Cranmer was notably influenced by him, and many others, of lesser fame, were inspired from the same source, and urged the pre-eminent claim of the Bible upon theological students. The English Reformation began at Cambridge, and the Cambridge movement began with Erasmus. The new movement took many forms, and spread in many ways. It was not always revolutionary, and in one direction it turned to older forms of devotion. Religion in England had enriched the liturgical services of the church with the Sarum use and with uses less popular, like those of Hereford and York; it had inspired the *Primers*, books of private devotion, translated in the fourteenth century from Latin into English, and printed at early dates and in many forms. Attempts were made to fit these to popular needs, and the noble result was *The Book of Common Prayer*. But even more important was the coming of the English Bible, the greatest monument of the Reformation here. Colet at Oxford and Erasmus at

time, but is less exact than later ones made in the seventeenth (Burnet), the nineteenth (Cayley) and the twentieth centuries (Paget, Richards). *Utopia* is best read in its own Latin, with a modern [illegible]

[illegible] against Frith (all c. 1530). More's English writings, first collected by W. Rastell in 1557, with their vivid idiomatic words, their carefully constructed well-balanced sentences, and their modulated cadences exhibit the scholar and the imitator of the Latin classics. [illegible] one of the makers [illegible] William Roper [illegible]

Among those who, following Erasmus in his highly popular *Adagia* and *Colloquia*, strove to make use of the writings of antiquity for the instruction and edification of their contemporaries were Sir Thomas Elyot (1490?–1546) and Dr Thomas Wilson (1525–81). The former is best known by his treatise, *The Boke named the Governour* (1531), and the latter by his *Arte of Rhetorique* (1553). Elyot's book is [illegible] rowed from the humanists of Italy. Elyot's reputation among his contemporaries rested on more than his *Boke of the Governour*. He wrote *The Castel of Helth* (1539) containing prescriptions and remedies largely selected from Galen and other medical authorities of antiquity. His two tracts, *A swete and devoute sermon of Holy Saint Ciprian of Mortalitie of Man* and *The Rules of a Christian lyfe made by Picus, erle of Mirandula* (1534), gave food for the soul. His translations and adaptations were very popular, and were often reprinted. They are too numerous for discussion here. Henry VIII encouraged [illegible] rendered it accessible to the mass of the people who had no acquaintance with the languages of antiquity. Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique* is almost exclusively drawn from such old masters as Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian. There is little or no originality in the volume, save,

One new feature of the Prayer Book had been its exhortations. Not only was much Scripture introduced, but short discourses or admonitions, Scriptural, pointed, majestic, were also added. The wish to instruct shown by these compositions found a larger field for itself in the *Homilies*, the first book of which (1547) was edited by Cranmer, who himself wrote the homilies of salvation, of faith and of good works. A "seconde tome" issued under Elizabeth (in 1563) was lengthier, less interesting and feebler in style than the first book. The increasing stress laid upon edification made itself felt through the pulpit literature of the day.

Among popular preachers, John Longland (1473–1547), Bishop of Lincoln and Chancellor of Oxford, had a great following; so, upon the other side, had John Hooper, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester. But the reputation of these preachers was overshadowed by the greater fame of Hugh Latimer. Latimer (1485?–1555) had at first opposed the new teaching, but the influence of Thomas Bilney brought him over to the "Germans", as the Cambridge band of new theologians were called. Latimer attacked specially those abuses which Erasmus had satirized—indulgences, pilgrimages and veneration of images; upon the positive side he laid stress on the life and example of Christ, and held up a high ideal of conduct. His sermons, with their homely anecdotes and commonplace allusions, are valuable for us historically. They are even more valuable as a revelation of character. Latimer preached because he *must*. He knew nothing of literary art, but he knew how to deliver a message to the people.

William Tindale (d. 1536) is to us, above all, the translator of the Scriptures; but to his own age he was at least as much the theological pamphleteer. Of his early life little is known. He went to Oxford, and spent some time afterwards in Cambridge. It was about 1520 that he formed his great design of translating the Bible into English. Finding it difficult to do this in England he crossed to Hamburg in 1524. It was possible to print books abroad and send them into England by an evasion of the existing regulations. In Germany, Tindale came into contact with others who had left England for religious reasons. Some of them were fanatics of the most extreme kind, and his own absorption in his task and his curious love of self-assertion tended to make him somewhat peevish in his dealings. The story of his adventures abroad is not pleasing. It is a relief to turn from the violence of Tindale's pamphleteering to his Biblical translation. His scholarship was adequate, and he was not dependent upon the Vulgate alone. *St Matthew* and *St Mark* were published separately, but in 1525–6 the whole New Testament was printed and sent to England. Measures were taken against it; but they proved a failure. In 1534 Tindale published a revised edition with certain changes. In 1535 he was treacherously seized at Antwerp, and in

Cambridge had proclaimed the supremacy of the Bible over the teaching of the church as the rule of Christian life; but many years were to pass and many good men were to suffer before the Bible in English became a permitted possession.

With the greater sharpness of national divisions and the stronger coherence of national languages, the use of the vernacular in the services of the church was more and more demanded throughout Christendom. In England the first step towards uniformity of liturgical use was the re-issue of the Sarum breviary (1542) for [illegible] of these popular works of devotion, and was intended to check the diversity which the printing press had intensified. Henry had ordered Cranmer to turn certain prayers into English and to see that they were used in his province. This royal *Primer* embodied the English Litany, the beautiful prose of which is undoubtedly Cranmer's. The same literary genius was now to work upon a larger field.

Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556) went to Cambridge and followed the usual academic course before he turned to the study of [illegible] not required to discuss here the character of Cranmer either as a man or as an ecclesiastical statesman. Judged by the standard of More, he shows pitiful weakness; but he transfigured all his past by the courage of his end. What is not fully appreciated is that Cranmer's apparent vacillations represent faithfully much of the uncertain mind of the [illegible] of the Litany as he found it and the majestic rhythm he gave it. His actual writings are unimportant. He is not inspired except as a liturgist, and so his greatest work is *The Book of Common Prayer*, which, though owing very much to the literary and religious instinct of the age, owed most of all to him. The matters of doctrine and ritual involved in Edward VI's Prayer Book of 1549 and the later revisions do not concern us. As an example of English prose the book remains as Cranmer left it. It is admirable, not only as an absolute achievement in the writing of English, but as a compilation exquisitely tuned to every need of worship.

the end it was superseded by the Authorized Version (1611), prepared after the Hampton Court Conference. It should be noted that these Bibles varied in their treatment of the Apocrypha: Coverdale's, Matthew's and the Genevan Bible, following Continental Protestant usage, differentiated it from the Old Testament, and after 1629, when we have the first example, editions of Bibles without the Apocrypha became common. Apart from any critical or theological views supposed to be involved, this omission was a serious literary loss, which is now being more understood.

Very little use appears to have been made in Scotland of the earliest English translations. The Scots New Testament of Murdoch Nisbet (c. 1510) was, however, based upon Purvey's version of the earlier Wyclifite translation. The importation of Tindale's translation into Scotland checked the use of this, and perhaps deprived us of a whole Bible that would have been of great linguistic and literary interest. See further pp. 71 and 94.

One result of the growing use of the vulgar tongue in worship calls for mention. The hymns in the daily offices had always been popular, and some kind of substitute became necessary. An obvious source was the Book of Psalms. Thomas Sternhold, a Hampshire gentleman, and governor of the robes to Henry VIII, attempted to turn the minds of the nobles to higher things by circulating some of the Psalms in verse (1548). After Sternhold's death, John Hopkins, a Suffolk clergyman, published Sternhold's versions with some of his own (1549). In later editions he increased the number, and in 1562 *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, by Sternhold, Hopkins, Thos. Norton and others, appeared in verse and was added to the Prayer Book. Not only was this done, but melodies, some of which are still in popular use, were also printed. A rival appeared in the Genevan Psalter, prepared by certain of the English exiles, and from this Calvinistic version descended the Scots Psalter of 1564.

One fact about Reformation literature may be noted. It began in the medieval fashion of composite or anonymous authorship. But presently the weight of well-known names began to tell, and the printing press, fixing once for all the very words of a writer, put an end to processes which had often hidden authorship. The Reformation began with medieval theses upon medieval controversies; it ended, here, with the English Bible and the English Prayer Book, which are, in the best sense, popular, and as modern as any other great literature.

1536 he was burned at Vilvorde. But his great work was done. In the very year of his martyrdom an edition of his New Testament was printed in England. He had made more than a beginning with the [illegible]

[illegible]

not in the larger phrase affected by scholars, and in that style the Bible remained.

Miles Coverdale (1488–1568), afterwards Bishop of Exeter, although inferior to Tindale in scholarship, was an inspired translator. He had been an Augustinian friar at Cambridge and had early connections with Sir Thomas More and Thomas Cromwell. He left England and probably met Tindale abroad. Not only did he thus [illegible]

[illegible]

claim any extensive scholarship—his versions are based on German and Latin texts—and his own description of his work is modest; but [illegible]

[illegible]

more largely by another edition. Thomas Matthew, or rather John Rogers, to give him his real name, formed another Bible by a combination of Tindale's Old Testament, as far as it went, and Coverdale's—the Apocrypha being included. This was printed at Antwerp in 1537.

Coverdale began to prepare a new edition in 1538, and again availed himself of some new Continental versions This edition, known as The Great Bible, was published in 1539 and was ordained for use in churches. A second edition of it (1540), with a preface by Cranmer, is usually known as Cranmer's Bible. At last, an English Bible was set up in churches (May 1540) and was in general use, both public and private. One more edition of the New Testament, significant from the place of its appearance, and destined from its doctrinal bias to be widely popular, was the Genevan New Testament [illegible] (The Geneva [illegible] on to Queen [illegible] been added, the text being due to Whittingham, helped by Anthony Gilby and Thomas Sampson. These versions, being respectively the first Testament and first Bible to be printed with verse divisions and in Roman type, mark a distinct stage. Under Elizabeth, and upon the initiative of Archbishop Parker, The Bishops' Bible was issued (1568); but in

unknown materials for research. Others followed Leland in his care for antiquities of literature and history. Matthew Parker (1504–75) diligently sought out the monuments and chronicles of old times, and Sir Robert Cotton (1571–1631) amassed the great collection of Saxon charters and other manuscripts which is almost the prime fount of English history and literature. Thus, though the losses through the dissolution were serious, yet, through the general diffusion of knowledge and the widening of the limits of learning, we have become the inheritors of a treasure that could hardly have been ours without the payment of a heavy price.

IV. BARCLAY AND SKELTON: EARLY GERMAN INFLUENCES ON ENGLISH LITERATURE

Alexander Barclay (1475–1552), monk, and afterwards parish priest, is famous as the author of *The Shyp of Folys of the Worlde* (1509)—"The Ship of Fools"—translated and adapted from Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* (1494). The idea of Brant's book was not new. The collection of various human types on a voyaging ship was just another medieval device, like the familiar pilgrimage. What was new was the manning of the ship with many different kinds of fools. Brant's notion of folly was very wide, and the book became a comprehensive satirical picture of the manners of the age. It attained large popularity and was at once translated, at first into Latin, in which form, probably, Barclay first knew it. According to his prologue, Barclay desired to "redres the errours and vyces of this our royalme of Englande, as the foresayde composer and translatours hath done in theyr contrees". Therefore, he followed his author "in sentence" rather than in word; that is to say, he used all the delightful freedom of the Tudor translators, making additions and omissions as well. His version (over fourteen thousand lines long) is more than twice as long as the Latin, and nearly three times as long as the original German. He uses the rhyme royal or Troilus stanza, but his language is plain and simple, as meant for ordinary readers and not only for the learned. Barclay deliberately tried to make Brant's book applicable to English circumstances. He vigorously condemns the misdeeds of officials, denounces unscrupulous prelates and bad priests, and like Piers Plowman takes the side of the poor against their oppressors. But he was a soundly orthodox churchman, unsympathetic to the reformers. The influence of *The Ship of Fools* in England is discernible in *Cocke Lorelles Bote* (c. 1510) with her crew of London craftsmen. R. Copland's *Hye Way to the Spyttel Hous*, published about 1536, was certainly suggested by Barclay's chapter on beggars and vagabonds. In later Elizabethan

III. DISSOLUTION OF THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES

The dissolution of the religious houses in the sixteenth century affected learning as well as religion. The destruction of books was great. Libraries that had been collected through centuries vanished in a moment. A second kind of destruction was that of the homes of study which the religious houses, especially those of the Benedictines, provided for all who leaned that way. Intellectual unity with the Continent was broken, and there were no longer wealthy corporations able to send students abroad to acquire special knowledge. The education of children was affected by the dislocation of the usual channels of instruction; but many of the monastic schools continued to exist under different control. The Benedictine nuns kept schools attended by girls of gentle birth, and were, in fact, the only available women teachers of even the simplest elements of learning. The Edwardian (and later) grammar schools sought to replace the vanished monastic schools.

At both Oxford and Cambridge were large establishments to which monks and friars came to finish their education. The dissolution of the religious houses affected, it is said, the numbers of students at both universities; but general assertions about the losses or gains to learning through the dissolution should be made with caution. In one respect there was clearly a gain. The monasteries [illegible] edieval scholasticism which had [illegible] ng had been a highly specialized [illegible] The medieval layman did not, in the modern sense, think at all He left abstractions to the churchman, and when he meditated upon immaterial things gave to his speculations the forms of allegory With the monasteries there passed away a vested interest in an exhausted system of thought. Thus, although more than three hundred years had to pass before the state began to recognize its responsibility for education, the removal of education from monastic control was a step in advance Another [illegible]

[illegible] just as refulgent in a land of monasteries.

That many books and manuscripts were destroyed is lamentable; that many others were dispersed is much less lamentable. Some found a home in the royal collections. Some were privately acquired, and, being made accessible, gave to a new school of antiquaries, led by John Leland (1506–52), the long buried and virtually

Chapelet of Laurell (1523), an allegorical poem in a variety of metres, full of grotesque self-glorification and built up with motives from Chaucer's *House of Fame* and the prologue to *The Legend of Good Women*. Skelton's originality is more evident in *Phyllyp Sparowe*, a poem addressed to a young lady whose pet sparrow had been killed by a cat. All the birds of the air are summoned to the burial, and among the mourners we find our old friend Chauntecleere and his wife Pertelote from *The Nun's Priest's Tale*. The short and lively metre is very effective and keeps up the attention throughout. That Skelton had an amazingly large stock of abusive terms is seen in *The Tunnyng of Elynour Rummyng*, a fantastical description of an old ale-wife and her guests. The metre is the same "Skeltonic" short verse as in *Phyllyp Sparowe*. His unfavourable view of court life is set forth in *The Bowge of Court* (i.e. rewards, or allowances, or board allowed to inferior court officials), an allegorical poem, written in Chaucer's seven-lined stanza. It is both an example of a dream poem with allegorical personifications, and a specimen of the "ship" allegory; for the scene of the vision is a vessel called "The Bowge of Court". The satire is severe, and must have annoyed the courtiers. In *Colyn Cloute* (c. 1519), we are told by Colyn, the roaming vagabond, that everything is wrong in England and that the clergy are to blame for it. The most dangerous fact is that one man (i.e. Wolsey) has all the power. The lively metre adds considerably to the vivacity of the whole and is much more developed and refined than in *Phyllyp Sparowe*. After *Colyn Clout* came *Speke, Parrot*, imperfectly preserved and printed; but clear through all its incoherence is the attack on Wolsey. Still another attack is *Why come ye nat to courte*, a pungent and daring satire. Skelton's poems against Wolsey are grossly one-sided. Wolsey's statesmanship, his learning and the services he rendered to his country are unacknowledged; but Skelton was undoubtedly speaking with the voice of his times. In any case we must admire the poet's courage. The morality *Magnyfycence*, written about 1516, is the only specimen of the poet's dramatic production that has come down to us. It is entirely allegorical and contains little but tedious moralizing.

Skelton's poetic production shows an extraordinary variety. He moves with ease, sometimes with mastery, in all the traditional forms of poetry. In his longer poems he is very original, particularly where he uses his characteristic style, the short staccato rhymed lines that we have learned to call Skeltonic. The opening of *Colyn Clout* is a typical specimen:

> What can it avayle
> To dryve forth a snayle,
> Or to make a sayle
> Of an heryngës tayle.

times the woodcuts of *The Ship of Fools* had some influence on the development of emblem books, and even when the purely literary influence of the poem had faded, it was still liked as a collection of satirical types, more real than the stock allegorical figures of medieval literature. There are frequent allusions to it in Elizabethan drama, [illegible] istory [illegible] were not published together. As the first specimens of English pastoral poetry they would possess some historical importance, even if there were nothing else to recommend them. The matter for the fourth and fifth was taken from Mantuan, the rest from Aeneas Sylvius. Johannes Baptista Spagnuoli, called Mantuanus, was, next to Petrarch, the most famous Renascence Italian writer of Latin eclogues. In England, where, at that time, the Greek idyllic poet Theocritus was still quite unknown, Mantuan was valued even more than Virgil and was read in grammar schools to Shakespeare's time. In spite of their interest of matter and style, Barclay's *Eclogues* were soon forgotten. Spenser ignores them as he ignores other earlier attempts at pastoral poetry, and Spenser's contemporaries seem not to have heard of them. But it is Barclay, not Spenser, who is father of the English eclogue. His other works do not call for notice. Barclay never wrote without a moral, didactic or satirical purpose, and his conception of literature was medieval. But in his practice he anticipates later efforts, especially in the "character" and the pastoral.

John Skelton (1460?–1529) has left few biographical traces. He is mentioned by Caxton as a translator from the Latin and his own Latin verses are smooth; but his acquaintance with the Italian poets of the Renascence seems to have been small. It was the university of Cambridge, not the court of Henry VII, that made him *poeta laureatus*. He was well acquainted with English literature, and knew the difference in value between Chaucer and Gower; but, like others of the time, he overestimated Lydgate. Skelton was a "medieval", not a "modern". As a poet Skelton is extremely versatile. Unfortunately many of his writings are lost, and even his extant works offer several difficulties of date. First editions are usually missing and probably some of his satires enjoyed manuscript circulation. His few known religious poems show him as ardent a champion of the old faith as Barclay. In *Colyn Clout* he speaks contemptuously of the reformers, and his vigorous *Replycacion agaynst certayne yong scolers adjured of late* (?1526) is severe upon heretics. Skelton was a priest, narrowly orthodox, and an ardent lover of his own country. Flodden Field gave him an opportunity for a hearty attack called *Skelton Laureate Against the Scottes*. But he knew also how to glorify noble ladies. Some poems in this vein appear in *A Goodly Garlande or*

the ban of the rulers. "Ballads" are frequently mentioned in proclamations as things to be suppressed. Very few survive, and they have no literary interest.

Most of the popular literature so far described is medieval in spirit and untouched by the Renascence. The growth of trade and the dislocation of industries gave rise to many tracts dealing with the vices that arise when the "new rich" have money to spend. Charles Bansley's *The Pryde and Abuse of Women* (c. 1550) belongs to a different world of satire from that of *The Schole-howse of Women*, or *The Proude Wyves Paternoster*. It is an indictment of female ostentation. *The Booke in Meeter of Robin Conscience* (1560), already noted as an example of dialogue, gives us a son reproaching his father with love of money, his mother with love of luxury, and his sister with love of artificial aids to beauty. *A Treatise of a Gallant* (1510?) attacks the vices of the new courtiers. The spread of gambling in fashionable circles produced the gentleman-thief, who is exposed as a menace in *A Manifest detection of the most vyle and detestable use of dice play and other practices etc.* (1552). The literature of social complaint is vigorous and is pointed by the sharp regrets of those who had expected a new world to come from the Reformation and the breach with Rome. This feeling found vigorous expression in Henry Brinkelow's *Complaynt of Roderyck Mors...unto the Parliament Howse of England* (1548). The growth of vagabondage caused by the evictions of husbandmen in the interest of sheep-farming had been one notable theme in More's *Utopia*. Robert Crowley, printer, puritan and preacher, turned from religious controversy to deal with the social abuses of the time in a set of tracts, the most interesting of which is *An Informacion and Peticion agaynst the oppressours of the pore commons of this realme* (1548). In this address to the parliament of Edward VI, the preacher fulminates against the rich in the language of the Psalms and Isaiah. As early as 1528, Simon Fish had made his powerful *Supplicacyon for the Beggars*, answered by Thomas More. Robert Copland's *Hye Way to the Spyttel Hous*, mentioned earlier, is a ghastly picture of destitution. The real beggar, as usual, created the impostor. John Awdeley's *Fraternitye of Vacabones* (1561) describes all the shams of professional beggary and shows how destitution is exploited commercially by a "boss", as we should now call him, who takes a large share of the spoils. Awdeley wrote to give information, not to contribute to the literature of types. Thomas Harman, who had tried to do good by keeping open house for the distressed, was naturally imposed upon by the professional pauper, and put forth *A Caveat or Warening for Commen Corsetors, Vulgarely called Vagabones* (first edition of unknown date; second, 1567). The book is meant as an "alarum" to forewarn honest citizens; but, in fact, it contains the researches of a sociologist.

The immense vivacity and originality of Skelton and the freshness of his utterance after the stock allegorizing of preceding poets must be heartily acknowledged, but must not mislead the reader into supposing that Skelton is to be included among the greater English poets.

Compared with *The Ship of Fools*, most of the other contributions of German to English literature in the beginning of the sixteenth century are insignificant. Of German popular poetry next to nothing became known in England. Coverdale tried to introduce the hymns, and his *Goostly Psalmes and Spiritual Songes* (1539?) [illegible]

form of the [illegible] that, used largely in Germany, was adopted in England, particularly by William Turner (d 1568), Dean of Wells, [illegible]

influence was dead. Towards the end of the century, translations of sensational German news sheets occur sporadically in the Stationers' Register. We hear (in a "ballad") of Bishop Hatto and of the Piper of Hamelin. Exposing the coarseness of his time, Brant, in *Das Narrenschiff*, created a new saint, Grobianus, who soon became the typical representative of rude and boorish behaviour The character became popular and was exploited by F Dedekind, whose *Grobianus* was translated into English as *The Schoole of Slovenrie* (1605). Traces of grobianism can be found in Dekker's *Guls Horne-booke* (1609); and the figure of Grobianus appears utterly transformed in the interlude *Grobiana's Nuptials* (MS. Bodl. 30), where it has become the type of the Oxford man of Jacobean time with his affectation of simplicity.

But his treatise produced no effect on the beliefs of his time. Superstition was too deeply rooted in religion to be disturbed by medieval science.

The middle classes played an important part in forming the literature of the sixteenth century. While accepting the stories, satire and learning of the Middle Ages, they created a demand for English books that should reflect the tendencies of the present, and embody the humour and wisdom of the past. This popular literature continued to develop; but its tone begins to change. The note of Puritanism is heard. The production of popular tracts becomes more and more the business of professional writers, deliberately literary, and living in close association in London. In fact, with the first Elizabethan tracts we leave the last of the medievalists and come to writers who resemble the modern journalists.

VI. SIR DAVID LYNDSAY

The year 1528 is marked by three events of importance in the history of Scotland. James V, after a long tutelage, became master of his kingdom; Patrick Hamilton, the protomartyr of the Scottish reformation, was burnt; and Sir David Lyndsay published his first work, *The Dreme*. A new Scotland was about to be born; and of this new Scotland the first clear voice is that of Sir David Lyndsay. Lyndsay (1490–1555) was the last of the Scottish Chaucerians, and owed something both to Dunbar and Douglas; but he is also the first of the modern Scottish poets. He did not write satire "at large", like Dunbar; he took a particular view of the troubles of his age, and marks the advent of the time when literature in Scotland was to be caught up in a fierce blaze of religious and national strife.

The Dreme was written after the escape of the young king from the control of the Douglases. Lyndsay had been the king's personal attendant, and had told him tales in his solitary hours; but now that the king was to assume the responsibilities of manhood, Lyndsay resolved to tell him a new and graver story; and to tell it without offence he adopted the medieval conventions of allegory. After a preliminary journey to hell, purgatory, the seven planets and paradise, we encounter a figure called John the Commoun Weill, who, typifying the honest virtuous man, sets forth the miseries of Scotland and the need for "ane gude and prudent Kyng". The poem, which is long and uses the Troilus (rhyme royal) stanza with fair success, is admonition rather than literature, but it has good passages. Lyndsay was made Lyon King of Arms in 1530. His reformatory zeal was, however, not silenced, and in *The Testament and Complaynt of our Soverane Lordis Papyngo* (popinjay or parrot) he

While social miseries were inspiring a whole literature of narrative and exposure, the sixteenth-century spirit of cosmopolitanism was also finding popular expression. As early as *The Nature of the Four Elements* (1520) we have a conception of cosmography serving as a basis for a morality play. *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* (1547) is a collection of essays on the chief nationalities and kingdoms of Europe by the traveller and physician Andrew [illegible] (1558-9), contains Shakespearean reflections on the uneasy sleep of those who wear crowns. In 1562 he produced *Bulleín's Bulwarke of Defence againste all Sicknes, Sornes, and Woundes*, modelling his title on Elyot's successful *Castel of Helth*. The most important of Bullein's works, from a literary point of view, is *A Dialogue both pleasaunte and pietifull wherein is a goodly regiment against the fever Pestilence with a Consolacion and Comfort against Death*, of which the earliest extant copy is dated 1564.

[illegible] (1554?-1604) published in 1580 an attack on prognostications in the *Foure Great Lyers, Striving who shall win the Silver Whetstone*. The [illegible] the superstitious excitability of the people exhibited its most dreadful phase in the revival of witch persecutions In 1531 Henry VIII passed the first act against sorcery and magic; in 1562 the law was revived; and in 1575 and 1576 persecutions were renewed. It was an age of wild hallucinations. Yet there were enough sane readers to call for three editions of a burlesque by W. Baldwin (1570?) which ridiculed sorcery, spells and transformations into cats, etc., under the title *Beware the Cat*. Belief in witchcraft was not confined to the vulgar and uneducated. The theology and science of Germany helped to encourage more informed fanatics *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584) by Reginald Scot (1538?–1599) is the first great English contribution to this European controversy. It was primarily intended as a humanitarian protest, and it is essentially a work of investigation and exposition. Scot boldly criticized the legal methods of procedure with accused witches, and attacked all forms of credulity.

Lyndsay's pieces may be named, *The Deploratioun of the Death of Queen Magdalene* and *The Historie of the Squyer Meldrum*. Neither is didactic in purpose. The former, in rhyme royal, is modelled on the aureate method adopted by Dunbar in his more ceremonial pieces; the latter, in couplets, which Lyndsay always used well, relates with friendly merriment, devoid of satirical purpose, the varied and surprising adventures of Squire William Meldrum, laird of Cleish and Binns. Lyndsay wrote too much, and the best of him has to be searched for. But he was a genuine poet, with his own honest character of utterance. No common mind could have carried to success the large adventures of the *Thre Estaitis*.

A social satirist of a much milder type than Lyndsay was Sir Richard Maitland (1496–1586). He has more in common with Dunbar than with Lyndsay, and he stands aloof from all parties. Neither as poet nor as satirist does he rank high. Alexander Scott (1525–84) was even less concerned than Maitland with the activities of the reformers. Most of his pieces are amatory, and seem to have been influenced in style and spirit by the love lyrics in *Tottel's Miscellany*, 1557. Scott might have led a lyrical movement in his native land had not poetry been withered up by the ardours of religious zeal. Alexander Montgomerie (1556?–1610?), a disciple of Scott, was still more influenced by the English lyrists; yet even in the sonnet, of which he left no fewer than seventy examples, he has a certain individuality. He translated several of Ronsard's sonnets in the Ronsard form. *The Cherrie and the Slae*, an allegorical poem in a fourteen-line stanza, was long popular. A "flyting" between Montgomerie and Polwarth (i.e., Patrick Hume) shows the native vigour of the days of Dunbar. With Montgomerie, the school of the old "makaris" properly ends. While James VI, who published *Essayes of a Prentise* (1584) and *Poeticall Exercises* (1591), still remained in Scotland, poetry was practised by a few writers under his immediate patronage; but the end of such vanities was near. Poetry came under the ban of the reformers. Henceforth Scotsmen might snuffle, but they must not sing of joy or love. The Scottish Renascence was dead.

VII. REFORMATION AND RENASCENCE IN SCOTLAND

From James I to Gavin Douglas, Scottish literature had been generally imitative, borrowing its spirit, its models, and its themes mainly from Chaucer, and seeking to please or amuse even when instructing; but from Lyndsay's *Dreme* of 1528 to the union of the crowns in 1603, we find a literature expressing the passions and convictions of men determined to direct a nation's spirit. It was the

exposed more particularly the corruptions and worldliness of the spirituality. After a glowing tribute to his poetic predecessors, from Chaucer onwards, he declares that, all the "polleit terms" having been used, he is reduced to record the complaint of a wounded papyngo. But Lyndsay makes little attempt to keep up the pretence of fable. The voice is the undisguised voice of the poet. The fable form is more strictly preserved in the latter part, and we get a satirical "testament" when the dying bird communes with its "holy executors", a pyot (representing a canon regular), a raven (a black monk), and a ged or hawk (a holy friar). A piece meant as a satire on the king's courtiers is *Ane Publict Confessioun of the Kingis auld Hound callit Bagsche*, in which an old dog tells the story of its life to the new pets of the king. In *Kitteis Confessioun* the satirist records unedifying particulars of a lady's interview with a priest at confession.

But by far the most searching of Lyndsay's satires is the long and elaborate drama entitled *Ane Satyre of the Thre Estaitis in commendatioun of Vertew and Vituperation of Vyce* (c. 1540–50). Our information on the early history of the drama in Scotland is scanty; but lack of information does not imply a lack of plays. We hear of one performance at Aberdeen as early as 1445, and there are other references; but Lyndsay's *Thre Estaits* and the anonymous *Philotus* (c. 1600) are the only complete survivals. *Ane Satyre* is the work of a born dramatist; and in construction, variety, and command of stage "business" it is superior to any contemporary English piece. The nearest approach to it in dramatic development is Bale's *King Johan*, of nearly the same date. Lyndsay's play was certainly performed in 1540, and perhaps earlier. As a mirror of Scotland when Catholicism was tottering to its fall it has unique interest. The immensely large scale enables the playwright to present a comprehensive epitome of contemporary abuses, manners and morals, and we therefore encounter all the characters of early drama—figures allegorical and actual, sacred and profane. Our old friend John the Commoun Weill reappears, and rough justice is dealt out at the end. The most vivid parts of the play are the interludes, racily and broadly written. Though rather careless in technique, Lyndsay shows an easy command of the many kinds of metre with which he varies the matter of his long drama. The whole play is the most successful thing of its kind and time, and it can be read with admiration and enjoyment.

The Tragical Death of D. Beaton, written shortly after the murder of the Cardinal (1546), and the long *Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour*, sometimes called *Monarchie*, need no more than bare mention. The first is lugubrious; the second is diffuse, though it has some passages of sincere eloquence in its survey of fallen monarchies and its anticipation of the final judgment. Two other of

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1528; and it is a production of Hamilton, *Patrikes Places*, that Knox adduces as the first specimen of Scottish Reformation literature. Literature in the ordinary sense it is not.

About the year 1546 there appeared a little volume which, after the Bible itself, did more for the spread of Reformation doctrines than any other book published in Scotland. No copy of the earliest edition is known and later prints call it *Ane Compendious Buik of Godlie Psalms and Spirituall Sangis, collectit furthe of sundrie partes of the Scripture*. It is always known in Scotland as *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, and it is, next to Knox's *Historie of the Reformatioun*, the most memorable literary monument of the period in vernacular Scots. It was probably compiled by three brothers, James, John and Robert Wedderburn, all ardent reformers. Besides metrical versions of some of the Psalms, the book contains "diveris other ballatis changeit out of prophane sangis, in godlie sangis"—pious "transversions" of old popular songs designed to glorify the Reformation and to vilify Rome It succeeded only too well. For many years Scotland was without normal wholesome song.

To the year 1548 belongs the first production of John Knox (1505–72), who was to be at once the chief leader of the Scottish Reformation and its chief literary exponent. The work is called (title modernised) *An Epistle to the Congregation of the Castle of St Andrews: with a Brief Summary of Balnaves on Justification by Faith*. The greater part of Knox's writing has no more than historical [illegible]

Women (1558). From the weightiest of authorities he proves that "regiment", i.e., government, by women is repugnant alike to nature and to God. The best answer to *The Blast* was the accession of Elizabeth in the very year of its publication. In 1559 the triumph of the reforming party in Scotland restored Knox to his country. As an immediate result of the victory of Protestantism, appeared the *First Book of Discipline*, not solely the work of Knox, but the expression of his spirit. It proposed, among other things, a system of national education, which, though long in coming, was an honour to Scotland when England was feebly fumbling with the problem.

The parish schools of Scotland were the nurseries of her vigorous intellectual life. The most important of Knox's works is the *Historie of the Reformatioun of Religioun within the Realm of Scotland*, in five books, not printed till 1586. In vigour and vividness of writing, some of its scenes suggest Carlyle himself. It is, moreover, the first original work in standard prose that Scotland had produced. Knox's anglicized Scots was made a reproach to him by his Catholic adversaries.

To the same period belong other works, more or less historical, which show that prose had now become as successful a vehicle of expression as verse. Nearest in literary quality to the work of Knox is *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland* by Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie (1500?–1565?), one of the few productions of the time which can be read with delight at the present day. Scott loved him as the nearest approach to a Scottish Froissart. The *Memoirs* of Sir James Melville (1535–1617) are history rather than literature and less attractive than the *Memorials of Transactions in Scotland* (1567–73) by Richard Bannatyne, Knox's secretary. Another example of the general interest in contemporary events is the delightful *Diary of Mr James Melville, Minister of Kilrenny in Fife* (1566–1601). With few exceptions the verse written during the Reformation struggle was prompted by the occasion of the hour. Printed in black letter on one side of a sheet, ballads of this character issued in a constant stream from the press of Robert Lekprevik, the Edinburgh printer. One of the principal authors was Robert Sempill (1530?–1595), of whom little is known beyond his zeal for the new cause. His two best pieces are the *Sege of the Castel of Edinburgh* and *The Legend of a Lymaris Lyfe*, the coarse vigour of which sufficiently explains his temporary popularity. Sir John Maitland, Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange and the Rev. John Davidson also used verse for the expression of their opinions. But all the literature was not produced on the Protestant side. One of the Catholic writers, John Mair or Major (1479–1550), mentioned by Rabelais, has been called "the last of the schoolmen". His one book which is not a scholastic treatise, the *Historia Majoris Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scotiae*, boldly counsels political union as the solution of Anglo-Scottish difficulties. A notable specimen of vernacular prose is the curious production entitled *The Complaynt of Scotland* (1549?), the anonymous author of which was an adherent of the ancient church, and an ardent opponent of the English alliance. Till recently the *Complaynt* was regarded as an original work, but it is now known to be a mosaic of verbatim translations from Alain Chartier and others, with digressions in Scots. Regarded merely as a specimen of early Scottish prose, however, the book has a special interest of its own. Archbishop John Hamilton's *Catechism* (1552) presents in the purest Scots of the time

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shows that he could write in Scots as nobly as in Latin. The greatest literary achievement of his later life is *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, published in 1582, the year of his death. In it he enunciates those principles of political and religious liberty of which he had been the consistent champion throughout his career. His dialogue *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* (1579) long remained the classic defence of the Scottish Reformation and its claim to control kings. Buchanan's European fame as a scholar added to the glory of his country, and his spacious learning brought the gleam of humanism into the dusk of religious controversy.

VIII. THE NEW ENGLISH POETRY

The last feudal king of England fell at Bosworth in 1485. The reign of the bourgeois Henry VII shows us an England becoming national in religion and politics, and lifting up its head as a power to be reckoned with in Europe. With the cessation of the Wars of the Roses and the growth of a peaceful court, noble and aristocratic Englishmen had leisure for the literary pursuits which civilized the French and Italian courtiers. The English "moderns" of the sixteenth century were quite unlike the "medievals" of the fifteenth. Their poems had three marks of true lyric: they were brief, intense and personal. They forsook allegory and didactism. They were modelled upon courtly European examples, and they had circulated shyly in manuscript. They were now to be made public in print. In 1557, a year before the accession of Elizabeth, appeared the famous volume, *Songes and Sonettes, written by the ryght honorable Lorde Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey, and other*, commonly known, from the name of its publisher, as *Tottel's Miscellany*. The names of two men are specially connected with this work: Sir Thomas Wyatt (1503–42) and Henry Howard (1517?–47) known as Earl of Surrey. Wyatt was employed on various diplomatic missions to the French and Italian courts, and it was from Italy that he derived his poetic education. Through various causes, some of which we do not fully understand, there had been a slackening of metrical strictness, and the fifteenth century, which produced some examples of beautiful rhythm, also produced many examples of mere approximation to rhythm. Wyatt and Surrey, strengthened by Italian technique, brought back to metre a recognizable order. Wyatt's chief instrument was the sonnet, a form which he was the first English writer to use. Of all forms the sonnet is the most compact and precise, and no better corrective could have been found for vague thought, loose expression, and irregular metre. Wyatt's model was the Italian poet Petrarch, whom, however, he did not closely follow. A correct

the fundamental Catholic doctrines in the simplest and most attractive form. Ninian Winzet (1518–92), author of *Certane Tractatis for Reformatioun of Doctryne and Maneris*, illustrates the anti-English [illegible]

with seriousness and moderation. His chief work, *De Origine Moribus et Rebus Scotorum* (1578), which narrates the national history from its origins, was afterwards translated into Scots by a Scottish monk at Ratisbon.

[illegible] inf[illegible] fri[illegible] university of Aberdeen. His *Historia Gentis Scotorum* (1527) took [illegible] of Macbeth. At the instance of James V, the *Historia* was translated into Scottish prose (1540) by John Bellenden, Archdeacon of Moray, one of the many versifiers who haunted the court, and his version is the first known vernacular prose book. Bellenden also translated five books of Livy, and the versified prologues to his translations earned him commendation as a poet from Sir David Lyndsay.

[illegible] most of them. At Bordeaux, where he was professor, he wrote two plays, *Jephthes* and *Baptistes*, original compositions modelled on classical examples Some years later, at Coimbra, he translated (as an imposed penance) the Psalms into Latin verse, and thereby gained a most eminent place among modern Latin poets. Neither England nor Scotland seemed to offer a quiet home to a scholar, and Buchanan next took refuge in France, where he wrote *De Sphaera*, an exposition of the Ptolemaic cosmogony, in opposition to the system which had recently been promulgated by Copernicus. This remains, in matter and language, a curious instance of the scholarly *infatuation that blindly mistook the course of the world's progress*. After long exile Buchanan returned to his native country in 1560, [illegible]

Ane Admonitioun direct to the trew Lordis (1571). In both, Buchanan

for his eight eclogues derive more or less directly from classical sources. To trace the genealogy of a literary form is always interesting, but sometimes misleading. Does it matter who wrote the first pastoral, idealizing and beautifying the supposed conversations of shepherds? There is a fairly clear line of descent, and certainly some deliberate imitation. We have Theocritus and Virgil, and then fifteen centuries later some imitative Italians and Spaniards. Then we have the Englishmen, Barclay, Googe and Spenser. It would be overhardy to say that Spenser would not have written pastorals if Googe had not written his, but it is safe to assert that an existing model is useful even to the greatest of creative artists. The pastorals of Googe contained in his *Eglogs, Epytaphes and Sonettes* (1563) have the traditional form, but not quite the original content. His piping has a troubled sound. He is a strong Protestant, and may even be called an early Puritan. To him love is an evil that can be driven out by hard work and exercise. Two of the eclogues are said to be derived from the *Diana* of Montemayor, and to be thus among the first traces of Spanish influence in English poetry. The so-called "sonettes" are merely short poems. Googe survives historically rather than intrinsically.

George Turberville (1540?–1610), author of *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songes and Sonets* (1567) and of *Tragical Tales translated by Turberville* (1587) stands upon the level of his friend Googe in poetic quality, but he survives more genuinely in one or two poems to be found in the anthologies. Of Humfrey Gifford, whose *Posie of Gilloflowers* was published in 1580, and of Matthew Grove, whose *Historie of Pelops and Hippodamia* with the *Epigrams, Songes and Sonnettes* that follow it was published in 1587, little need be said save that they carried the poetic tradition of Henry VIII's reign up to the eve of the Armada.

The other volumes calling for notice at this point are not books of original verse but collections more or less like Tottel's. The earliest to follow that famous *Miscellany* was *The Paradyse of Daynty Devises* (1576) by Richard Edwards (1523?–1566), a poet of no small merit, one of whose pieces ("The falling out of faithful friends renewing is of love") deservedly survives. Among the contributors are William Hunnis, Jasper Heywood, Lord Vaux, Francis Kinwelmersh, Thomas Churchyard, Edward Vere Earl of Oxford, Lodowick Lloyd, and George Whetstone. The collection has little resemblance to Tottel. It contains some good poems, but the tone is monotonous. The pleasant woes of the lover and the sense of knightly obligation have given place to musings on the brevity of life and apprehensions of death and judgment. To *The Paradyse* succeeded in 1578 *A Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inventions* by a certain Thomas Proctor. It is a minor production with many signs of exhausted inspiration. The forcible feebleness of the very title tells its story. *A Handefull of*

Petrarcan sonnet contains fourteen lines, falling into groups of eight (the octave) and six (the sestet), the octave rhyming *abba, abba,* and the sestet having strictly two alternate rhymes, *cdcdcd.* Variations occur, especially in the number and order of the rhymes in the sestet. But the essentials of a Petrarcan sonnet are: (i) the division into octave and sestet, making something like two linked poems expressing different aspects of the same idea, and (ii) the absence of any [illegible] sonnets with a couplet, and thus helped to give a special character to the Elizabethan sonnet, which, as used by Surrey, settled down into three quatrains with alternate rhymes, and a final couplet. Any sonnet by Shakespeare will exhibit the fully developed Elizabethan form; and, from his mastery of all its possibilities, this non-Petrarcan [illegible] Milton was the first great [illegible] The introduction of the [illegible] vice to English poetry; his second is the use of that form as the vehicle of personal emotion; and from the time of *Tottel's Miscellany* English poets desiring to make a brief emphatic declaration of personal feeling have chosen, almost by instinct, the sonnet form. Wyatt's poems fall into four [illegible] like half-sonnets His three satires are written in Dante's *terza rima*—*aba, bcb, cdc,* etc. This scheme of rhyme he uses also in *Certayne Psalmes...commonly called the vii penytentiall Psalmes* (1549). Wyatt's poetry conveys the charm of a brave and strong spirit. His technical faults are those of a pioneer. His chief claim to remembrance lies in his deliberate effort to raise the native tongue to dignity by making it, as Petrarch had made it, the vehicle of polite and courtly poetry. Both Wyatt and Surrey use the ordinary diction of their day, free alike from archaic affectation and from colloquial vulgarity. It seems difficult to believe that these modern poets died less than twenty years after the medieval Skelton.

The first thirty-two pages of *Tottel's Miscellany* are occupied by [illegible] is far less original than Wyatt, but is a more accomplished versifier, especially in the Shakespearean form of sonnet, which he may be considered to have established. A favourite metre of Surrey, one that grew increasingly popular and degenerate, is the "poulter's measure"

finally amounting to ninety-eight) during a full half-century; but the book as a whole belongs to the curiosities of literature rather than to literature itself. Most of the poems are sheer doggerel written by unknown or unimportant authors. But there are exceptions, for instance, Churchyard's *Complaint of Shores Wife*, and *A lamentacion upon the death of Kinge Edwarde the 4*, attributed to Skelton. Two facts make *A Mirror for Magistrates* important to readers of to-day, first its particular influence, and next its revelation of one great poet. It created a public for the chronicle-poem; and such works as Daniel's *Civil Wars*, and Drayton's *Barons' Wars* are in the direct line of descent. With the chronicle-poem came the chronicle-play; and there is something more than coincidence in the fact that over thirty historical plays exist on subjects in which the *Mirror* had first interested the public.

The participation of the one great poet is explained at length in the *Mirror* itself. One of Baldwin's contributors, Thomas Sackville (1536–1608), Lord Buckhurst and Earl of Dorset, had intended to write a connected series of stories himself, and naturally began with an *Induction*. Actually, he wrote but one story. Sackville's two contributions, then, are first an *Induction* to a collection that was never written (it is to be distinguished from the trivial *Induction* to the *Mirror* itself), and next *The Complaint of Henry Duke of Buckingham*, the one story he completed. Their high quality suggests that in Sackville we gained a minor statesman and lost a major poet. Only the small extent of Sackville's work has prevented his inclusion among the masters of the grand style. His success is the more remarkable because the occasion of which he took advantage and the material he used were not specially favourable. Feeling that Baldwin and the collaborators had fallen far below the level of the design, Sackville turned for inspiration to Virgil and to Dante, and he maintains himself, though briefly, at their level. Although he has to vivify the usual shadowy medieval abstractions, he conceives and transmits his creations with astonishing power of conviction. Sackville's use of the Troilus stanza is beyond praise, and whatever he may have derived is marked by his own strong individuality. The *Induction* is a great poem, the last late flower of medievalism.

X. GEORGE GASCOIGNE

George Gascoigne (1542?–1577) affected a disdain of the pen, and describes himself as "George Gascoigne Esquire, professing armes in the defence of God's truth", though he abandoned this pose in later years. The early date, 1525, usually assigned to his birth cannot be accepted. The first volume associated with his name is *A Hundredth Sundrie Flowers bounde up in one small Poesie* (1573) ostensibly of

pleasant delites (1584) by Clement Robinson and others (perhaps first printed in 1566) is a song-book with indications of the tunes to which the songs may be sung. The opening poem anticipates Ophelia's interpretation of the flowers, and another anticipates the style of Peter Quince's tragedy of *Pyramus and Thisbe*. The volume is slight, but it is the most worthy successor of *Tottel*.

IX. *A MIRROR FOR MAGISTRATES*

One very famous collection of poems, *A Myrroure for Magistrates* (1559, etc.)—the full title is almost an essay in length—forms a link between medieval and modern literature. It is a collection of "cautionary stories" of an early type, more extensive in scale than those which point a moral in *The Monk's Tale* of Chaucer. In a way, the book derives ultimately [illegible] whose work *De Casibus V*[illegible] volume printed by John [illegible] *Jhon Bochas, of all such Princes as fell from theyr estate throughe the mutability of Fortune, etc. Translated into Englysh by John Lidgate, Monke of Burye* (1555) It was intended that this exemplary work [illegible] de[illegible] [illegible] we meet as editor a [illegible] io explains everything: the aim of the work being moral, here is a mirror in which we can behold the fatal mistakes of the fallen great ones; and so on. The story of the various editions of *A Mirror for Magistrates* belongs to bibliography rather than to literature, and needs no discussion here. The poems are written as if told in person to Baldwin, and they are introduced, ended, or connected, by prose remarks. Baldwin's first compilation (1559) included the tragic narratives of nineteen historical figures from Chief Justice Tresilian to Edward IV. The next edition (1563) gives eight more examples including the Duke of Buckingham and Jane Shore. In 1574, a new editor, John Higgins, thinking Baldwin's selection limited in period, decided to begin at the very beginning; and so we get Albanacte the son of Brutus, Locrinus, Sabrine, Cordila, Ferrex and Porrex, and others. Eleanor Cobham and Humphrey Duke of Gloucester were added in 1578. The work was very popular and continued to be issued with additions (the number of narratives

Hymnes, the first *in honour of Love*, the second *in honour of Beautie*, though not published till 1596 (*Foure Hymnes made by Edm. Spenser*), were inspired by his first experience of love, and written in the spirit of Plato.

He was brought by Harvey into the service of the Earl of Leicester, and met Philip Sidney, whose ardent imagination and lofty spirit greatly stimulated him. After toying, under Harvey's influence, with the possibilities of using in English a system of quantitative prosody (that *ignis fatuus* of English poets) he began to consider the forms in which he could express himself most naturally, and he turned instinctively to the pastoral and the romance, with their stock figures, the shepherd and the knight. The pastoral, as we have seen, was a popular form, offering an abundance of models. The extent of Spenser's debt to any of these is not really important. All that matters in a poem is what it is, not what it may have come from. Upon the "XII Aeglogues proportioned to...the XII monethes" forming *The Shepheards Calendar* (1579) the impress of a creative, originating poetic genius is clearly discernible. The book was dedicated to Sidney, who praised it highly, but objected, rather pedantically, to one of its greatest charms, namely "the olde rusticke language". Sidney, a typical figure of the Renascence, disliked Spenser's archaism, not in itself, but because it was unwarranted by classical originals. This kind of criticism was to have a long run. A more serious objection would have been that the pastoral, as Spenser wrote it, was a literary exercise with little hold on life. Spenser uses all varieties of the form, amatory, moral, religious, courtly, rustic, lyric, elegiac, and shows himself at once master of an old convention and herald of a new spirit in poetry. His language was deliberately archaic. Ben Jonson said that Spenser, in affecting the obsolete, "writ no language". The answer is that Spenser used the language in which Spenser could write. Every true poet creates his own idiom. What *The Shepheards Calendar* clearly reveals is the arrival of a great poet-musician, who excelled all his predecessors in a sense of the capacity of the English language for harmonious combinations of sound. To turn from the flatness of *The Steele Glas* to *The Shepheards Calendar* is to pass from honest and well-meant effort into a new world of absolute mastery.

From the pastoral Spenser proceeded naturally to romance. In 1580 he went to Ireland as secretary to the Lord Deputy, and there at Kilcolman Castle he continued his *Faerie Queene*, the first three books of which were published in 1590 on his return to England. As, in any creative sense, the poem shows no progress, but is at the end what it was in the beginning, some consideration of it may be given at once. The poem, as planned in twelve books, was never completed. Spenser himself has clearly stated his own intentions in the prefatory

composite authorship. Most of it reappeared in an altered form as *The Posies of George Gascoigne Esquire* (1575). The volume is a miscellany, and its contents include *A devise of a Maske*; a verse tale, *Dan Bartholomew of Bathe*; a military poem, *The Fruites of Warre* (or *Dulce Bellum Inexpertis*); *The Supposes*, a comedy translated from Ariosto; *Jocasta*, a tragedy adapted from Euripides; *The Pleasant Fable of Ferdinando Jeronimi and Leonora de Valasco*, a prose tale; and *Certayne notes of Instruction concerning the making of verse or ryme in English*, a short but detailed essay. Later works are *The Glasse of* [illegible]), *The Princely Pleasures* [illegible] 76), *The Steele Glas*, *A* [illegible] *An Elegy* (1576), and various prose treatises of edification including a short pamphlet, *A delicate Diet, for daintie-mouthde Droonkardes* (1576), the alliterative title of which carries on an old tradition.

Gascoigne had no great measure of the creative spirit, and Gabriel Harvey rightly accuses him of dissipating his energies. Gascoigne's [illegible] the smoothness of his Italian models, a smoothness that Wyatt and Surrey did not always attain. The higher mood of such pieces as *Gascoignes De Profundis* fits him less convincingly.

XI. THE POETRY OF SPENSER

After a lapse of almost two centuries we reach the first English major poet since Chaucer. Edmund Spenser (1552–99) was born in London, and was related to the great family of his name. At Cambridge he not only wrote his earliest sonnets, but came under three profound influences. The first was his friendship with Gabriel Harvey, a powerful and controversial scholar, to whom justice has yet to be done. The second was the refined and cultured "Puritanism", which, like that of Milton, was a revolt from coarseness and materialism in life and in religion. The third was the study of Platonic philosophy—not the Christianized neo-Platonism of the first Reformers, but the pure Platonism of the *Timaeus* and the *Symposium*. To the imagination of Spenser this proved exceedingly congenial, and confirmed him in his allegorical habit of conception and expression. His early

died in January 1599. His posthumous prose dialogue, *A Veue of the Present State of Ireland*, written in 1596, is discussed in a later chapter. Spenser is the poets' poet, and his greatness cannot be diminished by the jeers of the tough-minded who find his poetic music and his poetic virtue too delicate for their manly taste.

XII. THE ELIZABETHAN SONNET

The sonnet, which was the invention of thirteenth-century Italy, was slow in winning the favour of English poets. Neither the word nor the thing reached England till the sixteenth century, when, as we have seen, the first English sonnets were written, in imitation of the Italian, by Wyatt and Surrey. But these primary efforts set no fashion. The Elizabethan sequences came long after the gentle effusions of Tottel's poets, and were not influenced by them. But when the writing of sonnets began in earnest it soon became a fashionable literary habit, and no poetic aspirant between 1590 and 1600 failed to try his skill in this form. The results are not inspiring. Sidney, Spenser and Shakespeare alone achieved substantial success; and their sonnets, with some rare and isolated triumphs by Drayton, Daniel, Constable and others, are the sole enduring survivals. *Tottel's Miscellany* contained sixty sonnets, for the most part primitive copies of Petrarch; but though the name "sonnet" is commonly used for poems in the succeeding anthologies, the actual sonnet form is rare. Gascoigne's *Certayne notes of instruction* not only described the Elizabethan sonnet accurately, but noted the general misuse of the term. It was contemporary French rather than older Italian influence that moved the Elizabethan mind to sonnet-writing. The first inspiration came from Marot (1495–1544); though the sonnet was not naturalized in France until Ronsard (1524–85) and Du Bellay (1525–60), who, with five others, formed the constellation of poets called *La Pléiade*, deliberately resolved to adapt to the French language the finest fruit of foreign literature. Philippe Desportes (1546–1606), a less important poet, was specially admired and imitated by our Elizabethans.

Spenser is the true father of the Elizabethan sonnet. He first appeared as a poet with the twenty-six youthful sonnets of 1569. His indebtedness to Du Bellay is declared in the title of one group of sonnets, *The Visions of Bellay*, and of another, *The Ruines of Rome by Bellay*. Another set, *The Visions of Petrarch*, he translates from Marot. These and the other sonnets of Spenser in *Amoretti* (1595) have his characteristic sweetness of versification. Spenser, it should be noted, uses the English and not the Italian form of the sonnet. Two of the sonnets in the *Amoretti* refer to the Platonic "Idea" of beauty which

letter addressed to Ralegh, and to this the reader is referred. Like all [illegible]

was successful, but he was not completely successful. Spenser failed because he refused to follow his natural instinct for allegory and romance, the forms that most readily released his creative powers, but turned aside to be instructive, and, in seeking to make the allegory edifying, forgot to tell the story. But if an allegory does [illegible]

common phrase, lets us down, when we are left wondering whether the false Duessa is a poetical character, or Theological Falsehood, or Mary Queen of Scots He tried to do too many things at once; and, [illegible]

so he does not convince his readers Thus it is neither as an allegorist nor as a narrator that the author of *The Faerie Queene* holds his place. [illegible]

tion of chivalry had little correspondence with the facts of life. Sidney was dead, and his own hopes of preferment were frustrated. In 1591 a volume of his collected poems was published with the significant title *Complaints*, including such works as *The Ruines of Time, The Teares of the Muses, Prosopopoia or Mother Hubberd's Tale*, in which the Ape and the Fox serve to satirize the customs of the court. In 1591 he returned to his exile in Ireland, and there, in the form of an allegorical pastoral, called *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* (1595), he gave expression to his views about the general state of manners and poetry. In his *Prothalamion*, and still more, in his *Epithalamion*, he carries the lyrical style, first attempted in *The Shepheards Calendar*, to an unequalled height of harmony, splendour and enthusiasm. In 1595, he again came over to England, bringing with him the second part of *The Faerie Queene*, which was licensed for publication in January 1595–6. Finding still no place at court, he returned to Ireland in 1597; but, in a rising, Kilcolman Castle was taken and burned, and Spenser barely escaped with his life. His spirit was broken, and after suffering the afflictions of poverty, he

Greville, Lord Brooke (1554–1628), whose *Caelica* sequence (not all sonnets) may be held to close the story. Sonneteering fell into disrepute and perished of its own insincerity. When Milton revived the true sonnet form it took a note which cannot be heard in any of the Elizabethan collections.

XIII. PROSODY FROM CHAUCER TO SPENSER

The contemporary existence of Chaucer, Gower and the author (or authors) of *Piers Plowman* enables us to observe with ease the three main tendencies or principles of English prosody. The foreign (chiefly French) tendency to strict syllabic uniformity is specially clear in Gower. The native tendency to irregular groups of syllables marked by strong accents with the emphasis of alliteration, and without the aid of rhyme or formal metre, finds its greatest exposition in *Piers Plowman*. The middle way, the shaping of normal English prosody out of English habit by the potency of French example, is shown triumphantly by Chaucer, who was a fine prosodist as well as a great poet. *Piers Plowman* is the last word in its own way of writing; no further advance in that direction was possible, and no further advance has ever been achieved. Strict syllabic uniformity never made a home in England, in spite of the example of Gower. On the other hand Chaucer not only accomplished many things, but opened the way for more.

The lyrists before Chaucer, many of them anonymous, had contributed much to the making of our verse forms. Octosyllabic couplets and stanza forms simple and elaborate abound, not as attempts, but as complete successes. Of course there are (as at all times) bad examples as well as good. What Chaucer did was to ensure, by his great example, that the successes became the staple of English poetry. His own greatest contributions to poetic form were the decasyllabic line in couplets and the seven-line decasyllabic stanza rhyming *ababbcc*—the famous "rhyme royal", or Troilus stanza. That he was the actual inventor of the decasyllabic line cannot be claimed, for it is the kind of thing that "grows"; but he was certainly the first to use it greatly and extensively, and he, and no other, gave it the place it holds in English poetry. Every stanza of *Troilus*, it should be remembered, ends with a decasyllabic couplet. The rhyme royal appears first in *The Compleynte unto Pite*; but it is more notably the stanza of *Troilus and Criseyde*. It is the stanza most affected by the authors of *A Mirror for Magistrates*, where it is touched by Sackville into a strain of the highest music.

The beauty of Chaucer's versification was obscured by the changes in pronunciation that followed quickly after his death. Even his admirers and imitators in the next generation failed to imitate his

outshines any mortal embodiment. The "Idea", found also in numerous French writers, became a theme of later English sonnets, especially those of Drayton, who borrowed his very title from a sonnet-sequence by a minor French poet, Claude de Pontoux. The first Elizabethan sonneteer to make a popular reputation, however, was not Spenser, but Thomas Watson (1557–92), who was hailed as the successor of Petrarch and the English Ronsard after the appearance in 1582 of *The Hekatompathia or Passionate Centurie of Love*. But nearly all the hundred "Passions" are in a pleasing metre of eighteen lines (three sixes). Watson uses the normal Elizabethan form in the sixty sonnets of *The Teares of Fancie, or, Love Disdained* (1593). Neither these nor the "Passions" have much poetic value.

Sir Philip Sidney (1554–86), who follows Watson, is a prince among Elizabethan lyric writers and sonneteers, and, Shakespeare apart, is easily the best. The collection known as *Astrophel and Stella* was [illegible]

[illegible] Sidney are as "true" as *Hamlet* or *Arcadia*; they are not required to have a different kind of truth. Sidney was indebted to foreign models, though he was much more original than his contemporaries His sonnets are real contributions to English poetry They have grace, ease and sincerity, and a genuine character reflecting the admirable spirit of the writer.

Of the numerous sonneteers who followed Sidney few need be mentioned. Shakespeare will be considered in his own place. Henry Constable's *Diana* (1592), Samuel Daniel's *Delia* (1592) and Thomas Lodge's *Phillis* (1593), all of which borrowed extensively from [illegible]

[illegible] no help, come let us kiss and part" Richard Barnfield's "If music and sweet poetry agree" deservedly survives Barnabe Barnes, in *Parthenophil and Parthenope* (1593), is voluminous, but says little. Later, came two Scottish writers, Sir William Alexander, Earl of [illegible] nd William [illegible] he Baptist" [illegible] With them [illegible] nius, Fulke

The coming of *The Shepheards Calendar* is a landmark, not merely in poetry but in prosody. But it will be well if the reader makes very clear to himself the danger of studying something called "prosody" apart from the poetry of which it is the vehicle. The real charge against the fifteenth century is not the absence of good prosodists but the absence of good poets. What offends us in a well-intentioned writer like Stephen Hawes is not simply the low standard of prosody, but the low standard of poetry. Actually the fifteenth century had plenty of poetry. What it lacked was a compelling poet. Spenser, in the sixteenth century took up the work of Chaucer. In him, English poetry had gained at last what it had lacked for two hundred years, a master of tone, time and tune. Moreover, his language is ours. Modernize Chaucer, and his verse falls to pieces; modernize Spenser, and though some pleasure of the eye is lost, the verse stands as firm and fast as ever.

XIV. ELIZABETHAN CRITICISM

In Middle English literature there is no literary criticism. That Chaucer had the critical spirit is clear from many passages in the poems. Further, the remarkable admiration for Chaucer himself expressed by other poets from his own time up to Gascoigne's notes on prosody indicates the presence of a critical understanding. But these utterances are casual. The first approach to a series of critical observations in English can be found in the shrewd and endearing prologues and epilogues of William Caxton, simple-minded though most of them are. But at least they were printed and circulated. Opinions about books and authors had begun to receive publicity.

In the middle of the sixteenth century there was a Cambridge "school" of criticism, represented by Roger Ascham, Sir John Cheke and Thomas Wilson, who set themselves deliberately against over-elaboration of style. They opposed "inkhorn" terms and the "aureate" phraseology of the fifteenth century, and were anxious that English should be written "pure". Ascham's book *The Scholemaster* (1570), the most readily accessible volume representing this school, contains some pungent criticism. He denounces *Le Morte d'Arthur*, "the whole pleasure of which booke standeth in two speciall poyntes, in open mans slaughter, and bold bawdrye". He deplores the lapse of English poets into rude beggarly rhyming, and demands the discipline of the classics in writing. It is very odd that Ascham, who had begun with the sturdy determination to write English matters in the English manner for Englishmen, should have been fanatically false to the English genius in poetry, by trying to establish classical "versing" in a language that refuses it. Spenser and Harvey, in correspondence, toyed with the idea of basing

measures—or rather, they imitated them out of measure; and later writers, like Dryden, failed to discover any measure at all. Thus, during the fifteenth century there seems to be a curious failing of the ear for verse, with a tendency to drop consistently into a kind of semi-rhythmic patter or mere jog-trot. The tendency was always present in the romances caricatured by *Sir Thopas*; but what we find, in particular, is the development of a special kind of doggerel combining the worst features of bad *Piers Plowman* lines and bad fourteeners. Even the *King Johan* of John Bale (c. 1538, revised c. 1580) produces lines like these:

> Release not Englande of the generall interdiccyon
> Tyll the Kynge hath graunted the dowrye and the pencyon
> Of Julyane the wyfe of Kynge Richard Cour de Lyon.

In Skelton we get a great variety of metres; but most of them cannot be used for really serious poetry—patter is never far away. The multitudinous pages of *A Mirror for Magistrates* exhibit many metres but painfully inadequate versification

So far in condemnation. But the fifteenth century was also the century of the miracle plays, the ballads and the carols. The popular muse never fails. What did fail were the inadequate and formless imitations of Chaucer. The attempt, led by Harvey, to set English verse firmly on a basis of classical quantity is both a symptom of dissatisfaction and a demonstration of what was not the way of progress. Wyatt and Surrey were the exemplars of the true law and order. Gascoigne's *Certayne notes of Instruction concerning the making of verse or ryme in English* is a most interesting document, both in its condemnations and in its recommendations. It denounces the prevalent carelessness. It rebukes the misuse of the term "sonnet". It commends Chaucer's "riding-rhyme", i.e. the decasyllabic couplet. It warns poets against "rhyme without reason". It regrets the apparent loss of the tri-syllabic foot—rather oddly, as Tusser offers many good examples. Gascoigne himself, though a flat poet, was a good metrician.

Anarchy prevailed longest in the drama. The pure medieval [illegible] it. Bale's *King Johan* (c. 1538) and Preston's *Cambises* (c. 1569, the date of Spenser's first sonnets) show us doggerel in the sixteenth century trying hard to return to decency and order, with an eye on the "fourteeners". At last sceptred tragedy comes sweeping by in the blank verse of *Gorboduc* (1562), which, inflexibly stiff as it is, set for ever the pattern for serious drama here and developed into the marvellous instrument of Shakespeare himself.

learn, not only about classical feet and the figures of speech, but how to arrange verses in the form of "lozanges", "tricquets", "pillasters", etc. The first part is a discussion of poetry in general, mainly classical; but the title of the second chapter is significant: "That there may be an Art of our English Poesie, as well as there is of the Latine and Greeke". However, Puttenham, like Sidney and Webbe, was writing a generation too soon—there was hardly any poetry to criticise. Puttenham gets no further than Sidney and "that other Gentleman who wrote the late shepheardes Callender". There are fragmentary critical notes by Sir John Harington in his translation of Ariosto, in the first instalment of Chapman's *Iliads* (1595), in Drayton, in Richard Carew's *The Excellency of the English Tongue* (1595–6?) first printed in Camden's *Remains*, and in the celebrated *Palladis Tamia* (1598) by Frances Meres, which, however, has no interest other than its detailed and invaluable references to Shakespeare.

The last of all strictly Elizabethan discussion of matters literary is the notable duel between Thomas Campion and Samuel Daniel on the question of rhyme. The two tracts, Campion's *Observations in the Art of English Poesie* (1602) and Daniel's *A Defence of Ryme* (1603) appeared just as the new century had turned, and both show a great advance in understanding. Campion (that exquisite rhymer) despises rhyme and endeavours to construct a rhymeless prosody, partly classical, but respecting the peculiarities of English. The *Defence of Ryme* with which Daniel replied is one of the best things of its kind in English. With true critical sense he presses home the main argument: Why object to rhyme on the ground that there is no rhyme in Greek and Latin poetry? and he lays down, for the first time in English, the great principle that "the Dorians may speak Doric", that each language and each literature is entitled to its own ways and its own fashions. If there could have been a combination of Puttenham's *Art of English Poesie* with Daniel's *Defence of Ryme*, we should have had an almost ideal tractate on English prosody.

Elizabethan criticism may be quoted as an example of the English habit of "muddling through", and arriving at sensible practice after some less sensible theorizing. The critics could not understand Chaucer; they recognized the tendency of English metre to lapse into doggerel; they tried to apply the only standards they knew, the standards of classical practice, both in the making of verse and in the writing of plays. Fortunately the poet-critics refused to practise what they preached. Spenser dallied with classical "versing", but wrote *The Faerie Queene*. And the English drama rose up and walked by itself without first aid from criticism. It should not be forgotten that there is such work as Richard Mulcaster's, which, though not strictly literary criticism, is linguistic and scholastic criticism of no unliterary kind. Mulcaster, as an apostle of the study of English by the English, is discussed in a later section.

English verse upon classical models; but Spenser, fortunately, made this a matter of theory not of practice.

The first piece of pure literary criticism known in our literature is Gascoigne's *Certayne notes of Instruction*. This brief and excellent essay has already been noticed and need not again be quoted. A more considerable critical work, Sir Philip Sidney's *Apologie for Poetrie* or *Defence of Poesie*, not published till 1595, though written before 1583, arises out of a literary quarrel, the first debate of its kind in English literature. Stephen Gosson, himself a playwright, seems to have become convinced of the sinfulness of poetry in general, and in his *School of Abuse* (1579), dedicated to Sidney, indulges in severe moral strictures on the art. Spenser suggests that Sidney "scorned" both the book and its dedicator. Sidney did not "scorn" Gosson; but, leaving him unnamed, gave a polite reply in a little treatise that is both a "defence" of the poetic art and an "apology" for it. As a personal revelation the essay is entirely delightful. Its formal survey [illegible] *Gorboducke*)". His slighting remarks about the popular drama almost suggest a personal incapacity to surrender to the essential "make-believe" of every play that ever was. Time quickly took its revenge upon Sidney by establishing the next fifty years as a golden age of the very kind of poetry he held in small esteem. His book, indeed, is like a great deal of criticism since his time, a theory unsupported by facts; for actually there was not a sufficient supply of good English poetry to afford a foundation for his doctrine. Nevertheless in its general texture and character it is an engaging little book.

The *Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586) by William Webbe is far below Sidney's in learning, in literary skill and in sympathy with the poetic spirit. But Webbe is enthusiastic for poetry according to his lights, and he has the advantage of writing later. His knowledge of the older English poets is the vaguest conceivable. However, he admires *The Shepheards Calendar*; though he is so bitten with the craze for classical "versing", that he tries to "verse" some of Spenser's lines to show how they ought to have been written. Had Sidney's gospel prevailed there would have been no Shakespeare; had Webbe's, there would have been no Spenser.

The Arte of English Poesie, anonymous, but full of personal allusions, has been attributed to Puttenham, George or Richard. It was published in 1589, but clearly belongs to an earlier date. It is the most systematic treatise of its times, and from it the reader could

than we expect of his time. The one virtue that all the collaborators lacked is one that we can spare in this case, namely, an unadorned simple style. They write aureate English and are curious in the selection of "decking words". The popularity of Holinshed's *Chronicles* was deserved. Englishmen found in it a stimulating panegyric of their own country, and poets drew both matter and inspiration from its pages. The text of 1586 was severely "cut" by order of the Council; the "castrations" were separately printed in 1723. Harrison's *Description of England* gives a special distinction to Holinshed's *Chronicles.* His theme is whatever was done or thought in the England of his day, and nothing comes amiss to him. He is English of the English, mislikes foreigners, and still more the foreignized Englishman. A scholar and a man of letters, he was master of a style from which the wind of heaven has blown the last grain of pedantry. He has painted the truest picture we have of the England that Shakespeare knew.

John Stow (1525–1605) and John Speed (1552–1629) were chroniclers of a like fashion and a like ambition. They were good citizens as well as sound antiquaries, and, by a strange chance, they were both tailors. Stow was the more industrious writer of the two. In 1561 he issued an edition of Chaucer's works; later came his *Summarie of Englysh Chronicles,* and then, in 1580, he dedicated to Leicester a far better book, *The Chronicles of England from Brute until this present yeare of Christ.* Stow loved his books; nevertheless, his prose is the plainest and most straightforward of his time. Speed, on the other hand, in his *History of Great Britaine* (1611), was a born rhetorician; yet he supports his narrative more often than the others from unpublished documents. Like all the chroniclers he hymns the glory of England, "the Court of Queene Ceres, the Granary of the Western world, the fortunate island, the Paradise of Pleasure and Garden of God".

With William Camden (1551–1623) the chronicle reached its zenith. His *Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum Annales, regnante Elizabetha* is by far the best example of its kind. Old-fashioned in design alone, the work is a genuine piece of modern history, in which events are set in proper perspective and proportion. Camden would stand far higher in general esteem if he had not mistakenly chosen to write his book in Latin. The *Annales* actually reached English by the roundabout way of a translation from the French. The first part of the original Latin (down to 1588) was published in 1615, the second part (from 1589 to the Queen's death) posthumously in 1627. The English version of the first part, with a fine flourishing title, appeared in 1625; a different translator turned the second part into English in 1629. On almost every page can be discerned the patriotic author's purpose and motive—to applaud the virtues of the Queen and to uphold the Protestant faith. In 1582 he took his famous

XV. CHRONICLERS AND ANTIQUARIES

The chroniclers and antiquaries of the Tudor period, various as they were in style and talent, shared the same sentiment, the same ambition. They [illegible]
said Camden, " [illegible]
as Court-like a [illegible]
unfortunately he wrote his own works in Latin. The other chroniclers, writing in English itself, paid the land and the language a finer [illegible]

historians and the journalists, for they have a keener eye for oddities and monstrosities than for policy or government. They have, too, the common weakness for beginning at a supposed beginning, and like to set out from the mythical Brutus—if not from some earlier hero. Thus Robert Fabyan (d. 1513), sheriff of London, who expanded his diary into a chronicle printed in 1516, felt bound to begin with Brutus

The first Tudor chronicler, Edward Hall (d. 1547), had knowledge as well as enthusiasm. The earliest edition of his Chronicle (1542), called *The Union of the two noble and illustrate famelies of Lancastre & Yorke, etc.*, was effectively burnt by the order of Queen Mary; but when *reprinted by Grafton in 1548 and 1550 it* won deserved esteem. Up to the death of Henry VII Hall is a chronicler, trans- [illegible]

Londoner of the Londoners, exulting when the citizens scored a victory over the proud Cardinal Ascham specially disliked what most appeals to a modern reader of Hall, namely his use of "strange and inkhorne tearmes" at one extreme and his racy simplicity at the other.

Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1577, enlarged 1586) is wider in scope and more ambitious in design than the work of Hall. It begins with Noah and comes down to its own times. The book is a compilation fashioned by several hands. William Harrison contributed the *Description of England* and *the Description of Scotland* (derived from Boece and Major); the *Description of Ireland* was the work of Richard Stanyhurst and Edmund Campion; and Richard Hooker provided the translation of Giraldus Cambrensis. Holinshed's own contributions have better scholarship

performance, the *Actes and Monuments* is extraordinary. The fervid historian's energy never flags, and his homely yet dramatic style never fails to hold the attention. But one may be permitted to doubt whether the desire, either of writer or of reader, to delight in descriptions of physical torture can be considered wholly religious.

Most of the writers hitherto discussed were, so to speak, authors by instinct, who lacked discipline and were sometimes mastered by their own eloquence. But there are three writers, Sir Thomas More, George Cavendish (1500–61?), and Sir John Hayward (1564?–1627), who are scholars and historians rather than mere chroniclers. *The History of King Richard the thirde* (first printed in Hardyng's *Chronicle*, 1543) is properly attributed to More, who no doubt derived his information from the first-hand knowledge of his early patron Cardinal Morton. Its high quality is attested by the fact that the dark and sinister portrait of Richard III drawn in its pages has endured ever since, in spite of vigorous challenge. George Cavendish's *Life and Death of Thomas Woolsey* has had a curious fate. It was circulated furtively in manuscript. Shakespeare read it, and Stow leaned upon its authority. It was not fully and faithfully published till 1667. Then the authorship was questioned. However, all doubt has been removed, and to George Cavendish, a simple gentleman of the cardinal's household, belongs the glory of having given to English literature the first specimen of artistic biography. Sir John Hayward devoted himself to the composition of history after classical models. His *First Part of the Life and Raigne of King Henrie the IIII* (1559), *The Lives of the III Normans, Kings of England* (1613), *The Life and Raigne of King Edward the sixt* (1630) and *The Annales of the First Four Years of the Raigne of Queene Elizabeth*, included in a later edition (1636) of the preceding work, are all good history and good reading. Bacon accused Hayward, humorously, of theft from Tacitus. At least it may be said of him that he sought sententiousness and found it. So we pass from annalist to artist. The chronicles are a mass of treasure. With the last three writers named begins in England the art of history.

XVI. ELIZABETHAN PROSE FICTION

Medieval fiction had normally assumed the form of verse, mainly because tales in verse could be more easily remembered and re-delivered by the minstrels. Prose tales are a natural result of the printing press; and *Le Morte d'Arthur* was a striking example of the new possibilities. Prose fiction, regularly produced, is one of the numerous gifts of the Elizabethans to our literature. It was not a special creation, but the result of many attempts made in many ways —by imitation, by translation, by invention. The first appeal was

journey through England, the result of which was his *Britannia* (1586). *Remaines Concerning Britaine* appeared in 1605. Camden's life was full and varied—he was a headmaster as well as a herald—and his character, as all his biographers testify, was candid and amiable. To our age, he is best known as the historian of Elizabeth. To his own age, he was eminent as an antiquary, and it was his *Britannia*, first published in 1586, and rescued from Latin by the incomparable Philemon Holland in 1610, which gave him his greatest glory.

Camden, [illegible] *laboryouse Journey and Serche of Johan Laylande, for Englandes Antiquitees, geven of hym as a newe yeares gyfte to kynge Henry the VIII in the XXXVII yeare of his raigne*. This was merely an instalment of what he intended. Like some other celebrated persons, Leland could [illegible] published in 1710–12 and was re-edited two centuries later. It is a failure; it is unreadable.

As a topographer, it is Stow who takes his place by Camden's side. The *Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (1598 and 1603), as it was afterwards known, is a diligent and valuable piece of work, at once faithful and enthusiastic. To Richard Carew (1535–1620) we owe a *Survey of Cornwall* (1602). John Norden (1548–1625) has left merely a fragment of his *Speculum Britanniae* (1596). His *Surveyors Dialogue* (1607) may still be read with pleasure. What the travellers did for their country, Sir Thomas Smith (1513–77), [illegible] is, as the author declares, a map of government and policy. In style [illegible] *prehended and described the great persecutions that have been wrought and practised by the Romishe Prelates*...(1563) became one of the most popular of books under the name of "Foxe's Book of Martyrs". The [illegible] idle, therefore, to expect moderation or fairness from Foxe. As a mere

among the authors the name of Thomas Lodge. But edification was not a permanent element of romance, and pure, if fantastic, fiction began to appear—or rather to re-appear, for the old romances of chivalry were not forgotten. A pastoral setting, the adventures of the nobly born in simple life, the separation and reunion of royal kindred—these are motives that we can find alike in Sidney and in Shakespeare.

Sir Philip Sidney was eminently qualified by nature and circumstance to deal with such themes. *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*—so called because it was written for, and revised by, his sister Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke—was begun in 1580 at Wilton and was posthumously published in 1590. Dissatisfied with the materialism of the court, Sidney indulged his fancy with ideal scenes and sentiments, and so we get pastoral idealism, the golden age, and similar agreeable fictions. To Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (1504) and Montemayor's *Diana* (1552), Sidney probably owed his main idea. But Sidney, the convinced member of Harvey's classical Areopagus, added not only such a song as "My true love hath my heart", but limping hexameters and elegiacs and experiments in *terza rima* and *ottava rima*. The style of the *Arcadia* shows a deliberate attempt at a picturesque prose, and therefore it is extravagant, with nothing of Lyly's balanced concision; but its best moments are very good indeed. Those who find the book too long and tedious will do well to remember that it was not written for the general public and a diffused circulation. In a sense, it is a mass of florid correspondence that passed between Sidney and his sister.

Robert Greene (1560?–1592), the second great romancer of the Elizabethan period, compared with the knightly Sidney, appears as a picturesque but pathetic Bohemian with "wit lent from Heaven but vices sent from Hell". His chief romances are *Pandosto* (1588), *Perimedes the Blacksmith* (1588), and *Menaphon* (1589). The first suggested the plot of *A Winter's Tale*. Pleasing features of Greene's less embittered stories are the attractive female characters and the charming verses.

Rosalynde, Euphues Golden Legacie (1590) by Thomas Lodge (1558?–1625) is deservedly celebrated, both as a source of *As You Like It*, and as an example of narrative art. It is itself based upon the pseudo-Chaucerian *Tale of Gamelyn* and tells its story with charm and skill. Emanuel Ford's *Parismus* (1598) and its sequel, *Parismenos* (1599), are obvious imitations of the works of Greene. Nicholas Breton is another of Greene's successors, his chief romantic work being *The Strange Fortune of two excellent princes* (1600). The Spanish romances, popularized by Anthony Munday in his English translations (1580–96), include versions of the Amadis and Palmerin cycles, far-off descendants of the Arthurian romance. See further, p. 287.

naturally to courtiers, who were offered instruction as well as amusement. Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, avowedly designed to

offered a model of machinery. B
new reading public. The bourg
realistic stories, in books of anec
There has always been a public for crime in fiction.

A great impulse to the composition of stories was given by the translators William Painter (1540?–1594), in his *Palace of Pleasure* (1566–7), supplies versions of a hundred and one tales, many from Boccaccio and Bandello, Sir Geoffrey Fenton (1539?–1608), in his

Bandello; and
ful translation.
tie his *Pleasure*
(1576), by George Pettie (1548–
more than mere translation. George Whetstone's *Rock of Regard* (1576), mostly in verse, contains perhaps one original story, and of the eight stories which make
Profession (1581), by Barnabe
"forged onely for delight". T
In most of these tales the style is fantasticated; plain prose (as always) is a later development. Gascoigne's *The Pleasant Fable of Ferdinando Jeronimi and Leonora di Velasco*, already mentioned, is both our first modern short story in prose and a good example of the Italianate "stylized" tale with intercalated verses.

The first outstanding composer of courtly fiction devised for edification is John Lyly (1554–1606), dramatist and poet, whose most famous work has given the English language a word and perhaps a habit. *Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit* was out by 1578; *Euphues and his*

and situation is merely an opportunity for instruction. The book owes much to North's *Diall of Princes* (1557), taken from Guevara, and to the *Colloquies* of Erasmus. In projecting a moral treatise Lyly stumbled on the novel. *Euphues*, with its famous style, has been much condemned by people who have never read it. Actually, in proportion and economy it is a great advance on the sprawling wordiness of much Tudor prose writing. Lyly's carefully shaped and balanced

We need concern ourselves with none of them, except to note

never propounded in the Elizabethan novel as they are in the Elizabethan play; and so the one survives as a curiosity of literature while the other remains a most extraordinary manifestation of the creative imagination. Historically, the novel is a later form of art than the play, and develops more tardily. People can listen before they can read. A form like the novel cannot come to its full strength till an alert reading public has been created. The earlier public read for edification or for controversy; when it wished for literary enjoyment it listened.

XVII. THE MARPRELATE CONTROVERSY

The Martin Marprelate controversy, theological in primary interest and bibliographical in secondary interest, touches literature at two points. It illustrates the development of the prose pamphlet and shows how a religious party, eager to proclaim its principles, successfully defied the official restraints upon liberty of printing.

The Tudor chroniclers agree in expressing the national satisfaction at the breach with Rome. The accession of Elizabeth seemed to promise a final purging of the church from all taint of Romanism. But episcopacy, priesthood and vestments remained, and the fanatics determined that these should be cast out. Under the feeble rule of Archbishop Grindal, it seemed that in church government England was going the way of Scotland. That prospect was displeasing to the Queen. James I uttered the significant phrase, "No bishop, no king"; but the sentiment was Elizabeth's, and she resolved to make the church do something to set its house in order. The sturdy John Whitgift (1530–1604), as strongly anti-Puritan as he was anti-Roman, was made archbishop in 1583; and the reply of the reformers (1584) was an anonymous tract from the press of Robert Waldegrave, lengthily styled *A Briefe and Plaine Declaration concerning the Desires of all those faithfull Ministers, that have and do seeke for the Discipline and Reformation of the Church of Englande*, but generally called from its running title, *A Learned Discourse*. So effective was its attack upon the established order that John Bridges, Dean of Salisbury, endeavoured to crush it with a quarto of fourteen hundred pages. In 1586 Whitgift had procured from the Star Chamber an extension of the existing censorship of books, which gave to him and the Bishop of London power to control the printing presses and to forbid the publication of seditious works; and when in 1587 there appeared *The Aequity of an Humble Supplication* by John Penry (1559–93), and in 1588 the anonymous dialogue briefly called *Diotrephes* by John Udall, Whitgift replied by imprisoning Penry, and disdaining to penetrate Udall's anonymity, fell upon Waldegrave the printer and

Before the last decade of the century was well advanced, the scene moved from Arcadia and Bohemia to London and Alsatia. Idealism gave way to realism. The chief writers in this kind were Greene, Nashe and Deloney. Greene's main strength lay in a relation of his own experiences. His autobiographical work begins in *Greenes Mourning Garment* (1590) and *Greenes Never too late* (1590), and ends in 1592 with the death-bed utterances, *Greenes Groatsworth of Wit, bought with a Million of Repentance* and *The Repentance of Robert Greene*. Descriptions of
of Coosnage (1591), *T.*
Disputation between a
(1592)—a "conny" or "cony", being a simpleton, a "rabbit", easily "skinned" by rascals. These are all vigorous exposures of roguery. Greene also gave attention to the more respectable side of London life in his *Quip for an Upstart Courtier or a Quaint*
Velvet-Breech

and Bohemianism, and among the characters of the theatre we are invited, bitterly, to observe a young "Shakescene" patching up old plays.

The next great realist, Thomas Nashe (1567–1601), was, like Greene, a university wit who lived hard, wrote fiercely, and died young. In *Pierce Pennilesse his Supplication to the Divell* (1592) Nashe gives a fair taste of his quality, but his pamphleteering work is less interesting to us than his short picaresque novel, *The Unfortunate Traveller, or the Life of Jacke Wilton* (1594), the first of our historical tales and a remarkable anticipation of the manner of
To picaresque fiction
The Life and Death of
Henry Chettle's *Piers* *Prentiship* in which the *picaro* Piers relates his life-story to Arcadian shepherds in Tempe.

More than ordinary interest attaches to the work of Thomas Deloney (1543?–1607?), last of the Elizabethan "realists". Before 1596 he had written some fifty-six "ballads" but after that date he turned d three narra-
Jack of New-
celebrates a wealthy weaver, and *The Gentle Craft*,
containing

interesting as a series of attempts, achieved little more than a beginning, and, when compared with Elizabethan drama, can hardly be said to exist. The greatest problems of life are

Martin died with defiance on his lips, and *The Protestatyon*, recognizing that this was the end of Martinism, defiantly prophesied the death of "Lambethism". This was longer in dying than Martin supposed; but it fell with the head of Laud in 1645.

The flood of tracts, Martinist and anti-Martinist, belongs to the stream of religious controversy. Richard Bancroft (1544–1610), who succeeded Whitgift in the primacy, was responsible, not only for the measures which led to the arrest of Martin's printer, but for the prosecution of the anti-Martinist campaign by Martin's own methods of ribaldry. Richard Harvey, Lyly and Nashe are supposed to have been engaged in the controversy; and there appeared 1589–90 various tracts of which the titles are more amusing than the matter: *A Whip for an Ape* (Lyly?), *A Countercuffe given to Martin Junior* (Nashe?), *Martins Months Minde* (Nashe?—the cleverest of these tracts), *Pappe with a Hatchet* (Lyly?), *The Returne of the renowned Cavaliero Pasquill* (Nashe?), *Plaine Percevall* (Richard Harvey?), and *An Almond for a Parrat* (Nashe?). These are a few, and they are inferior to Martin's "flyting"—replies are rarely as bright as impudent attacks. The controversy ultimately sank into an unedifying squabble among the anti-Martinist pamphleteers, and the tracts produced have no concern with literature. The identity of Martin Marprelate, like the identity of Junius, is a matter for unending controversy. Evidence points most clearly to John Penry, hanged in 1593. But nothing known to be by Penry has the wild high-spirits of the Marprelate tracts.

Martin's audacious personality and large liberty of satire were something new and not easily forgotten, and he may be considered as a forerunner of the greater satirist whose *Tale of a Tub* was a brilliant attack upon all forms of religious controversy. Martin was ill-supported by the Puritan divines, who disliked his ribald humour and demanded sober seriousness. The preference was not wholly fortunate. From seriousness it is easy to pass to sourness. The Puritans banished the Comic Muse from England; she returned in 1660 as the handmaid of Silenus.

XVIII. *OF THE LAWS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY*

The reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary had left the political and religious life of the country in ruins; to Elizabeth fell the task of reconstruction. Calvin at Geneva showed that he possessed in an eminent degree the power of ruling men; and English exiles sheltering there looked for the establishment at home of a similar government, not, indeed, because they loved religious freedom, but because they loved discipline, and preferred Puritan infallibility, founded upon the Scriptures, to Papal infallibility founded upon tradition. Pope and Puritan alike regarded the civil power merely as

silenced him by seizing his press and type. However, in some way

fyrste Booke of that right worshipfull volume, written against the Puritanes, in the defence of The noble cleargie, by as worshipfull a prieste, John

Bishops) *be content with this learned Epistle. Printed oversea, in Europe, within two furlongs of a Bounsing Priest, at the cost and charges of M. Marprelate, gentleman.* The bold, ribald gusto of this attack upon the bishops took the taste of the town and Martin's *Epistle* was the success of the day. But the hunt was up. Waldegrave fled to Northampton, to which Penry's wife belonged, and near which lived two friends of the cause, Job Throckmorton of Hasely and Sir Richard Knightley of Fawsley

From Fawsley in November came the second of Martin's missiles,

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Wigston House at Wolston, near Coventry, came in July 1589 Martin's fifth tract, *Theses Martinianae.* A week later appeared the sixth tract, *The just censure and reproofe of Martin Junior.* Hodgkins had still another tract to print, *More Worke for the Cooper*; but he decided to move his quarters to Manchester Here, however, he and his assistants were captured and sent to London, where Whitgift put them on the rack to extort confessions. But Martin was not utterly silenced; and from Wigston House came the defiant and hastily printed seventh and last tract, *The Protestatyon of Martin Marprelat.*

fighting for a completely reactionary religious tyranny. Hooker's fifth book takes us into the realm of great religious principles. It was the last to be published in his lifetime, and it is the most important. The whole treatise had great influence and contributed nobly to the subsequent development of the Anglican ideal; but Hooker's position was not that of the Laudian, much less that of the Tractarian, school of clergy. He was too liberal for both. He was neither pragmatic nor primitive.

Of Hooker's writing perhaps the most remarkable feature is the singular calmness and dignity with which he discusses the raging questions of his time. It can be best appreciated in its moments of grave eloquence. No previous writer had so combined controversy with consummate literary power. The voice of railing and of loud harangue is nowhere to be heard in his pages. But Hooker is more than a great prose artist. He is the voice of the true religion that, under whatever system of regulation, leaves the thoughts and aspirations of mankind free.

XIX. ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES, SCHOOLS AND SCHOLARSHIP IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

During the political and religious troubles of the sixteenth century, Oxford and Cambridge naturally became objects of high policy because they had become part of English life and thought. From the time of Henry VIII they were therefore subject to successive "purgings" of all those teachers who were obnoxious to successive varieties of theological opinion. More tranquil times came with Elizabeth, who was herself a lover of learning, with a bias to national continuity and an aversion to the foreigner, whether Pope or Calvin. Her policy was wisely guided by William Cecil, and during her reign we find the universities restored to their normal function. By the Act of Incorporation (1571) each university attained the status of a corporation under the style of "The Chancellor, Masters and Scholars". It is not the least title to their place in the history of literature, that Oxford and Cambridge bred the men to whom we owe the Tudor Bibles, the Prayer Book and the Authorized Version. In general, it may be said that Oxford was hospitable to the Church doctrines of Hooker and that Cambridge cultivated an enlightened Puritanism.

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[illegible] the fanatics of both parties; but the returned Puritan exiles were vehement in demanding their spiritual Geneva. We think to-day of Calvinism [illegible] to the English [illegible]

[illegible] published a celebrated brief address entitled *An Admonition to the Parliament* in which certain Puritan authors, probably John Field and Thomas Wilcox, set forth "a true platforme of a church reformed". Their ideals were the abolition of episcopacy and priesthood and a return to "purity of the word, simplicity of the sacraments, and severity of discipline". The *Admonition* is an excellent specimen both of [illegible] perpetual delusion [illegible] an ideal commonw[illegible] similar demands [illegible] Richard Hooker was, imme-[illegible]

Richard Hooker (1553–1600) lived and died a simple parish priest, and all that the reader need know [illegible] is unfortunate marriage [illegible] Walter Travers—can be [illegible] The first four books of [illegible] named *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* appeared in 1594, the fifth in 1597. The sixth and eighth books did not appear till 1648 and 1651, and the seventh was [illegible]

[illegible] and place, and not taken over from some vanished age and forcibly imposed [illegible] Testament theocracy is a [illegible] tyranny of texts must be [illegible] must remind ourselves th[illegible] is not *The Laws of* but *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, it being no design of his to lay down definite laws of church government but, rather, to discuss the principles whereon they are based. Hooker was pleading for [illegible] moderation, [illegible] ism, in later [illegible] progress mus[illegible] that Elizabethan Puritanism was

fighting for a completely reactionary religious tyranny. Hooker's fifth book takes us into the realm of great religious principles. It was the last to be published in his lifetime, and it is the most important. The whole treatise had great influence and contributed nobly to the subsequent development of the Anglican ideal; but Hooker's position was not that of the Laudian, much less that of the Tractarian, school of clergy. He was too liberal for both. He was neither pragmatic nor primitive.

Of Hooker's writing perhaps the most remarkable feature is the singular calmness and dignity with which he discusses the raging questions of his time. It can be best appreciated in its moments of grave eloquence. No previous writer had so combined controversy with consummate literary power. The voice of railing and of loud harangue is nowhere to be heard in his pages. But Hooker is more than a great prose artist. He is the voice of the true religion that, under whatever system of regulation, leaves the thoughts and aspirations of mankind free.

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bridge, knew no Greek. Nothing in classical scholarship at either university at this period can be remotely compared with the work of Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609), nor can English learning show a scholar to rank with George Buchanan. The translators of Greek (like North) worked through French versions. Latin remained not merely a subject for study, but the language of scholars.

[illegible] and at Oxford in 1585, when Joseph Barnes set up a press. But the [illegible]

William Camden, a travelled historian, became headmaster. Sir Henry Savile and Sir Henry Wotton dignified the office of Provost of Eton. Education ceased to be mainly clerical, but great importance was attached to exercises in Latin prose and verse. To lay the foundations of prose style was the object of every master. English writing was probably more cared for than appears, for the discipline in Latin developed taste in words and a sense of the logical texture of speech.

The universities produced a few notable scholars Sir John Cheke (1514–57), first Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, named in Milton's "Tetrachordon" sonnet, was eminent at home and abroad. Thomas Wilson, friend and disciple of Cheke, produced his famous *Arte of Rhetorique* in 1553 Wilson's treatise should be read side by side with Guazzo's *Civile Conversation*, translated by Pettie thirty years later (1586), with a preface in which he refers to Wilson and urges the need for a liberal expansion of English vocabulary. Other popular works were Richard Rainolde's *Foundacion of Rhetorike* (1563), Henry Peacham's *Garden of Eloquence* (1577), and *The Arcadian Rhetorike* (1588) of Abraham Fraunce, who quotes current examples of poetry and prose.

Roger Ascham (1515–68), perhaps the ablest Greek scholar in [illegible] Thomas Smith, and [illegible] (1545), a treatise on [illegible] ses, in the accepted dialogue form, the function of bodily training in education, and prescribes practice with the bow as a necessary national exercise. *The Scholemaster* (1570) is essentially the work of a scholar who has

no illusions on the subject of Erasmian cosmopolitanism. Ascham demands English matter, in English speech, for Englishmen. He pleads for style, and urges that the way to gain it is to read both widely and exactly. Only in poetry did Ascham lapse into pedantry. He would recognize no English metres.

In passing from Ascham to Richard Mulcaster (1530?–1611) we step into a different world, for Mulcaster spent a busy life as a master of the two great day schools of the City of London—Merchant Taylors' and St Paul's. The fruit of his experience is embodied in two books, *Positions* (1581) and *The First Part of the Elementarie* (1582). His views of education are large, practical, and modern in the best sense. He wants education for all, and the best education for the best. More clearly than any writer on education Mulcaster saw the possibilities of exact training and enrichment of the mind in and through English. His lesson is even now imperfectly learned.

Il Cortegiano of Castiglione, translated by Sir Thomas Hoby as *The Courtier* (1561), is much more than a treatise on the upbringing of youth; however, its picture of the "perfect man" of the Renascence had a marked effect on higher education in England. There were many similar works, the enumeration of which is unnecessary. In spite of Ascham, men of the world sent their boys to complete their education abroad; and the finer minds returned with a deeper and more intelligent patriotism.

XX. THE LANGUAGE FROM CHAUCER TO SHAKESPEARE

During the period between the *Old English Chronicle* and *The Canterbury Tales* the organic character of the language vitally changed through the gradual loss of its inflections. The changes in vocabulary were much less radical. After 1400 this order was reversed. The modifications in grammar were slight; the developments in vocabulary were very great. The period 1400–1600 divides naturally into two centuries, the dividing point being, roughly, the date of Caxton's death (1491). The fifteenth century saw a steady increase in the importance of the vernacular and its ultimate triumph as the national language. The English of London, like the Greek of Athens and the French of Paris, became the standard of educated communication. The most striking fact about the vocabulary of the fifteenth century is the rapid supersession of native words by others mainly of French origin. The percentage of foreign words in Lydgate is higher than in Chaucer. This general increase is due not only to the literary impulse of translation and imitation but to the growth of commercial relations with France, Italy and the Low Countries. With the passing

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when Thomas Thomas was recognized as printer to the university, and at Oxford in 1585, when Joseph Barnes set up a press. But the centre of English printing and publishing was London. From 1586 licence to publish was granted by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London (see p. 164), and the only two presses authorized outside the London area were those of Oxford and Cambridge. [illegible]

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dialogue form, the function of bodily training in education, and prescribes practice with the bow as a necessary national exercise. *The Scholemaster* (1570) is essentially the work of a scholar who has

possible only in a synthetic language led to new constructions. Intransitive verbs were used as transitive, ordinary verbs as causal—"this aspect hath feared (i.e. caused fear to) the valiant"—and the infinitive was used with the utmost freedom. With the loss of the old grammatical gender came the new metaphorical or poetic gender which gave personality to phenomena and abstractions.

Elizabethan pronunciation is too technical to be discussed in a brief notice. Readers of Spenser and Shakespeare will have observed some differences evident in the rhymes. "One", pronounced as in "atone" was still current in the sixteenth century, and accounts for such forms as "th'one" and "such an one"—now an absurdity.

Elizabethan English was pre-eminently the language of feeling. Comparatively poor in abstract and learned words, though these were being rapidly acquired, it abounded in words which had a physical signification, and which conveyed their meaning with splendid strength and simplicity. This accounts in part for the felicitous diction of the Bible translations. Further, the Elizabethan had at his command all the distinctions, now lost, between "thou" and "you", the curious vividness of the ethical dative, and the emphasis of double negatives and double comparatives. Thanks to the English Bible, the Prayer Book and Shakespeare, Elizabethan English has never become really obsolete. Its diction and its idioms are still familiar, endeared and hallowed by sacred association.

of inflections came an increased use of prepositional forms. Metrically, the most important change, as we have already noted, was the loss of the final syllabic *e*. Even in Lydgate there are signs that it had become mute, and later poets could not find four syllables in Chaucer's "grene yeres" or read with the right rhythm a line like "Tales of best sentence and moost solaas". Other changes in pronunciation occurred. The medial *gh* ceased to be pronounced. Lydgate rhymes "fought" with "about", as Chaucer never did.

In the sixteenth century we come to a time when scholars are concerned for the welfare of the language and seek to improve its powers of expression. Twenty-five years of printing had fixed in the rough the character of modern English. But Latin was still the main language of scholars, who chose it as their medium simply because it was permanent, whereas English "had not continued in one form of understanding for 200 years". Ascham's *Toxophilus* (1545) struck a shrewd blow for English, and Elyot, in his *Castel of Helth* (1534), deliberately used English for his science. The growing use of the native tongue coincided with the growing sense of national patriotism, and the revolt from Rome naturally tended to make English the language of religion. Two tendencies are to be observed, the one, that of the Cambridge scholars, Cheke, Ascham and Wilson, who desired to keep the English tongue "pure"; the other, that of the poets, the true "makers", who desired to enrich their medium. The "enrichers" looked both ways; they revived words from the older vocabulary and they took in new words from foreign languages. Spenser borrowed from the Lancashire peasants for *The Shepheards Calendar*; the scholars borrowed from the classics and from French and Italian.

Some writers in using a learned word added a native word in explanation, a device to which we owe the pleasing doublets familiar in the Prayer Book, "we have erred and strayed", "when we assemble and meet together". From the classical importations the language gained capacity for nobler rhythms, and further enriched [illegible]
of the ordinary man is full of lovely words and phrases first made current by the translators of the Bible—"peace-makers", "heavy-laden", "high-minded" "help-meet", "the fat of the land", "a soft answer", "a labour of love", "the eleventh hour" and "the shadow of death".

Fragments of the older grammar lived on. "Can" and "may" could still keep their old meaning—"For they can well on horseback"; old imperatives, like "Break we our watch up" remained. The loss of inflections, and the attempt to keep the conciseness

found other translators besides Holland, and Plutarch's *Lives* fell happily into the hands of Sir Thomas North, whose genius gave them a second and larger immortality.

The philosophers and moralists of the ancient world chimed with the humour of Tudor England, and the translators supplied those ignorant of the dead languages with a mighty armoury of intellectual weapons. Of Plato there seems to be nothing. Aristotle fared better, for the *Ethics* was translated by John Wilkinson in 1547 and the *Politics* by "I. D." in 1598, neither from the Greek. Far more popular were Cicero and Seneca, the chief instructors of the age. Caxton admired "the noble philosopher and prynce of Eloquence Tullius Consul Romayn" and printed in 1481 versions from the French of *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia*, the latter translated by the celebrated John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, "the butcher of England". A long series of Tudor translations of Cicero begins in 1534 with *Thre Bookes of Tullyes Offyces* by Robert Whytinton. Lodge's monumental version of Seneca's prose (1614) is undiminished even by comparison with Holland's translation of Plutarch's *Morals*. A special place in our affection has been taken by *The Golden Asse* (1566) of Apuleius translated by an unknown William Adlington.

The modern world yielded as rich a spoil as the ancient. From Italy came the stories that made Ascham exclaim "ten *Morte Arthures* do not the tenth part as much harme as one of those bookes, made in Italie and translated in England". He had in mind William Painter's *Palace of Pleasure* (1566–7) and Sir Geoffrey Fenton's *Certaine Tragicall Discourses written oute of Frenche and Latin* (1567). Few books of the time had a more immediate or profound influence than these. They entertained the court and were an inspiration to the poets and dramatists. Painter's oldest stories are taken from Herodotus, Livy and Aulus Gellius; and presently he seeks his originals in the works of Queen Margaret and Boccaccio, Bandello and Straparola. Whatever the origin and substance of his tales, he reduced them all to a certain plainness. His work was quickly intelligible to simple folk and the dramatists had no difficulty in clothing his dry bones with their romantic imagery. Fenton's *Tragicall Discourses* were drawn from Belleforest's French translation of Bandello. An odd fact is that no one translated Boccaccio's *Decameron*, save in fragments, till 1620, though the *Amorous Fiammetta* was done in 1587 by Bartholomew Young and *Philocopo* in 1566 by H. Grantham. Sir Thomas Hoby's version (1561) of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* won the approval of Ascham, who declared that a year's study of it in England would do a young man more good than three years' travel in Italy.

Even stranger than the neglect of Boccaccio is the misunderstanding of Machiavelli, whose *Arte of Warre* was translated by Peter Whitehorne in 1560–2 and whose *Florentine Historie* was translated

CHAPTER IV

PROSE AND POETRY: SIR THOMAS NORTH TO MICHAEL DRAYTON

I. TRANSLATORS

[illegible]

tion for their masterpieces, they believed that Plutarch and Livy would prove sagacious guides to her and to her counsellors. In giving to England wellnigh the whole wisdom of the ancients, the translators provided not merely grave instruction for kings and statesmen, but plots for the dramatists and entertainment for leisured readers. They were impeded by no theories about translation. They would not have understood the scientific care with which Dryden presently distinguished metaphrase and paraphrase. What they seized upon they transmitted with its magnificence and momentum increased rather than diminished. Few of them were scholars, and, when it suited them, they cheerfully translated translations of translations.

Their range of discovery was wide. But it is odd that the classical drama escaped them, and that the golden age of our drama should have seen the translation of but one Greek play, and that one a mere paraphrase from an Italian version of the *Phoenissae* of Euripides—the *Jocasta* of Gascoigne. From Latin there was more. William Warner's *Menaechmi* of Plautus (1595) may have given Shakespeare a hint for *The Comedy of Errors*. Seneca and Terence were very popular, Seneca especially. As far as the Elizabethan drama was classical it was Senecan. Seneca was translated by various hands be-[illegible]ed by Thomas

[illegible]ted as early as

[illegible]ard Bernard's

[illegible]as a complete

Thucydides in 1550, and an unknown B.R. (Barnabe Rich?) two books of Herodotus in 1584. To the incomparable Philemon Holland we owe [illegible]

(1632).

did for

Greenw[illegible]

and it came into English, not from the Greek, but from the French of Jacques Amyot. North's Plutarch is as far from Amyot's as Amyot's is from its original. Not merely the words, but the very spirit is transformed. Change the names, and you might be reading in North's page of Philip Sidney and Richard Grenville, of Leicester and the great Lord Burghley. For North, though he knew little of the classics, was a master of noble English. His prose escaped both frigidity and eccentricity, and so he holds a central place in the history of our speech.

Philemon Holland (1552–1637) was a translator of another kind. His legendary pen was apt for any enterprise. He was a finished master of both Greek and Latin, and so great was his industry that he is the hero, not of one, but of half a dozen books. He sought no aid from French or Italian. He went straight to the ancient texts. He was a scholar, and was felicitously called "the Translatour Generall in his age". Holland had a natural feeling for old words and proverbs, and he loved ornament with the ardour of an ornamental age. His industry was universally applauded. Livy's *Romane Historie* appeared in 1600, *Plinie's Natural Historie of the Worlde* in 1601, *The Philosophie, commonly called, the Morals* of Plutarch in 1603, and *The Historie of the Twelve Caesars* by Suetonius in 1606. It was said that he wrote the whole of Plutarch's *Morals* with one pen. Holland has left us, not mere translations, but a set of variations upon ancient motives, to which we may listen with an independent and unalloyed pleasure.

John Florio's translation of Montaigne holds a place apart. Florio (1553?–1625) had neither the sentiment of North nor the scholarship of Holland. He brought to his task something that neither of these masters possessed—a curious fantasy which was all his own. He loved words for their own sakes with a love which Montaigne might not have appreciated, but which will be understood by any who know Florio's own famous dictionary, *A Worlde of Wordes* (1598).

The Elizabethan translations into verse are inferior to the translations into prose. For this there are many reasons, and the chief of all is that to translate a poet we need a poet of the same magnitude. Unfortunately some of the translators were pedants, not poets. The members of Harvey's Areopagus were on the wrong road. As Virgil and Ovid composed their poems in hexameters measured by quantity, it seemed proper to some translators to follow their example. Ascham began the controversy both by practice and precept. Gabriel Harvey, with massive learning, carried the doctrine further and drew Spenser after him—fortunately only in theory. The most amazing of all translators is Richard Stanyhurst (1547–1618), whose *Thee First Foure Bookes of Virgil his Aeneis translated intoo English Heroical Verse* was printed at Leyden in 1582, with two prefaces expounding

[illegible] *ce* had to wait till [illegible] And thus we are [illegible] *The Prince* had a profound influence upon the thought and policy of Tudor England. It was a textbook to Thomas Cromwell; its precepts were obediently followed by Cecil and Leicester. The mingled fear and respect in which its author was held converted him into a monstrous legend. He is constantly cited, almost always with detestation, and the indignant references are invariably to *The Prince*, which was not translated, and not to *The Art of War* and the *Florentine History*, which were. A German scholar has counted more than three hundred references to *The Prince* in the dramatists alone The explanation is simple. Those who did not read *Il Principe* in Italian derived their knowledge from a hostile treatise in French, a *Contre-Machiavel* as it was called, namely the *Discours sur les moyens de bien gouverner et maintenir en bonne paix un Royaume ou autre Principauté*...*Contre Nicholas Machiavel Florentin* (1576), written by Innocent Gentillet, a French Huguenot, fresh from the horrors of the Machiavellian massacre of St Bartholomew; and this was translated by Simon Patericke as early as 1602. So, thanks to Gentillet, the author of an unsensational recommendation of realism in government was regarded as a master of devilish cunning. He was known through the distorted picture drawn by an enemy. The legend persists to this day.

French was naturally better known than Italian, and it was from French versions of the classics that some of our best translators worked. The first important revelation of French thought to become popular in England was Florio's version of Montaigne's *Essayes* (1603), after which may be placed Thomas Danett's *Historie of Commines* (1596), a finished portrait of a politician. And France, also, like Italy, has her paradox. As we have no *Prince* before Dacres (1640), so we have no Rabelais before Sir Thomas Urquhart (1653) Earlier Rabelasian allusions must therefore have been drawn from the original or from some version of which no trace remains

Thomas Shelton's fine *Don Quixote* (1612–20) and James Mabbe's *Exemplarie Novells* (1640) as well as his *Spanish Bawd* (1631)—the *Celestina* of Fernando de Rojas—belong to the seventeenth century; but the sixteenth century took to its heart *The Diall of Princes* translated from Guevara by Sir Thomas North (1557) The earliest example of the picaresque novel, *Lazarillo de Tormes*, was "drawen out of Spanish" by David Rowland (1586).

The most famous, and perhaps the best, of Elizabethan translations is *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes* (1579), by Sir Thomas North (1535?–1601?). That Shakespeare used it, borrowing its very words as well as its stories, must be counted a unique distinction. It is not Plutarch. It is a new masterpiece on Plutarch's th

Sylvester (1563–1618). The immense celebrity of this work is not now very easily intelligible, nor can the possibility that Milton may have looked into it be offered as a convincing inducement to similar curiosity. Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* found two translators in Richard Carew (1594) and Edward Fairfax (1600), and Sir John Harington, at the command of Queen Elizabeth, made a version of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1591) in eight-lined stanzas. As we have seen, the majority of Elizabethan sonnets may be said to represent translation or adaptation. Only the best of them have the stamp of original genius. Free and unlimited borrowing from ancient or foreign authors was an accepted tradition of the time and must not be regarded censoriously. All that the age demanded was success; how the success was obtained concerned nobody. Dryden's defence of Ben Jonson puts the case clearly: "He invades Authors like a Monarch; and what would be theft in other Poets, is only Victory in him."

II. THE AUTHORIZED VERSION AND ITS INFLUENCE

The greatest of all translations is the English Bible. It is even more than that: it is the greatest of English books, the first of English classics, the source of the greatest influence upon English character and speech. Apart from any questions of dogma and theology, the Bible has all the marks of a classic. Its themes are those of perpetual concern in great literature: God, Man and the Universe. It has, in spite of its vast diversity, a supreme unity. It is, in a singular degree, the voice of a people. It expresses the Hebraic temper and the achievements of the Hebraic genius; and its purely Hebraic portions, the Old Testament, have, as literature, a greatness and intensity beyond anything in the New. The Hebrew Psalms and the Hebrew prophecies clearly stand on a literary plane above the Greek epistles of St Paul.

In the Old Testament, as arranged, three species of literature are successively presented, narrative, poetry and prophecy. These are the obvious kinds, but further distinctions are clear. The narrative books are sometimes epical in their directness of story and vividness of character. The poetry is mainly lyrical, uttering in the voice of one person a universal cry. The prophetical books are, for the most part, poetry of the highest kind, rehearsing the relations between man and God. Both Old and New Testaments are rich in wisdom or proverbial literature. Nor should it be forgotten that the Gospels of the New Testament contain in little space an almost miraculous diversity of matter and unite in presenting with overwhelming simplicity a supreme tragedy. And though book differs from book in character,

the author's theory of verse and quantity. Like other poets, earlier and later, Stanyhurst adapts his spelling to suit his metre, and he uses the wildest words, new and old. Nothing but extensive quotation can convey the quality of this strange curiosity of literature, which, nevertheless, has more merits than those who have laughed at it seem willing to allow. Fortunately a reprint is available. Thomas Phaer's [illegible]

popularity is attested by many translations, among which may be named *The Fable ..treting of Narcissus* by Thomas Howell (1560), [illegible]

Marlowe. But of all the translations by far the most popular was Arthur Golding's *The XV Bookes of P. Ovidius Naso entytuled Metamorphosis* (1567). Using the popular "fourteeners", Golding produced a good level version of his master. His work has a special interest; for when we read such lines as

> Ye Ayres and windes· ye Elves of Hills, of Brookes, of Woods alone,
> Of standing Lakes, and of the Night, approache ye everychone,

we kn[illegible] read. [illegible] *Gallic* [illegible]

Another reign saw the completion of Chapman's vigorous and famous Homer; but as he published a translation of seven books of the *Iliad* in 1598, a word must be said here of his splendid achievement. To do full justice to Chapman's work a continuous reading is necessary. It shines less brightly in isolated passages than in its whole surface. The long swinging line of fourteen syllables chosen for the *Iliad* is so well suited to its purpose that we may fairly regret Chapman's abandonment of it for the heroic couplet in his rendering of the *Odyssey*. If Chapman the scholar sometimes nodded, Chapman the poet was ever awake, and his version of Homer takes its place among the masterpieces of his age.

[illegible] temporary foreign poets was Guillaume de Saluste, Seigneur Du Bartas (1544–90), whose *La Semaine*, a story of the Creation, with *La Seconde Semaine*, or the Infancy of the World, attained European popularity. This was translated into rhymed decasyllabic verse as *Du Bartas His Divine Weekes and Workes* (1592–9) by Joshua

is less read than it should be, and one shall therefore be quoted here in full: *The Holy Bible, Conteyning the Old Testament, and the New; Newly Translated out of the Originall tongues & with the former Translations diligently compared and revised by his Majesties speciall Commandment. Appointed to be read in Churches. Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie. Anno Dom.* 1611.

The Authorized Version was never formally "authorized". It won its way by native worth. In matter it had profited by all the controversy regarding previous translations. Practically every word that could be challenged had been challenged. The fate of a doctrine, even the fate of a party, had, at times, seemed to depend upon a phrase. The predominant version is Tindale's.

The influence of the Authorized Version cannot easily be distinguished from the influence of the Bible in some earlier form. The Latin of the Vulgate is used in most Elizabethan quotations. Spenser and Shakespeare knew, of course, some older English versions; but later writers as diverse as Swinburne and Kipling have clearly felt the influence of the Authorized Version. Many of its phrases have become part of the national speech and are scarcely recognized as Biblical. For instance "highways and hedges"; "clear as crystal"; "still small voice"; "hip and thigh"; "arose as one man"; "lick the dust"; "a thorn in the flesh"; "broken reed"; "root of all evil"; "a law unto themselves"; "moth and rust"; "weighed in the balance and found wanting"; and many more. Selden complained that "Hebraisms are kept", especially certain Hebraic phrases. A typical Hebraism is the use of *of* in such phrases as "the oil of gladness", "the man of sin", "King of Kings"; but they are now as much English as they are Hebrew.

When we think of the high repute in which the Authorized Version is held by men of learning and renown, we must remember, too, that in a special sense it has been the great book of the poor and unlettered. The one book that every household was sure to possess was the Bible; and it was read, sometimes ignorantly, sometimes unwisely, but always memorably. To many a poor man the English Bible has been a university, the kindly mother from whom he has drawn history, philosophy and a way of great speech. The modern world has seen many changes; but it has, so far, seen no movement that has shaken the supremacy of the greatest of English books. If ever the Bible falls from its high sovreignty, we may be sure that the English character has fallen with it.

in aim, and in mere chronology, there is among them all a vital unity, which the least lettered reader instinctively feels.

The passions of the Hebrew authors were few and fierce and uttered themselves energetically. The writers had at their command a language whose very limitations compelled them to greatness of utterance. Hebrew has no philosophical or scientific vocabulary. Nearly every word presents a concrete meaning clearly visible through a figurative use. Such a language is the very medium of poetry. Further, the Hebrew writers were close to nature. There was no cloud or hubbub of words between themselves and things. Not only were their words simple and concrete, the structure of their sentences was simple. Their chief connective was "and". Their poetry was measured, not by feet, as in ancient Latin and Greek, but by word-accents, as in the most ancient poetry of many nations, including that of our English ancestors. Moreover, Hebrew poetry was dominated by the principle of "parallelism" of members—the enforcing a statement by repetition, by supplement or by antithesis, as in such familiar passages as these: "Wash me throughly from my iniquity: and cleanse me from my sin"; "Who is this king of glory: the Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle"; "A wise son maketh a glad father: but a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother". The qualities, then, that fitted the Bible, beyond any other book in the world, for translation, are among others these: (i) universality of interest; (ii) the concreteness and picturesqueness of its language; (iii) the simplicity of its structure; (iv) a rhythm largely independent of the features, prosodical or [illegible] all these [illegible]

[illegible] Jerome [illegible], of the Latin Vulgate, which remained for long the standard version universally used by learned men. Old English showed itself singularly fitted for the expression of Scriptural ideas, as we know from the *Christ* of Cynewulf and the early paraphrases. Chaucer, in a couplet of *The Second Nun's Tale*, catches the note:

> Cast alle away the workēs of derknésse
> And armeth yow in armure of brightnésse.

Of the first English versions we have already given some account. The Bible of 1611 came into existence as an incidental result of the Hampton Court Conference called by James I to consider the demands of the more aggressive Puritans. The lack of a uniform or agreed English version of the Bible was soon felt, and the King ordered the making of a new one. The Conference was held in 1604 and the work was published in 1611. The title page, so very explicit,

Walter Ralegh's. Here we have an account of the famous fight and death of his kinsman Sir Richard Grenville on the "Revenge". His love of adventure and his desire to regain favour at court, where Essex was no friend of his, led Ralegh to undertake his first expedition to Guiana, in 1595. When he returned, his enemies tried to discredit him by asserting that he had never been to Guiana at all. To defend himself, he at once wrote his *Discoverie of the large, rich and bewtiful Empyre of Guiana, with a relation of the Great and Golden Citie of Manoa* (1596); and this story of his adventures, excellently told, won immediate popularity, and was translated into German, Dutch and Latin. Besides these two tracts, nothing is known to have been published by Ralegh during the reign of Elizabeth. For a bibliography of Ralegh's works the reader should consult the original *Cambridge History of English Literature*, or *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*.

Ralegh's life of adventure came to an end with the accession of James I. Accused of treason, he escaped the block, but was imprisoned in the Tower. A long captivity was intense cruelty to such a man, and to find alleviation he occupied himself with writing. It is entirely like Ralegh that, though more than fifty years of age, he began to compose a *History of the World*. As we have seen, history, as a branch of literature, had no existence in England. There were the works of the chroniclers and the antiquaries, but there was no survey. Ralegh desired to bring together all that was known of the history of the past and to use it as an introduction to the history of his own country; moreover his great book was to be for the people, not only for the learned. It was written in the pure strong English of which he had such easy command. Naturally he did not complete his immense task. The large folio which was actually published (1614) begins with the Creation and reaches 130 B.C. when Macedonia became a Roman province. More was planned but never written, and Ralegh's last voyage and shameful execution ended the great project. That he took his work as a historian seriously is shown by the fact that over six hundred authors are cited in the published volume. Its temper is shown in the famous and familiar passage on death. The book seems to have been instantly popular. Ten separate folio editions of it appeared within about fifty years. For the first time English readers could enjoy an account of the Persian, Greek and Punic wars written in the finest prose. The place of Ralegh's *The History of the World* in the development of English historical writing hardly concerns us. To the student of English literature it is a revelation of a great though faulty character and a monument of noble utterance.

III. SIR WALTER RALEGH

Sir Walter Ralegh (1552?–1618)—the name was thus usually spelt by himself and was evidently pronounced Rawley—gained renown in his own time both as man of action and as man of letters. He was [illegible] always have hated. He was too much a monarch, too little of a subject. He read and observed widely, and his ornate and decisive manner of speech soon drew attention to his extraordinary gifts of mind and person. That he was early known as a writer of verse is shown by his introductory contribution to Gascoigne's *Steele Glas* in 1576; but very few of Ralegh's poems were printed as his during his lifetime, and identification is now very difficult. The latest [illegible] by many from Puttenham onwards. Spenser was his friend, and the [illegible] shows his characteristic lyrical style, the scraps of verse (usually translations) in *The History of the World* show his oracular and almost prophetic strain. But there is so very little. In poetry as in life Ralegh was a king without a kingdom

Ralegh's prose works are almost as elusive as his poems. Scarcely anything except *The History of the World* was published during his lifetime. Like other men of rank he was content with a manuscript [illegible] times a generous patron of learning, and assisted Richard Hakluyt [illegible] rt of [illegible] 91). [illegible] Sir

Latin and is translated in Hakluyt. The great Sir John Hawkins (1532–95) made his voyages to the West in 1562, 1564 and 1567 and published an account of the third as *A True Declaration of the Troublesome voyadge of M. John Haukins to the Partes of Guynea and the West Indies, in the yeares of Our Lord* 1567 *and* 1568. It is a vigorous and direct narrative of experiences, full of shrewd observations, and with a notable reflective quality. The North-West Passage had long inspired Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1539–83), and in 1576 he wrote his tract, *A Discourse of a Discoverie for a New Passage to Cataia.* None of the early navigators had any illusions about the dangers and the miseries of these long expeditions. Hakluyt has preserved a memorable account of Gilbert's last voyage; and there are few more striking pictures in English narrative literature than that of the intrepid seaman, on the September afternoon upon which his vessel the "Squirrel" was overwhelmed. "We are as near to heaven by sea as by land", he exclaimed, before he went down. Martin Frobisher's attempts on the North-West in 1576 and 1577 were described by his friend George Best in *A True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie for the finding of a Passage to Cathaya by the North-Weast under the Conduct of Martin Frobisher, Generall* (1578). An enlarged edition of Eden's *Decades* appeared in 1577 under the title *The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies*, edited by Richard Willes, who discusses the practicability of the North-West Passage to the East. Sir John Davys (1550?–1605) made his three great Arctic voyages, which were described by himself and others, and he wrote, besides, *The Seamans Secrets* (1594), a practical treatise on navigation, and *The Worldes Hydrographical Discription* (1595), in which the arguments against a North-West passage are vigorously attacked. Another fine sagacious contribution to the literature of discovery is *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins Knight, in his Voiage into the South Sea; anno Domini*, 1593. The author, son of Sir John, significantly remarks that want of experience is more tolerable in a general on land than in a governor by sea. Reports and narratives of adventures by sea were now current, and Shakespeare, for instance, makes several notable allusions to incidents of travel and to the published augmentation of knowledge.

For most of what we know about the great adventurers into strange seas we are indebted to Richard Hakluyt (1552?–1616). Hakluyt is a striking example of a man with a single purpose. Having heard, when chaplain to the English ambassador at the French court, that in the matter of voyages and adventures the English were everywhere despised for their "sluggish security", he resolved to take away the reproach and to collect such narratives as would prove to the world that Englishmen were as ready for risk as any others. His first published work was *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America & the Islands adjacent unto the same*, issued in 1582 and dedi-

IV. THE LITERATURE OF THE SEA: FROM THE ORIGINS TO HAKLUYT

The movement in the minds of men at the time of the Renascence received a new impulse from the new physical discoveries. Copernicus had seemed to enlarge the heavens; Columbus had enlarged the earth itself. Moreover, for the wide diffusion of the new know- [illegible]

social speculation and of classical inspiration. Poetic imaginings were exceeded in wonder by the marvels discovered and revealed by storm-tossed mariners, in their reports to the merchant-adventurers of the Muscovy and Levant trades

There were early adventures and early records of a kind, though voyages and explorations lay outside the experience of the monastic chroniclers. Nevertheless, Hakluyt includes stories from Bede, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Roger of Hovenden and others, and there were chronicles of the eastern expeditions made by Crusaders. The Asiatic journeys of Marco Polo between 1271 and 1295 aroused great interest in England, and the fictions of Mandeville clearly satisfied a need. But the literature of travel by sea was still unwritten. [illegible]

World were specially stimulating to the English mind. *De Orbe Novo* by Peter Martyr Anglerius began to appear about 1511; the great collection of voyages gathered by Giovanni Battista Ramusio came later, from 1550 onwards. The first English publica- [illegible]

from the Latin of Sebastian Munster, *A Treatyse of the newe India, with other newe founde Landes and Ilands, as well eastwarde as westwarde, as they are knowen and founde in these our Dayes* (1553). This was followed by a translation from Peter Martyr: *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India* (1555). Eden's object was to stir up our own seamen and merchants into emulation of the Spanish and Portuguese adventurers; and that he was practical as well as en- [illegible]

Richard Knolles not only gave information but was written in a style admired by such later judges as Johnson and Byron. *The Travellers Breviat* (1601) by Robert Johnson and *Microcosmus* (1621) by Peter Heylyn (later enlarged in 1652 as *Cosmographie*) disclosed the countries of the known world to general readers. More considerable and original is *A Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom.* 1610 by George Sandys (1578–1644) descriptive of Turkey and the nearer East (1615).

To another class belongs the volume entitled *Coryats Crudities, Hastilie gobled up in five moneths travells in France, Savoy, Italy, Rhetia, commonly called the Grisons country, Helvetia alias Switzerland, some parts of high Germany and the Netherlands; newly digested in the hungrie aire of Odcombe in the County of Somerset*, 1611. Thomas Coryate (1577?–1617) was an oddity, and his book is a curiosity. Its title depicts the man. He was interested in himself as much as in his subject, and wrote in an amusingly extravagant manner. After his continental journey, Coryate visited Odcombe to hang up, in the parish church there, the shoes in which he had walked from Venice. In the next year he set out on his remarkable journey overland to India, and he died at Surat. Coryate visited Constantinople, Aleppo and Jerusalem, crossed the Euphrates into Mesopotamia, waded the Tigris, joined a caravan and, ultimately, reached Lahore, Agra and the Mogul's court at Ajmere. This exploit entitled him to address a letter to his friends at the Mermaid as "Right Generous, Joviall, and Mercuriall Sirenaickes" and to subscribe himself as "the Hierosolymitan-Syrian-Mesopotamian-Armenian-Median-Parthian-Indian Legge-stretcher of Odcombe in Somerset, Thomas Coryate". His letters and the curious compilation entitled *Thomas Coryate Traveller for the English Wits: Greeting. From the Court of the Great Mogul* (1616) display acute observation and a lively understanding of what he saw.

The mantle of Hakluyt fell upon the shoulders of Samuel Purchas (1575?–1626), a great editor of narratives and a man of many words, but of less modesty than his predecessor. *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes, contayning a History of the World, in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells, by Englishmen and others*, was published in 1625. For ten years Purchas was vicar of an Essex parish near the mouth of the Thames, and doubtless began his own collections at this time, and took down narratives from the lips of those who had travelled far. Prior to the publication of his *Pilgrimes*, he had written *Purchas His Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the Religions observed in all ages and places discovered from the Creation unto this Present* (1613), and *Purchas his Pilgrim; Microcosmus, or the Historie of Man* (1619). Purchas, who had never travelled more than two hundred miles from his Essex birth-place, was inferior to Hakluyt, but he was his worthy successor, his later collaborator, and the depository of some of his

cated to Sir Philip Sidney. He published an account of French travels into Florida and made a revised edition of Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo* designed to further the study of scientific navigation. But [illegible] *at any time within the compasse of these 1500 yeares* (1589). The second edition in three volumes (1598, 1599 and 1600) enlarges the "compasse" to "1600 yeares". Hakluyt ransacked the chroniclers for such records of voyages as he could find. He investigated the papers of the merchant companies and, as he tells us, he journeyed far in order to interview travellers and examine records of exploration. It is characteristic of Hakluyt's spirit that he included *The Libel of English Policy* (see p. 114). Hakluyt's great compilation preserves for us a noble and valiant body of narrative literature of the highest worth, both for its own sake and for its interpretation of the Elizabethan age.

V. SEAFARING AND TRAVEL: THE GROWTH OF PROFESSIONAL TEXT BOOKS AND GEOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE

Most of our writers of sea-literature were men who could fight a tempest or an enemy, but knew little of the craft of writing. Nevertheless, some of them were able to set down their experiences with moving simplicity. But we now pass to writers of another order. A literature of travel as distinguished from a literature of discovery [illegible] accrued from the voyages of Columbus; and disputes between the two countries were settled by Pope Alexander VI, who assigned the [illegible] on the Pacific coast of South America; and if Englishmen were to find a monopoly of approach it must be by the north. Hence the tragic assaults on the icy terrors of the North-West Passage. A hundred projects for penetrating the great Pacific were in the air. The Dutch were grasping at the spoil of the Portuguese, and in England men of commerce became men of war, merchant and mariner being resolute to snatch the sceptre of the sea from the weakening grasp of Spain. Home-keeping Englishmen sought a wider knowledge of the world; and their needs were gratified by numerous volumes. The *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603) by

and men. His opinions have weight as embodying the views of a vigilant and sagacious officer. *An Accidence or the Path-way to Experience, necessary for all young Sea-men, or those that are desirous to goe to Sea* (1626), reprinted as *The Sea-man's Grammar* (1653), by the famous Captain John Smith, unites the scientific and practical parts of seamanship. Inevitably there grew up (as in the later days of sail and steam) a kind of conflict between the "painfull seaman" who knows the real working of a ship, and the "mathematicall seaman" who would fail in contest with the "ruffe and boisterous ocean". Luke Fox who wrote the quaintly named *North-West Fox, or Fox from the North-West Passage* (1635) represented the hard-bitten practical man, and he wrote with excellent vigour; Thomas James, author of *The Strange and Dangerous Voyage of Captain Thomas James in his Intended Discovery of the North-West Passage into the South Sea* (1633), was an equally sound scientific commander. These are probably the two earliest separately published narratives in "North-West" literature. Sir Henry Manwayring, captain of the "Unicorn" in the Ship Money fleet of 1636, tried to revive interest in naval efficiency during the demoralized days of Charles I with *The Sea-Man's Dictionary* (1644); and Captain Nathaniel Boteler in his *Six Dialogues about Sea Services* (1685) properly exalts the great office of captain at sea. His book is one of the best of its kind and time. Besides these tracts and treatises there were many broad-sheets of songs and numerous allusions in the works of the poets. The English literature of piracy had to wait till the time of Defoe. Finally let us notice the appearance in 1689 of *Gloria Britannica, or The Boast of the British Seas*, containing a statistical account of "the Royal Navy of England". It is the first approach to a Navy List.

VI. THE SONG BOOKS AND MISCELLANIES

The poetic accomplishment which had belonged to a few courtiers like Wyatt and Surrey in the days of Henry VIII had spread, in the days of Elizabeth, to almost every man of education. Some of the sweetest lyrics in Elizabethan poetry were written by persons whose names are unknown to this day. The poems were passed round in manuscript, were read, or sung, and have survived in written song books or in printed miscellanies. As there was no notion of copyright, in the present legal sense, popular poems could be gathered into anthologies and might appear in more than one collection; other attractive pieces could be borrowed from the acknowledged works of popular poets.

As we pass from the earlier to the later anthologies we observe two main differences: a great rise in the level of accomplishment, and a

[illegible] will preserve his [illegible] late to Virginia. [illegible] powerful navy.

Sir Francis Drake Reviv'd (1626), published by Sir Francis Drake the younger, is the source of most of our knowledge of Drake's exploits in Central America. But in spite of gallant adventures, England failed to establish a monopoly in any of the new regions. The Spanish Main remained Spanish The Portuguese held to the East Indies till dispossessed by the Dutch, who fought strenuously to keep out the English. Nevertheless, it is the East rather than the [illegible] Purchas relate the adventures of Englishmen in India, China and Japan—the story of William Adams in the last named country being specially attractive. Two other works are of special interest: a translation (1617) of a Spanish letter under the title *Terra Australis incognita, or A new Southerne Discoverie, containing a fifth part of the World lately found out by Ferdinand de Quir* (Pedro Fernandez de Quiros) *a Spanish captaine; never before published* and *A Briefe Discovery, or Description, of the most famous Island of Madagascar* (1646) by Richard Boothby. It is doubtful whether De Quiros explored the mainland of Australia; the Dutch certainly did. England does not come into the story till the time of Captain Cook [illegible] between war ship and merchant vessel, and between practical commanders and gentlemen captains. Drake had already encountered the latter difference and had settled it by saying "I must have the gentleman to haul and draw with the mariner and the mariner with the gentleman". Sir William Monson (1569–1643), author of the *Naval* [illegible]

wright. Another contributor is Richard Barnfield (1574–1627), whose verses here and in other volumes entitle him to esteem for the moments when, forgetting intellectual foppery and affectation, he sings naturally and sweetly about the country. The better-known contributors from Sidney and Spenser to Drayton and Browne do not need notice. The title page of the book is anonymous. The dedication is signed "A. B." and what may be called the anthologist's apology is signed "L. N."; but the compiler of *Englands Helicon*, whoever he may have been, was clearly a man of taste, the only lapse being the amount of space given to Bartholomew Young, whose artificial and elaborate pastorals (mainly derived from Montemayor) fall below the level of the rest. Very engaging are the poems described as taken from the songs of famous musicians—Morley, Byrd, Dowland and others. Music and sweet poetry were in full accord in those spacious days. The contrast between the *Helicon* poets and those of the *Tottel* school is very great. In place of the few, repeated measures, the cramped movement and the halting progress of the early poetry, we find ease, grace, swiftness and freedom in metres of all kinds. The combination of technical subtlety and ingenuity with artistic sincerity and simplicity is the specially remarkable quality of the Elizabethan lyric.

Englands Parnassus (1600) edited by "R. A." (probably Robert Allot) is a book of "elegant extracts", a selection of quotations from all the poets of the day, grouped under appropriate heads. Though badly edited, it is an interesting curiosity of literature. The last of the Elizabethan anthologies, and a most charming example, is *A Poetical Rapsody* issued by two brothers, Francis and Walter Davison, in 1602. The one striking new name is that of Thomas Campion; but most of the poems are anonymous, many by an unidentified "A. W." There are sonnets, and some poems are called "Phaleuciacks"—imitations of the hendecasyllabics of Catullus:

> Muse not, Lady, to read so strange a metre,
> Strange grief, strange remedy for ease requireth.

The "classical" will o' the wisp was still being fitfully pursued. The heyday of Elizabethan song passed with Gloriana herself. The closing decade of her reign was a time of deep disturbance and even of apprehension; and we now come to poets in whom a graver note is heard.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(1592) in rhyme royal stanzas is a tragic plaint of Henry II's mistress and was probably suggested by Churchyard's tale of *Shore's Wife* in *A Mirror for Magistrates*; but it is much more modern in tone and technique. A comparison of the two poems is instructive. *Musophilus; containing a Generall Defence of Learning* (1599) shows another side of Daniel's mind. Here he is the apostle of culture, urging the importance of literature as a refining and enlarging element of life. The poem presents a sound case for the discipline of letters. Daniel's interest in history and his general gravity of mind moved him to the composition of his long poem, *The Civile Wares betweene the Howses of Lancaster and Yorke* (1595, 1609). This contains nearly nine hundred eight-lined stanzas, and though not free from the monotony of a chronicle, it includes much wise and dignified poetry. Ben Jonson criticized Daniel adversely, but Spenser admired him, and one of the writers in the *Poetical Rapsody* hails him as "Prince of English poets" for his success in the three kinds of verse, Lyrical, Tragical and Heroical. The *Civil Wars* will never be as generally admired as the *Epistle to the Lady Margaret, Countess of Cumberland*, *Ulisses and the Syren*, and some of the sonnets, but it should not be ignored. Daniel's *Defence of Ryme* against those who tried to force the stream of English poetry into classical channels clearly shows him as a master of language, with no taste either for the archaism of Spenser or for the classicism of Gabriel Harvey. Better than any argument was his own accomplished use of English, to which he gave a classical gravity and feeling.

Daniel's *Civil Wars* had learned something from Lucan's *Pharsalia* and something, probably, from William Warner (1558?–1609), whose long historical poem *Albions England* (1586)—the full title is almost an essay—begins with the Flood and, in successive editions, reaches his own times. It is written in the old rhymed fourteeners and, though often clumsy and dull, tells some good stories. Like Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* it delights in legend; but it lacks the haunting regret which inspires Drayton's protest against the inroads of time, and lacks also, in its superficial sturdy patriotism, the philosophic and humane intention of Daniel's *Civil Wars*.

VIII. THOMAS CAMPION

Thomas Campion (1576–1620) is in a special sense a lyric poet; for his best verses were written by himself for his own music. His Latin *Poemata* (1595) does not greatly interest the student of English literature, except as an indication of the determined classicism which inspired his *Observations in the Art of English Poesie* (1602) written "against the vulgar and unartificial custom of riming", and answered by Daniel's *Defence of Ryme*. Campion was not only a poet and musician, he is an early example of the union between poetry and

VII. ROBERT SOUTHWELL, JOHN DAVIES, WILLIAM WARNER, SAMUEL DANIEL

Of the graver themes in verse two writers are specially representative, [illegible] of the age is in essence a religious poet, Robert Southwell (1561–95), who lived and died for his faith. Born a Catholic, he became a [illegible] and he wrote as a dedicated person. He was anxious that the poetic art should be lifted above such vain and amatorious themes as that of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, published in 1593, and almost certainly read by him, for his *Saint Peters Complaint* (1595) is written in the same metre and adopts the same adorned and excessive manner. This attempt to express the eternal through the imagery of the temporal was not repugnant to the practice of his Church, which has always sanctioned material representations of the immaterial. Some of his shorter poems were collected under the title *Maeoniae* (1595). Southwell's religious ecstasy took a lyric, not a didactic, form of utterance; and his peculiar spiritual fervour and physical intensity are singularly manifest in the one poem of his universally known, *The Burning Babe*.

A good way of learning to appreciate Southwell's poetry is to compare it with that of another religious poet, John Davies of Hereford (1565–1618). The model of his uninspired verse was Sylvester's [illegible] *Summa Totalis* (1607). The antithesis and paradox prominent in Southwell may be found also in Davies, but wearing the air rather of scholastic pedantry than of living and convincing truth.

In Samuel Daniel (1562–1619) we reach the leading example of the graver reflective poetry of the last Elizabethan years. There is no dialectic in his poems and no system advanced, but in his "vast philosophic gravity and stateliness of sentiment", to use Hazlitt's words, he resembles Wordsworth, who was attracted by him and quoted him memorably on two occasions. Daniel began his literary career with the *Delia* sonnets (1592). *The Complaint of Rosamund*

Drummond is not an important poet, but he is curiously attractive, for his spiritual conception of love and beauty makes him a kind of link between Spenser and Shelley. His sonnets are excellent examples of their kind, and, in general, he uses many verse forms with easy mastery. One of the *Flowers of Sion* anticipates the stanza of Milton's *Nativity Ode* almost exactly. Oddly enough, after the publication of *Flowers of Sion*, Drummond seemed to wake from contemplation to activity, and was thereafter a busy man. But he had ceased to be a poet.

George Wither (1588–1677) is known to most readers as the subject of a short essay by Lamb. He had a stormy life. His harmless verses frequently gave offence and the author became well acquainted with the inside of the Marshalsea or Newgate. During the Civil War he took arms for the Parliament and became successively captain, major and major-general. The Royalists caught him and were about to hang him, when Sir John Denham pleaded for his life on the ground that while Wither lived he (Denham) could not be called the worst poet in England. Wither was a voluminous writer—indeed he wrote too much. His principal works are *Abuses Stript and Whipt: or Satyricall Essays* (1613), mild attacks on the vices of human nature; *The Shepherds Hunting* (1615), a set of eclogues; *Fidelia* (1615), "an elegiacal epistle"; *Faire-Virtue, the Mistress of Phil'arete* (1622), a collection of verse, much of it in the octosyllabic couplet which Wither used largely and well; *The Hymnes and Songs of the Church* (1624); *Britains Remembrancer* (1628); and *Haleluiah or Britains Second Remembrancer* (1641). Wither does not rise high as a religious poet; but his pastorals are attractive. They are not in the urban convention; the figures may be formal, but the freshness of the country air is always present. Wither had the true sincerity characteristic of the finest Puritan spirit. It is a piece of irony that a poet of such serious intention should be best known by the gay lines, "Shall I, wasting in despair".

William Browne of Tavistock (1591–1643) began like Wither, Drummond and others with the inevitable elegy on Prince Henry. The first book of *Britannias Pastorals*, his longest and most famous work, appeared in 1613, the second in 1616; but the third remained in manuscript till 1852. His poems show a capacity for friendship, and he was intimate with many poets of the day. Spenser was his master, and after Spenser, Sidney. In the second song of the second book of the *Pastorals* he passes in review the English poets, and praises them with sound discernment. Upon "well-languag'd Daniel" he fixed the now inevitable epithet. Browne was a scholar. He was interested in old manuscripts and printed a poem of Occleve with *The Shepheards Pipe* (1614), offering to publish more if it should please. Apparently it did not please. His own poems, however, with their

[illegible]

accepted text-book. Campion's place in English literature depends, however, not on these [illegible] *be sung to the L*[illegible] *Ayres* (c. 1613) [illegible] His masques are less interesting save in their purely lyrical portions. Campion's lyrics are remarkable for their exquisite quality and their metrical resource. He is a link between the Elizabethans and the Carolines. Possibly there are times when the musician impeded the poet; but in the best of Campion's lyrics an apparently artless ease conceals a subtle mastery of syllabic tones and values A reference to the poems contained in all anthologies of English verse will show not merely the intensity but the variety of Campion's poetic gift.

IX. THE SUCCESSORS OF SPENSER

[illegible] to their pens. No subject was considered unfit for poetry. Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, was moved by statecraft; George Wither by the Puritan spirit; Browne celebrated the joys of country life: Sir [illegible] ancient Scottish family. Two other poets memorably entered his [illegible] pastoral elegy *Teares on the Death of Moeliades* appeared in 1613. Death was again the occasion of his song, for when in 1616 the elegy was reprinted, it was accompanied by a set of sonnets, songs and madrigals expressing his grief at the death of the lady whom he was to have married. *Flowres of Sion* appeared in 1623 with a prose essay on death, called *The Cypresse Grove*, in which Drummond reaches his highest sustained level The longest of the "Flowers", *An Hymn on the Fairest Fair*, is an admirable composition in which the poet is stirred (like Dante) by

> That essence which, not mov'd, makes each thing move,
> Uncreate beauty, all-creating love.

exquisite grace, "You meaner beauties of the night"; to another of memorable quality, "How happy is he born and taught", and to a *Life* written with all the charm and humour of Izaak Walton. *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (1651) contains his collected writings. Like Greville and Sir John Davies, Wotton was a man of great affairs, and ended by becoming Provost of Eton.

With the two brothers Giles (1588–1623) and Phineas Fletcher (1582–1650) the muse of poetry passes from state to church. Both brothers were in holy orders. Giles's *Christs Victorie, and Triumph in Heaven, and Earth* (1610) is written in 265 eight-lined stanzas, containing many passages of individual beauty and dramatic power. The vigour of his phrase and the loftiness of his aim combine to make him a worthy link in the chain which connects his great master Spenser and his great successor Milton. Phineas wrote much more, and, though just as serious, had a lighter touch. *Brittains Ida, or Venus and Anchises* (1628) is a pretty poem in the style of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*. His immense poem *The Purple Island: or the Isle of Man* (1633) in seven-lined stanzas is colossal in scope, for it proposes to explore the secrets of man's nature. His enthusiasm for the delicate mechanism of the body is occasionally expressed in a way that causes amusement. *The Locusts or Appollyonists* (1627) and *Elissa an Elegie* (1633) are more attractive as poems. The first is in a nine-lined, the second in a seven-lined stanza, both interesting variants from Spenser. The Fletchers were steeped in Spenser's poetry, and carried on the Spenserian tradition. Milton clearly knew the work of the Fletchers. But there is a vital difference. In *The Locusts* the fall of Lucifer is merely a prelude to an onslaught on the Jesuits. Milton humanized the devil; Fletcher diabolized the priest. Some of the lines have a familiar note:

> To be in heaven the second he disdaines:
> So now the first in hell and flames he raignes,
> Crown'd once with joy and light: crowned now with fire and paines.

Milton had certainly read that.

X. MICHAEL DRAYTON

Michael Drayton (1563–1631) was a major poet of his age; but neither the present nor any future age will believe that a complete knowledge of his very extensive poetry is a necessity of intellectual life. Born a year before Shakespeare and dying when Milton's earliest poems were already written, Drayton kept in touch with the poetical progress of a crowded and swiftly-moving period and embodied its changes and varieties in his own practice. He has thus a special interest for the student of poetry, apart from his peculiar

Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke (1554–1628) was an exact contemporary of Sir Philip Sidney, whose life he wrote. He belonged to the older school of men, who, like Castiglione's ideal courtier, cultivated the art of poesy as part of a gentleman's equipment; and therefore, although he was a grave and austere statesman who held high office, he felt it a duty to write in verse. But, excepting the tragedy of *Mustapha* (1609) and a few poems in *The Phoenix Nest* and *Englands Helicon*, nothing was formally published during his life-time. In 1633, five years after his death, appeared *Certaine learned and elegant Workes...written in his Youth*; in 1652 appeared his excellent life of Sidney, and in 1670 *The Remains of Sir Fulk Greville, Lord Brooke, being Poems of Monarchy and Religion, never before printed.* In these for the first time was printed *Caelica*, the set of poems called "sonnets". Greville's prose *Letter* to a lady is a noble and too little known utterance. Charles Lamb's quotations from the tragedies *Alaham* and *Mustapha* with his critical comments are still the best introduction to the work of this strange, high-thinking and deep-feeling nobleman, remarkable for his exalted ideas of the state and his exalted devotion to the Queen. Poetry seemed to be natural with him and yet to come from him unnaturally stiffened with a devoted statesman's sense of duty. His end was strange. He was murdered by a servant. His epitaph, written by himself, is the best epitome of his life: "Fulke Grevil—Servant to Queene Elizabeth—Councellor to King James—and Frend to Sir Philip Sydney. *Trophaeum* ..."

... without his deep austerity. But he, too, was a man of affairs and rose to high position in the state His greatest poem *Nosce Teipsum* appeared in 1599, and the earlier *Orchestra, or a Poeme of Dauncing* in 1596 The latter, a delightful dialogue in 131 seven-lined stanzas, flows with appropriate ease The title of the greater work explains its scope *Nosce teipsum' This oracle expounded in two elegies* (1) *Of Humane Knowledge*, (2) *Of the Soule of man and the Immortalitie thereof.* Its elegiac stanzas are gravely written and have occasionally a note of modern questioning Davies does not take a prose theme and embroider it with verse, he uses verse and its beauties to embody his feeling about ultimate things. With the engaging ingenuity of his time, that loved to turn verse into patterns, Sir John Davies wrote *Hymnes of Astrea in Acrosticke Verse* (1618)—twenty-six poems, some quite charming, each making an acrostic with the name Elizabetha Regina

Sir Henry Wotton (1568–1639) owes his fame to one poem of

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merits as a poet. Drayton's earliest work, *The Harmonie of the Church* (1591), a [illegible] old "four [illegible] old-fashic [illegible] *Fashioned in nine Eglogs* (1593), passes from *Tottel* to Spenser, for whom Drayton had a high and continuing admiration. Drayton's eclogues avoid the Spenserian archaisms, and abandon the tradition [illegible] curious biographers, not for the student of literature. We have already pointed out (p. 151) that the theoretical "Idea" comes from Plato, and the poetical "Idea", as a theme for sonnets, from the French. In his next poems Drayton passes from Spenser to Daniel, whose *Complaynt of Rosamund* stimulated Drayton's outburst into historical legend, and we have in succession, *Peirs Gaveston, Earle of Cornwall* (1593), *Matilda. The faire and chaste Daughter of the Lord Robert Fitzwater* (1594), *The Tragicall Legend of Robert Duke of* [illegible] feeling; and certain utterances in *Great Cromwel* foreshadow Dryden in the use of poetry for argument. Daniel again appears in the story, for his *Delia* sonnets are the inspiration of Drayton's *Ideas Mirrour* (1594), though subsequent revisions tended to give the sonnets the tone of Sidney rather than of Daniel. Popular opinion acknowledges only one masterpiece among all Drayton's sonnets ("Since there's no help"); but the final edition of 1619 includes few that have not something masterly in them. *Endimion and Phoebe*: *Ideas Latmus* [illegible] treatment of [illegible] *us and Adonis.* [illegible] to historical poetry. *The Mortimeriados* of 1596 in seven-lined stanzas was rewritten as *The Barrons Wars* (1603) in eight-lined stanzas, with an interesting prose preface defending the change of form. In 1597 he published *Englands Heroicall Epistles*, enlarged later, in which pairs of historical characters exchange letters expressed in smooth and firm decasyllabic couplets. In 1603 came "the quiet end of that long-living Queene" whom he had praised in one of his sweetest songs. She had done nothing for him, and her successor did no more, [illegible] Perhaps to this cause can be [illegible] satire with *The Owle* (1604) [illegible] *one*, both in couplets. Neither

can be called successful. The year 1604 also saw a return to his first scriptural manner in poems about Moses, interesting as a survival of the belief that poets should make commonly known the Biblical stories. Much more important is the volume of *Poemes Lyrick and Pastorall* (1606), which contains the memorable "Fair stood the wind for France". The pieces are varied and arresting. We get suggestions of Milton's *Nativity Ode*; *To the Virginian Voyage* is Marvell with a difference; *The Heart* begins to approach Donne. Drayton's *Poemes* should be part of any comprehensive reading of poetry.

Drayton must long have been engaged on his lengthiest and greatest work, the first part of which was issued in 1613 as *Poly-Olbion or A Chorographicall Description of Tracts, Rivers, Mountaines, Forests, etc.* It contained the first eighteen songs. Nine years later came a new issue with "twelve Songs, never before Imprinted". The thirty books or songs of *Poly-Olbion* with the prose "illustration" full of varied learning make probably the longest single poem of any English writer; and, had there been encouragement, Drayton would have added more. But the *magnum opus* fell flat. Nevertheless, it exhibits immense variety and it has genuine poetic interest, though naturally it does not stay always at the height of poetic argument. While *Poly-Olbion* was being completed, Drayton did little else. In 1627, however, came a volume beginning inauspiciously with the Agincourt song magnified into a long and dullish piece, but containing as well *Nimphidia*, a perfect mock-heroic poem. Drayton was not a poet of supreme imagination, and if he lacked the finer virtues of omission, he atoned by noble displays of variety. Everything he wrote has its loftier moments; he is often "golden-mouthed", indeed, in his felicity of diction, whether in the brave style of his youth or in the more delicate manner of his age. He is a kind of poetical epitome. There is something of almost every kind of poetry in him. Drayton may not be read, but he is delightful to read in.

XI. DONNE

From the time of Wyatt and Surrey, English lyrical and amatory poetry had been inspired by Italian writers of whom Petrarch was the chief; and when that immediate influence had waned, it was revived by the example of the French Petrarchians, Ronsard, Du Bellay and Desportes. The poet who broke the Petrarchian tradition was John Donne (1571?–1631). With him begins a new era in the history of English lyric poetry, of English satire, and of English elegiac and religious verse. He was at once the chief inspirer of his younger contemporaries and the first herald of the poetry of eloquence and argument. Much in his life is obscure. His mother was a daughter of

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though hailed by a gratulatory poem. Perhaps to this cause can be attributed Drayton's outbreak into satire with *The Owle* (1604) followed in 1606 by *The Man in the Moone*, both in couplets. Neithe

disturbed his conscience. However, finding, like George Herbert, that the world had no use for him, Donne entered the Church and was ordained in 1615. The time of privation and suitorship was over. His advancement was rapid. He became divinity reader at Lincoln's Inn, where many of his sermons were preached; and in 1621 King James made him Dean of St Paul's. He would certainly have gone further; but his fiery soul had burnt his body to decay. He rose from a sick-bed in 1631 to preach what people called his own funeral sermon, *Death's Duell*, and died soon after.

Only four of Donne's poems were published in his lifetime, and two of these were in the publications of others. *An Anatomy of the World (The First Anniversary)* appeared in 1611, a second edition in 1612 containing *Of the Progress of the Soul (The Second Anniversary)*. One poem is included among the panegyrics in *Coryats Crudities* (1611), and the elegy on Prince Henry finds a place in Sylvester's *Lachrimae Lachrimarum* (1613). Of his prose, a few separate sermons, some controversial works and the *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions* (1624) were published. His collected sermons were issued by his son in three successive volumes some years after his death. His poems, however, had a wide circulation in manuscript; and, as always happens in such cases, the textual integrity of his work is hard to establish. The first collection appeared in 1633, and a fuller one in 1635, with the poems disposed in the groups now usually adopted: *Songs and Sonets, Epigrams, Elegies, Epithalamions, Satyres, Letters to Severall Personages, Funerall Elegies, The Progress of the Soule, Divine Poems*. Donne's *Satires* are abrupt and harsh in style; nevertheless they attain in their couplets something of the freedom and suppleness of later dramatic blank verse. They are not only wittier than those of his contemporaries, but weightier in their criticism of life. The *Elegies* are the fullest record of Donne's more cynical frame of mind and the conflicting moods which it generated. A strain of impassioned paradox runs through them. The verse, though harsh at times, has more of the couplet cadence than the satires, and there are not wanting passages of pure and beautiful poetry. But there is no echo of Petrarch's formal woes in Donne's passionate and insolent, rapturous and angry, *Songs* and so-called *Sonets*. If Donne's sincere and intense, though sometimes perverse and petulant, moods are a protest against the languid conventionality of Petrarchian sentiment, his celebrated "wit" is no less a corrective of the lazy thinking of the sonneteers, their fashioning and refashioning of the same outworn conceits. In verse, as in figure, Donne is careless of the minor beauties; nevertheless, in spite of harsh lines, the lyrics contain his most felicitous effects. He made the stanza, long or short, simple or elaborate, the harmonious echo of that union between passion and argument which is the essential quality of the "metaphysical" lyric.

with Donne, but that kind of representation is frequently present in Catholic devotions and would deeply influence an impressionable

Oxford, Donne was brought into contact with Essex, and took part in the expedition to Cadiz (1596) and the Azores (1597). In the second of these adventures he was associated with young Thomas Egerton, son of Sir Thomas, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and on his return became secretary to that statesman; but his hopes of pre-

Anne More,

the motive

Donne was

imprisoned and dismissed from his post. During his early years he had visited Italy and Spain and received some general influence from the tone of Italian and Spanish literature, but not discernibly from any particular authors. Of all Elizabethan poets he is the most independent.

of the Soul (*The Second Anniversary*), were written on the occasion of the death of a young girl whom he had never seen—Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Drury. He wrote extensively for other patrons, and assisted Thomas Morton in his controversies with the Roman Catholics. Like other poets, he wrote an *Elegie on the Untimely Death of the Incomparable Prince, Henry*. To this period belong, too, his prose *Biathanatos*, a casuistical discussion of the question *that Selfe-Homicide is not so Naturally Sinne that it may never be otherwise*, the *Essayes in Divinity*, containing his own reasons for accepting

that *those which are of the*

ought to take the Oath of

the other two appeared

posthumously.

Such were Donne's "steps to the altar". As early as 1607 his friend Morton had urged him to take Orders; but he had refused, perhaps for religious reasons, perhaps because the irregularities of his life

XII. THE ENGLISH PULPIT FROM FISHER TO DONNE

The Reformation did not originate popular preaching, nor did popular preaching originate the Reformation. It was always the duty of a parish priest to instruct his flock, and from instruction to exhortation, discussion and argument is but a short way. Nevertheless, the Reformation gave an impetus to preaching. It ensured the preacher an expectant congregation; and the more controversial he was the better they liked him. If it is remembered that, in the days when readers were few and newspapers had no existence, the preacher had the opportunities of the journalist, the length of sermons and the popular passion for them cease to be surprising. Authority, therefore, whether ecclesiastical or civil, could not afford to ignore the power of the pulpit, and sought to control it by a rigorous system of licensing. At dangerous moments general preaching was silenced and the few privileged pulpits were strictly supervised. The result was that in the country at large preachers were reduced to silence and the congregations to the harmless fare of the Homilies. In considering even the spoken language of religious controversy, the reader must remember that the idiom of theology was Latin, just as the idiom of law was French. This was not the effect of mere tradition or clerical conservatism. The technique and the terms of theology were firmly established in Latin and in no other language. English in the sixteenth century had attained to many felicities, but it had not yet become the language of abstract science. For many years English theologians had to wrestle with the difficulty of making Latin terms clear in English before they won the two great triumphs, liturgical and theological, marked by Cranmer's *Prayer Book* of 1549 and Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* of 1594.

From Fisher to Donne almost all great preachers preached without book. Donne speaks of spending eight hours in writing out a sermon already delivered. John Fisher (1459?–1535), the saintly and martyred Bishop of Rochester, was urged to print some of his sermons, and, in 1508, there came from the press of Wynkyn de Worde *This treatyse concernynge the fruytful sayinges of Davyd the kynge & prophete in the seven penytencyall psalmes. Devyded in seven sermons.* Others followed later. Fisher's literary skill is visible in his many comparisons and images, some homely and humorous, others far-fetched and over-elaborate. The actual technique of sentence-structure in English obviously causes him difficulty, and certain long sentences do not work out exactly. Nevertheless, the two funeral sermons on Henry VII (1509) and the Lady Margaret (1509) display a noble and sonorous rhetoric with all the charms of rhythm and

One remarkable poem, bearing the same title as *The Second Anniversary* is *The Progress of the Soule. Infinitati Sacrum. 16 Augusti 1601. Metempsycosis. Poema Satyricon.* A prose epistle extends the Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis from animals to vegetables, and proposes that the poem shall relate all the passages of the apple eaten by Eve; but it goes no further than Temech, "sister and wife to Cain, Cain that first did plough"; and the poem closes abruptly with a stanza of Byronic scepticism and scorn. It was not intended for publication. Very different from this is the other *Progress of the Soul—The Second Anniversary*, which is the finest of Donne's funeral elegies. It is not merely rich in jewels of utterance, it is also a true *meditatio mortis*, developed with the serried eloquence, the intense, dull glow of feeling and the sonorous cadences which we find again in the prose of the sermons. The same intense spirit burns in the best of his *Divine Poems.* Donne is not only the first of the "metaphysical" love poets, he is, likewise, the first of the introspective, religious poets of the seventeenth century.

Donne's fame as a prose writer rests on his sermons. In them all the qualities of his poems are present in a different medium—the swift and subtle reasoning, the powerful yet often quaint imagery, the intense feeling, and, lastly, the wonderful music of the style,

for imitation. His very faults are dangerously attractive Few
are so disconcerting If we had less of him we should think mo
him. Certain lines and passages read alone have a supremacy
achievement that seems to place him with the greatest of
But that supremacy is fitful and unmaintained. Too often the poet
seduced into the maze of intellectual ideas, and, with conscio
audacity, resorts to twists and turns of cerebral activity and dissonant
ejaculation which, though almost irresistible to super-civilized minds,
must not be mis
poetic creation.
counteracting the
and facility. In
more condensed
of vision, rare intensities of feeling, surprising felicities of expression, in the troubled poetry of Donne that one would not sacrifice for the smoothness of more consummate art.

habit of listening to sermons as a kind of gratification. In his own preaching Andrewes had the homely mannerisms of the day, but the holiness of his life and the sincerity of his aims were not doubted by the most frivolous. His learning was fitly employed in the translation of the Pentateuch for the Authorized Version; it was less happily used in his sermons, which are learned, not in style, but in the severe ordering of his thought. They are therefore less generally known than his *Private Devotions—Preces Privatae*—written for his own use, in one or more of the learned languages, and translated into English by other hands; but their appeal, if not wide, is deep.

Of the sermons of Donne we have already spoken. They were in all respects more "sensational" than the severely argued discourses of Andrewes and they were, and still are, more generally popular. But there is no need to doubt Donne's sincerity, even though his "literary" devices are rather obvious. Plainly he rejoiced in his own power; but he impressed his own age, as he impresses the reader of to-day, with his tremendous earnestness. Death, the preacher's great commonplace, is with him a reality.

XIII. ROBERT BURTON, JOHN BARCLAY, JOHN OWEN

The first half of the seventeenth century was eminently an age of learning, and three authors carry specially this mark of their period. Two of them, Owen and Barclay, delivered themselves in Latin, one producing the best known body of Latin epigram since Martial, the other the most famous work in Latin prose fiction since Apuleius. Burton would have written in Latin if a printer could have been found. As it is, Latin is never absent from his pages. For width of reading, rather than precise scholarship, Burton may count among the most learned of English writers. The study of man was the purpose of all three; and this aim they pursued with an engaging eagerness for detail that is sometimes hard to distinguish from pedantry.

Remarkable as *The Anatomy* seems, there was nothing remarkable in the author or his life. Robert Burton (1577–1640) was a permanent resident at Oxford, using the resources of his own Christ Church library and the newly-founded Bodleian with a scholar's appetite. He was "by profession a divine, by inclination a physician". He held minor ecclesiastical preferments and would have liked promotion to something higher. The first edition of his famous work appeared in 1621 as *The Anatomy of Melancholy, What it is. With all the Kindes, Causes, Symptomes, Prognostickes, and Severall Cures of it. In Three Maine Partitions with their severall Sections, Members and Subsections.*

[illegible] He is the expositor rather [illegible] ation of abuses he has the [illegible]

Hugh Latimer (1 [illegible] of success that ca [illegible] field and Wesley. [illegible] did not trouble abc [illegible] talking rather than set speeches, were written down by other hands, probably without revision by their author. No word or illustration is too homely for him to use. He avoids theological subtleties, and *he is fearless in denouncing sin. No one to-day holds Latimer's* views about Papists and Anabaptists; but bribery is still bribery. The [illegible]

A generation had grown up habituated to theological controversy. The sermons of John Jewel (1522–71), Bishop of Salisbury, have [illegible]

he rendered to the contemporary pulpit: he set an example of [illegible]

a sanctified Church".

The strict enforcement of the penal laws, and the limited and furtive nature of their opportunities of worship, prevented Roman Catholics in England from contributing to the general store of printed sermons. Controversial and devotional writings exist in sufficient quantity to show that there were men who might have made good use of happier times. Edmund Campion's letters are attractive, Robert Parsons's *Christian Directory* (1585) received the *compliment of many Protestant editions, and the rich fancy of* Robert Southwell's tracts, such as *Mary Magdalens Teares* (1591) and *The Triumphs over Death* (1595), won the praise of Francis Bacon.

The Puritan tendency to exalt the sermon affected its quality. Once, Hooker remarks, religious men chiefly wearied their knees and their hands; now they exercise merely their ears and their tongues. Lancelot Andrewes (1555–1626) also speaks out against the

habit of listening to sermons as a kind of gratification. In his own preaching Andrewes had the homely mannerisms of the day, but the holiness of his life and the sincerity of his aims were not doubted by the most frivolous. His learning was fitly employed in the translation of the Pentateuch for the Authorized Version; it was less happily used in his sermons, which are learned, not in style, but in the severe ordering of his thought. They are therefore less generally known than his *Private Devotions—Preces Privatae*—written for his own use, in one or more of the learned languages, and translated into English by other hands; but their appeal, if not wide, is deep.

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Remarkable as *The Anatomy* seems, there was nothing remarkable in the author or his life. Robert Burton (1577–1640) was a permanent resident at Oxford, using the resources of his own Christ Church library and the newly-founded Bodleian with a scholar's appetite. He was "by profession a divine, by inclination a physician". He held minor ecclesiastical preferments and would have liked promotion to something higher. The first edition of his famous work appeared in 1621 as *The Anatomy of Melancholy, What it is. With all the Kindes, Causes, Symptomes, Prognostickes, and Severall Cures of it. In Three Maine Partitions with their severall Sections, Members and Subsections.*

Philosophically, Medicinally, Historically, Opened and Cut up. By Democritus Junior. If the lengthy title is carefully read the student will avoid the not unusual mistake of supposing that the work is the disorderly commonplace book of a vast and curious reader. The book is as seriously intended as a modern psychologist's treatise on repressions, and it differs from such a work only in its literary excellence, its elaborate precision, its rich humour and its perfect honesty. The first "partition" deals with the definition, causes, symptoms and properties of melancholy; the second (and shortest) with the cure; the third (in its final form by far the longest), with the definition, [illegible] … [illegible] pared and with whom he certainly has this in common, that the same readers seem drawn to both. Burton possessed an inordinate appetite for reading; but it is absurd to suppose that he was pedantically devoted to obsolete books. What is obsolete for us was not obsolete for the seventeenth century. Burton quoted from standard works of his time and quoted their quotations. Though his prose does not attain the altitude at which Sir Thomas Browne moves with ease, Burton was consciously concerned about his vocabulary and the rhythm of [illegible] pillaged him. Lamb parodied him. Coleridge annotated him. Southey transcribed him. Keats versified him. Byron praised him. The present age has sumptuously reprinted him. His academic play *Philosophaster* and his Latin verses do not need notice.

John Barclay (1582–1621) is a pleasing example of the cosmopolitan Scot. He was born in France; he married a Frenchwoman; he lived successively in England and Italy; he was obscurely connected with the court of James I; and if he failed to obtain high state preferment it was not through lack of endeavour. Intellectually, Barclay was a compound of the student, the man of letters and the curious observer of affairs. Most of his works have no interest for us. His main importance for the history of literature rests on his two adventures in fiction, both in Latin, *Euphormionis Satyricon* and *Argenis*, the one a contribution to the development of the picaresque novel, the other a finished example of ideal romance. In plot, Barclay's satirical novel is merely a string of adventures. The narrative does not end, it just breaks off. *Argenis* (1621) is a more mature work than *Euphormio* (1603); there is a clearer intention, there is a

carefully-constructed plot, and there is a perceptible advance in style. We need not describe the story. According to one view, *Argenis* is a political treatise cast in the form of a novel. According to another, it is an elaborate historical allegory. According to another, it is simply a romance. That there is really a fusion of romantic, political and historical motives is proved by the author's own words. Before the close of the seventeenth century, the Latin text of *Argenis* was reprinted between forty and fifty times. Its popularity is proved by translations into ten languages and more than one continuation. There are several English versions, the last by Clara Reeve, the "Gothick" novelist (1772); it is called *The Phoenix*.

The *Epigrammatum Ioannis Owen Cambro-Britanni Libri Tres* (1607) with three succeeding volumes made the name of the witty Welshman, John Owen (1563?–1622), long famous in Europe. He is the British Martial, with the wit and snap of his model. Of the favourable impression which he made upon his contemporaries, there can be no doubt. Five English translations of the whole or part of his epigrams appeared before 1678, the earliest by John Vicars in 1619. The strangest phenomenon about Owen's influence is to be found in the German literature of the seventeenth century. A whole school of writers arose who devoted themselves to epigram, after the manner of Owen. In the eighteenth century his work was still alive. Lessing criticized him with severity, but paid him the sincerest form of flattery. Cowper translated some of his epigrams. In the second year of the French Republic, one of the very first books issued from the press of Didot was the epigrams of Owen. Owen will never again be as highly valued as in the past, but the present neglect of his work is quite undeserved.

XIV. THE BEGINNINGS OF ENGLISH PHILOSOPHY

Parts of the present section recapitulate some of the matter contained in earlier pages and to these the reader should refer. With Francis Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* (1605) the English language becomes for the first time the vehicle of an important treatise in philosophy. Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, which preceded it by eleven years, belongs to theology rather than to philosophy. Bacon's predecessors had used the common language of learned men; he was a pioneer in daring to employ English for a work of speculation, even though he proposed to write his *magnum opus* in Latin. The place of birth or residence of a medieval philosopher had no influence on the ideas or style of his work. Philosophy was international and universal. Bacon's use of the English language has therefore caused him to be regarded, not very soundly, both as the beginner of English philosophy and as the type of English philosophical genius.

Philosophically, Medicinally, Historically, Opened and Cut up. By [illegible]

[illegible]

as seriously intended as a modern psychologist's treatise on repressions, and it differs from such a work only in its literary excellence, its elaborate precision, its rich humour and its perfect honesty. The first "partition" deals with the definition, causes, symptoms and properties of melancholy; the second (and shortest) with the cure; the third (in its final form by far the longest), with the definition, symptoms and cure of the two distinct species, love melancholy and religious melancholy. Burton's humour is pervasive and inseparably intertwined with his irony and the kindly commonsense of his attitude to life. He has touches of Montaigne, yet remains as English as Chaucer or Fielding. Neither in daring of thought nor in harmony of words can he rival Sir Thomas Browne, to whom he has been compared and with whom he certainly has this in common, that the same readers seem drawn to both. Burton possessed an inordinate appetite for reading; but it is absurd to suppose that he was pedantically devoted to obsolete books. What is obsolete for us was not obsolete for the seventeenth century. Burton quoted from standard works of his time and quoted their quotations. Though his prose does not attain the altitude at which Sir Thomas Browne moves with ease, Burton was consciously concerned about his vocabulary and the rhythm of [illegible] edition are evidence of [illegible] There is no need to [illegible] admired him. Sterne pillaged him. Lamb parodied him. Coleridge annotated him. Southey transcribed him. Keats versified him. Byron praised him. The present age has sumptuously reprinted him. His academic play *Philosophaster* and his Latin verses do not need notice.

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Duns Scotus denied the validity of natural theology, believing that there could be small connection between reason and revelation. With Ockham, who was a pupil of Duns Scotus, the separation between theology and philosophy, faith and reason, was made complete. In his view, whatever transcends experience belongs to faith, not to argument. He opposed "Realism"—the belief that "universals" or general ideas had somehow and somewhere a real existence, and became the greatest exponent of "Nominalism"—the belief that general ideas were abstractions to which names had been given. "Occam's razor", *Entia non sunt multiplicanda* (entities are not to be postulated without necessity shown) was the axiom by which William dissected every question. Incidentally, he was advanced in his political views, defending the power of the temporal sovereign against the claims of the Pope. The *Doctor Singularis et Invincibilis* is the last of the great schoolmen, for his work struck at the root of the whole scholastic system.

Of Roger Bacon's life, works and misfortunes we have already spoken. He is a most striking example of genius thwarted by time and circumstances. His originality could have no scope in a world of thought narrowly limited by theological orthodoxy, and he suffered persecution and long imprisonments. Roger Bacon's learning seems to have been unique in his time; he read Aristotle in Greek, and expressed unmeasured contempt for the Latin translations. He was acquainted with the writings of the Arab men of science, whose views were far in advance of all other contemporary knowledge. His doctrine of scientific method has been compared with that of his more famous namesake. No less decisively than Francis, Roger rejected the claims of permanent authority in matters of science; like him, he took a comprehensive view of knowledge and attempted a classification of the sciences. But Roger, unlike Francis, was also a mathematician, and looked upon mathematical proof as the type of sound demonstration. Further, he saw the importance in scientific method of two steps inadequately recognized by Francis Bacon—the deductive application of elementary laws to the facts observed, followed by the experimental verification of the results.

Between Roger and Francis Bacon there are no outstanding names in English philosophical literature. Wyclif's philosophical beginning is lost in the greater glory of his religious activities; and after Wyclif we have to wait till the sixteenth century before we encounter even minor writers like Everard Digby and William Temple. The controversy between Digby and Temple at Cambridge, Digby asserting the old Aristotelianism and Temple maintaining the new *Dialectica* of Ramus, a Calvinist who ended as a victim of St Bartholomew's Eve, has interest for us, because Francis Bacon may have been acquainted with their views. Temple shows at least a glimmer of understanding

From the end of the eighth century, when Alcuin of York was summoned to the court of Charles the Great, down to the middle of the fourteenth century, when the work of Ockham was finished, there was a long succession of British scholars among the writers who contributed to the development of philosophy in Europe. The most [illegible] wardine. The philosophy they represented was, mainly, an attempt [illegible] tion and dialectical subtleties of the schoolmen there is seldom wanting a strain of deeper thought, which attains its full development in medieval mysticism.

To Erigena may be traced both medieval mysticism and the scholastic method. He seems to have been born in Ireland about 810, and to have proceeded to France some thirty years later. He was the predecessor of scholasticism, but was not himself one of the schoolmen. His anticipation of them consists not only in his dialectical method but also in his recognition of the authority of the Bible and [illegible] the early part of the sixth century, came to be received as the genuine work of Dionysius the Areopagite, converted by St Paul (Acts xvii, 34). Erigena could hardly have had much acquaintance with the work of Aristotle, whose writings did not become known till the beginning of the thirteenth century, and then in Latin translations from the Arabic versions and commentaries made by Avicenna of Persia (980–1037) and Averroes of Cordoba (1126–1198), who themselves probably used other Eastern versions.

Aristotle's writings, at first viewed with suspicion by the Church, were afterwards definitely adopted, and his authority in philosophy became an article of scholastic orthodoxy. The great systems of the thirteenth century—especially the most enduring monument of scholastic thought, the *Summa* of St Thomas Aquinas—are founded on his teaching. But uniformity of opinion was not maintained com- [illegible] became the rival of "Thomism" in the schools. The effect of Duns Scotus's work was to break up the harmony of faith and reason which had been asserted by St Thomas

and significant fact that while everybody admires Bacon nobody loves him. He is the least liked of all great English writers. But excesses of blame and defence are both to be deprecated as out of the picture, whether of the man or of his time. Having at last attained great place Bacon took, as many other famous persons took, before and after him, what seemed the normal fruits of office. We bow with admiration before the sublime integrity of another Lord Chancellor, St Thomas More; but we must recognize that few are born to wear the ascetic's hair-shirt and the martyr's crown. Bacon was certainly not numbered with the saints. There was no trace in him of the English romantic or sentimental strain; instead, he had full measure of the passionless realism that we may call, as we will, scientific, judicial or Machiavellian. He could present implacably the case for the prosecution against his friend and benefactor, the rash and romantic Essex, inevitably doomed, whoever appeared for or against him. We may shudder at what seems the black ingratitude of Bacon, but we must not suppose that the age felt our repugnance. Men lived dangerously then, and took what came to them. Bacon was not the man to throw away his life for a lost cause; yet, oddly enough, he was a martyr to science, for he died of a chill contracted while experimenting with the preservative properties of snow. Pope's too famous line, "The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind" can be dismissed as merely sentimental—or even journalistic. Bacon was such a man as could have done the work he did; and there the matter should rest. We are not to expect incompatibles of anyone.

In the midst of legal and political labours Bacon never lost sight of his larger ambitions. He published the first edition of his *Essays* in 1597, the second (enlarged) edition appearing in 1612, and the third (completed) edition in 1625. *The Twoo Bookes of Francis Bacon of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning Divine and Humane* appeared in 1605, *De Sapientia Veterum* in 1609, *Instauratio Magna (Novum Organum)* in 1620. After his disgrace, Bacon lived at Gorhambury, the paternal estate, and there he devoted himself to writing. *The Historie of the Raigne of King Henry the Seventh* appeared in 1622, and *De Augmentis Scientiarum* in 1623; the *New Atlantis* was written in 1624 and published in 1627; at his death he was at work on *Sylva Sylvarum; or A Natural History* (1627), and he left behind him many sketches and detached portions of his great but incomplete design.

Bacon considered himself devoted to three objects: the discovery of truth, the welfare of his country, and the reform of religion; and of these three objects, the first always held the highest place in his thoughts. "I confess", he wrote to Burghley about 1592, "that I have as vast contemplative ends as I have moderate civil ends: for I have taken all knowledge to be my province." The last familiar sentence is usually taken to mean that Bacon proposed absurdly to

that scientific reasoning must proceed, not from universals to particulars, but from particulars to universals.

While these controversies occupied the schools, William Gilbert (1540–1603), a royal physician, was engaged in the researches and experiments which resulted in the publication of the first great English work of physical science, *De Magnete magneticisque corporibus* (1600). Gilbert expressed himself as decisively as did Bacon afterwards on the futility of expecting to arrive at knowledge of nature by mere speculation or by a few vague experiments. He had, indeed, no theory of induction; but he knew that he was introducing a "new style of philosophizing". Gilbert has been called "the first real physicist and the first trustworthy methodical experimenter". He was the founder of the theory of magnetism and electricity; and he gave the latter its name, *vis electrica.* He explained the inclination of the magnetic needle by his conception of the earth as a magnet with two poles; he defended the Copernican theory; and in his discussion of the attraction of bodies there is a suggestion of the doctrine of universal gravitation. Gilbert also reached a correct view of the atmosphere as extending only a few miles from the surface of the earth.

The greatest philosopher of the time, Francis Bacon (1561–1626), led an important public life as statesman and jurist. He was the [illegible] Cecils, for promotion. He entered Parliament in 1584; but office was long in coming. Neither the Queen nor the Cecils would help him. The places he sought were never unworthy nor beyond his merits; but he sought them in ways not always dignified. He became Solicitor-General in 1607, Attorney-General in 1613, Privy Councillor in 1616, Lord Keeper in 1617, and Lord Chancellor in 1618. He was knighted in 1603, created Baron Verulam in 1618, and Viscount St Albans in 1621. A few weeks later, charges of having received bribes from suitors in his court were brought against him. Bacon was convicted on his own confession, and sentenced to de- [illegible] amount of attention given to Bacon's downfall is a tribute to his greatness. People seem to expect from him a standard of conduct that would have been scarcely intelligible to his age. The politicians who procured his disgrace were not ministers of virtue. They were moved by dislike, not of bribery, but of the man; for it is a singular

Bacon is almost as contemptuous of the old induction, which proceeded from a few instances to general laws, as he is of the syllogism. His new induction is to advance by gradual stages of increasing generality, and it is to be based on an exhaustive collection of instances. Bacon was right in principle, but he expected more of the inductive method than it can give. A method cannot exist perfectly in a vacuum. It is worked by human instruments, which are liable to error. Nature does not stand still while investigators collect instances. Further, Bacon misunderstood the nature and function of hypothesis, upon which all scientific advances depend, and he undervalued the deductive method, which is an essential instrument, not indeed of discovery, but of verification. Moreover, his knowledge of the exact sciences was deficient; and so his great scientific contemporary, Harvey, was wittily just when he said that Bacon wrote science like a Lord Chancellor. Darwin, however, declared that he worked "on true Baconian principles, and, without any theory, collected facts on a wholesale scale". But Darwin, like Bacon himself, was richly endowed with the scientific imagination, which Bacon seems to take for granted. The "great instauration" was not completed. Bacon was working on *Sylva Sylvarum*, a collection of material (in English) for the third part of the *Instauratio*, when he died.

Bacon's observations on private and public affairs, familiarly expressed in the celebrated *Essays*, are full of practical wisdom of the kind commonly called "worldly". He was under no illusions about the ordinary motives of men, and he thought that "we are much beholden to Machiavel and others, that write what men do and not what they ought to do". Bacon's contributions to human philosophy do not rank in importance with his reforming work in natural philosophy. He drew a distinction between public and private good; but that was a matter of general debate. His influence upon the thought of his own time was singularly slight. A later period recognized his greatness, without fully comprehending it. Bacon made no discoveries in natural science and propounded no scheme of philosophy. What he gave to the modern world was something that it lacked, a science of science, a philosophy of philosophy. He dispelled the last obscuring mists of medieval "authoritarianism" in thought and made straight the highway of investigation; and this great achievement he effected not only by his vast and various learning, but by his unrivalled lucidity of mind and his unrivalled lucidity of expression. He was deep, yet clear. He could be as pithy as a proverb and as profound as a prophecy. But his eloquence is always prose eloquence and attempts no flight into the regions of poesy. Bacon knew as well how words should work as he knew how thought should work. He did more than anyone else to free the

[illegible]

Sciences should be set forth in six parts. Of these, the first three are represented by considerable works, although in none is the original design carried out with completeness; the last three are represented only by prefatory matter. Latin was to be the language of all. *The Advancement of Learning*, which, in great part, covers the ground of the first division, was not written as part of the plan; but *De Augmentis*, which takes its place in the scheme, is little more than an extended Latin version of the *Advancement*. Bacon begins by re- [illegible]

[illegible]

It is with the last of these divisions that Bacon is chiefly concerned, and he subdivides that into Divine philosophy, Natural philosophy, [illegible]

[illegible] cannot here follow him.

Both for its style and for the importance of the ideas which it conveys, *Novum Organum*, the second part of the *Instauratio*, ranks as Bacon's greatest work. To its composition he devoted the most minute care, and its stately diction is a fit vehicle for the prophetic message it contains. Bacon's object was to establish or restore the empire of man over nature. This empire depends upon knowledge; but in the mind of man there are certain obstacles to knowledge which predispose it to ignorance and error. The tendencies to error he called "idols"—images or phantoms by which the mind is misled. The name "idol" is taken from Plato and is used as the opposite of "idea". In the *Novum Organum* four classes of idols are distinguished: idols of the tribe, of the cave, of the market-place, and of the theatre. With these graphic titles as his text, Bacon works out a doctrine which shows both originality and insight. Underlying all this part of his teaching is the importance of an objective attitude to nature and of the need for investigation. From particular facts men must pass to general truths by gradual and unbroken ascent.

and to extend national influence. The strongest literary evidence for this threefold spirit is to be found in the chroniclers and in the poets. Camden and Shakespeare both write of England with extraordinary fervour; Harrison's *Description of England* and Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* are documents of patriotism; the younger Drake's *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake* (1628) extols the expansion of England almost as a duty to God.

Later theorists who have discerned in the polity of other nations lessons or models for ourselves would have found no support from English writers, who, as early as Sir John Fortescue (1394–1476) in his *De Laudibus Legum Angliae*, concentrated their attention on England as if it were the only type of polity worthy of consideration. Sir Thomas Smith, in his *De Republica Anglorum* (1583) does allude to other states, ancient and modern, but he feels that the superiority of England lies in the fact that it is a commonwealth, in which crown, nobility, burgesses and yeomen have each a part to play. It is specially interesting to note that Sir Thomas Smith classes England, not among the monarchies, but among the democracies. John Selden (1584–1664), in his *Titles of Honour* (1614), does not exalt the kingly office unduly, but recognizes it as the necessary source of honours and grades in society. A point to notice is that the well-ordered community, with a monarch at the head, was habitually spoken of as the *respublica* or "commonwealth", the latter term being regularly applied to the English realm long before it was officially adopted under the Long Parliament. The personality of Queen Elizabeth was a powerful stimulus to the exalted devotion of great men in her age. English enthusiasm for a royal ruler may be said to begin with her. We have already noted the rise, during the Middle Ages, of a *cultus* of reverence for women, expressed most profoundly in devotion to Mary, Maiden and Mother, Queen of Heaven. The convulsions of religious revolution during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary had perplexed the faithful and tinged with doubt the special forms of devotion, even devotion to the Mother of Sorrows. But devotion to a womanly ideal seems to be a necessity of civilized nature; and with the accession of the bold, fascinating, incalculable daughter of Henry VIII, dazzling in accomplishment and infinite in variety, came a thrilling embodiment of the ideal. The cult of the Virgin Queen became a national variation of the cult of the Virgin Mother. None recognized this more acutely than the Elizabethan Puritans, and their detestation of "the monstruous regiment of women" was deepened. But they were only a menace, not yet a danger. They could not succeed against triumphant woman. From the panegyrics of Camden to the acrostics of Davies, chronicler and poet united in devotion to the fair Vestal thronèd by the West. The bull of Pius V (1570) which excommunicated Elizabeth and released

intellect from preconceived notions and to direct it to the unbiased study of facts, whether of nature, of mind, or of society; he vindi-

1648), elder brother of the poet. He had varied and distinguished

historical, literary, and philosophical. The historical works can be dismissed as unimportant. His literary works, his poems and especially his autobiography (not printed till 1764), are of much

longing to the nature of intelligence itself are certain "common notions". "What is in all men's ears we accept as true." Herbert set forth five "common notions" of religion, representing the whole of "primitive religion" before it had been corrupted by priests. This is a creed of pure Deism, and Herbert has been justly called the father of English Deism. He had no idea of the historical development of belief, and honestly regarded anything beyond his deistical "common notions" as sacerdotal adulterations of primitive rational

XV. EARLY WRITINGS ON POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

The English constitutional monarchy and Parliamentary government have been deliberately imitated by many nations of the world, even though both have been modified or abandoned later. Our Elizabethan and Jacobean times are specially interesting as marking the development of both, as now understood; but it is characteristic of the English people that there is no standard body of political literature corresponding to that growth. The written references are casual rather than systematic As always in England, practice took precedence of theory.

Three phases of conscious political life are discernible here in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: an intense national and patriotic sentiment; a desire for an acceptable but unoppressive central authority; and a determination to maintain national independence

The theory of government was, therefore, not the theme of any memorable treatise. As we have already pointed out, Machiavelli was not known in English. He came into Elizabethan literature, not as an influence on polity, but as a villain of the popular stage. Much more important to the general mind than theories of governance was the practical question, how far private interests and public welfare were compatible. The conflict of "ideologies", so far from being a peculiar symptom of modern life, was acute throughout the Middle Ages, when the Church denounced private enterprise as inimical to the common weal. Indications of this feeling can be found in such lay works as Caxton's *The Game and Playe of the Chesse* (1475), Starkey's *Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset* (sixteenth century), and More's *Utopia* (1516). John Hales's *A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England* (written 1549, published 1581) takes a new line, and argues that the pursuit of private interests need not be injurious, but may be profitable, to the state. With the development of trade came the need for capital; but the feeling against usury was still strong. Thomas Wilson's *Discourse uppon usurye* (1572) condemned interest as leading to extortion, and an ecclesiastical canon of 1604 declared it wrong to demand a fixed rate of interest for loans; but Gerard de Malynes (fl. 1586–1641), who applied common sense to economic questions in such works as *A Treatise of the Canker of Englands Commonwealth* (1601), *The Maintenance of Free Trade* (1622), and *The Center of the Circle of Commerce* (1623), some of them replies to another economist, Edward Misselden, one of the Merchant Adventurers, insisted that moderate interest, which gave free play to capital, was for the public good, and that harm arose only when excessive rates were charged. This was the view adopted by Parliament in 1624. The new commercial morality was accepted by the state, and the efforts of churchmen like Land to maintain the medieval view of usury failed. The name of "usurer" was applied only to the extortioners who sought to charge excessive rates. *The Merchant of Venice* is an interesting sidelight on history.

Trade in the larger sense led to the formation of the great commercial companies of the seventeenth century. The Merchant Adventurers and the Eastland Companies gave rise to some printed debate, which we need not notice. They were associations of independent traders; but the East India Company was a joint stock venture, and the question of taking capital out of the country naturally arose. The classic defence of such enterprises is found in Thomas Mun's *A Discourse of Trade from England unto the East Indies* (1621) and *England's Treasure by forraign trade* (1664).

The Irish question was also with us in those days, and, strangely enough, the two best known contributions to the matter were made

her Roman Catholic subjects from allegiance had no other effect than

certain line or stock? Was it conferred by public assent? Robert Parsons the Jesuit, in his *Conference about the Next Succession to the*

doctrines of Calvin. In Geneva there was no one to contest the Calvinist claims; but as soon as Calvinism crossed the Channel its pretensions came into conflict with the claims of monarchy. The

land the triumph of the Presbyterian polity in 1580 created throughout the country a series of representative assemblies which took complete possession of the national ecclesiastical system; and this polity treated the monarch as subject to the ecclesiastical democracy. *The True Lawe of Free Monarchies* (1598), attributed to King James, attacked this position and intimated the Stuart doctrine of divine right, a doctrine now usually misunderstood, and not intelligible without reference to other contemporary views of kingship. In

English view, as far as there was a view, seems to have been that a monarchy which succeeded was a rightful monarchy, and need be no further discussed. The monarchy of Elizabeth was successful and accepted; the monarchy of James I was much less successful and was accepted with misgivings; the monarchy of Charles I was unsuccessful and was terminated. The question of divine right, therefore, seemed rather academic, and did not greatly interest the people. On the other hand, they were not very willing to accept a dethroning

can keep in office.

describing in elaborate euphuistic style the dangers to which thriftless young men were exposed. He was followed by Thomas Nashe in *The Anatomie of Absurditie* (1589), which, though affected in manner, foreshadows the literature of counsel and reflection expressed in the essays of Bacon. Four years later Robert Greene struck a new note by discarding the elaborations of euphuism and adopting the directness of realism in the "conny-catching" pamphlets and autobiographical warnings already described (pp. 162–3). Greene's combination of realistic invention and personal moralizing proved very popular and set a fashion that fiction was to follow for several centuries. The death of Greene in 1592 left Nashe the chief exponent of realism. Something has already been said of his contributions to fiction and to the Marprelate controversy; a brief summary must now be given of his later activities. Nashe's experience as a disputant had given point to his style and cogency to his argument. He had learned that a quasi-religious appeal is always popular, especially when heightened by a note of ribaldry; and so *Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Divell* (1592) represents the lackpenny author as addressing his complaint to the devil, since appeals to the Church are useless. The Seven Deadly Sins had been banished by the Reformation from popular religious mythology as papistical; but they had returned by way of literature, and we find them, for instance, as a comic interlude in Marlowe's *Faustus* and as a vehicle for invective and imagery in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. Nashe uses them in his *Supplication* as convenient categories under which he could present types of character, English and foreign. The age echoed with controversy, and Nashe aspired to be an English Aretino. To make sure of a resounding antagonist he took up a quarrel that had arisen between Robert Greene (now dead) and Gabriel Harvey, and a "flyting" at once began. Literary duels had long been an accepted tradition, and "flytings" were as much a part of literary convention as "violent attacks" are still a part of political convention. Nashe's *Strange Newes of the intercepting certaine Letters etc.* (1592), also known as *The Apologie of Pierce Penilesse*, is in the vein of Martin Marprelate, and poured out wild vituperation upon Gabriel Harvey, who retaliated with *Pierces Supererogation* (1593). The reply to this was not at once forthcoming, for Nashe chose to appear as a religious reformer in *Christs Teares over Jerusalem* (1593), to which he prefixed a declaration of peace and goodwill to all men. There was evidently a Puritan public to which Nashe thought it profitable to appeal. The style of *Christs Teares* is still vigorous, but the vituperation is modified, and something like a pulpit manner is evident. Nevertheless, there are touches of satire and an outspoken exposure of the London stews. Europe at this time was agitated by a literal belief in the Scriptural warning that "the devil is come down unto you, having

by poets. Edmund Spenser's *A Veue of the Present State of Ireland*, written 1596, though not printed till 1633, and Sir John Davies's *A discoverie of the true causes why Ireland was never entirely subd ied etc.* (1612) both discussed ways of bringing Ireland into line with the English ideal of well-ordered society. Settlements from England and Scotland were made, the most interesting being that carried out by the London companies which turned Derry into Londonderry.

Some interesting writing which we have no space to discuss arose [illegible] vagabondage and imposture mentioned in an earlier chapter presents [illegible]

XVI. LONDON AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF POPULAR LITERATURE

[illegible] armed retainers in their own demesnes, forsook the field for the Court, where alone, now, preferment was to be won. There were other important movements. The sack of Antwerp in the "Spanish fury" of 1576 diverted Flemish trade to London, which soon became a capital of European commerce. London, therefore, offered attractions of many kinds, and the young men who flocked thither to seek their fortunes at Court, or in the royal service, or at the Inns of Court, or in commercial adventures, formed a new element in [illegible] minister thereto. London had grown in size. Oxford and Cambridge were in closer touch with the capital. The Renascence had made learning fashionable, and the new "moderns" exhibited their superiority by patronizing literature and employing a decorated and affected form of speech. Courtiers, graduates, divines, soldiers, lawyers, merchants, tradesmen, women and even 'prentices, made a great variety of readers, and there arose a generation of brilliant and [illegible]

Thomas Lodge led the way with *An Alarum against Usurers* (1584).

the predominance of one of the four "humours" or moistures—phlegm, blood, choler and melancholy—it became fashionable to dignify any eccentricity or pose with the name of "humour", and to deem the most miserable affectations worthy of literary comment. Hence arose a literature of "humours", and "humour" became as tiresome a word in that age as "complex" is in this. We need not enumerate the Juvenalian satires that dealt with the "humours" of unpleasing persons. The "comedy of humours" will receive consideration later.

The brief epigram had contended with the satire for popularity, and we have Thomas Bastard's *Christoleros: Seven bookes of Epigrammes* (1598), John Weever's *Epigrammes in the oldest Cut and Newest Fashion* (1598), and *The Scourge of Folly* (1611) by Davies of Hereford. But at the beginning of the seventeenth century writers discovered that the Theophrastian "Character" gave more scope for literary quality. Theophrastus (373–284 B.C.) in his *Characteres* had sketched the peculiarities of Athenian citizens and produced a distinct literary creation. Joseph Hall, the satirist, presently to become Bishop of Exeter and of Norwich, and to be expelled by the Puritans, turned from Juvenal to Theophrastus and published his *Characters of Virtues and Vices* (1608), depicting such moral types as "The Happy Man", "The Humble Man", "The Ambitious Man", and so forth. *The Man in the Moone* (1609) by W. M. is another book of "types", with ingenious machinery. Sir Thomas Overbury, victim of a famous poisoning case, had written a poetical "character", *A Wife*, and this was published (1614) after his death with the addition of other characters, not all by him. A young lawyer, John Stephens, produced in 1615 *Satyrical essayes, characters and others* in prose and verse. But the most famous book of its kind appeared anonymously at Oxford in 1628 under the title *Micro-cosmographie: or, A Peece of the World Discovered, in Essayes and Characters.* The principal author was John Earle (1601?–1655), afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, a man of gravity and learning, and so his characters are composed with deeper insight and surer command of style than those of Overbury or Stephens. In the form of character sketches Earle presents the moral importance of "the trivial round, the common task", of the day's unrecorded words and deeds, and *Microcosmographie*, with its quiet wisdom and its avoidance of oddity, is therefore the best example of its kind in English.

The character sketch is well on the way to the essay. Montaigne's first essays had appeared in 1580; and he is the father of that form as a modern literary creation, whatever ancient anticipations may be found. English imitations began to appear, but nothing calls for attention till we reach the little pamphlet entitled *Essayes. Religious Meditations. Places of persuasion and disswasion*, published in 1597—

great wrath", and evidence of his power was being discovered everywhere. The literature of witchcraft, already mentioned, was considerable. Nashe seized this opportunity to ...

... 1594, and in 1596 Nashe produced *Have with you to Saffron Walden, or, Gabriell Harveys Hunt is up*, a triumph of invective and scurrilous portraiture. Nashe passed through ... years of ad... Hav ... panc ... is ex ... men in London did not want to read about herrings in Yarmouth. No more pamphlets came from Nashe. What he may have contributed to drama will be considered later. Nashe is an important figure in the development of English prose. He took the language of Tudor euphuism, cleared it of its conceits, and turned it into an instrument of natural, vivid and varied speech. He wrote nothing of the highest order; but he may be credited with many of the virtues as well as a few of the vices of vigorous and lively journalism.

Verse satire flourished throughout the sixteenth century. Joseph Hall (1574–1656), a young clergyman, claimed the honour of being the first English satirist with his *Virgidemiarum* (1597). Perhaps Hall was unacquainted with the work of Wyatt, Gascoigne, and certain others; but his claim to originality is partly justified, as he was the first to take Juvenal as a model Like subseq... Hall turned the Roma... ridiculing, for instanc... extravagances of "T... Tamberlaine". The first three books (1597) of *Virgidemiarum* are termed "toothlesse satyrs", because they aim at institutions, customs, or conventionalities; the last three (1598) are styled "byting satyrs", because they attack individuals under pseudonyms which were probably no disguise to contem... raries. Other ... Guilpin, in *Sk*... age and claime ... epigram were the only antidote. John Marston, the dramatist, added *Certaine Satyres* to his *Metam*... *of Pigmalions Im*...

... Whitgift and Bancroft, acting on their new authority, issued an order in 1599 that "noe Satyres or Epigrams be printed hereafter".

As the physicians had explained temperament to be dependent on

modern use—the visit to hell and purgatory. A pamphleteer with Dekker's curiosity about life and his gift of realistic description would be certain to publish tracts on roguery, and, in 1608, he produced *The Belman of London*, using the same kind of material as his sixteenth-century predecessors. A sequel is *Lanthorne and Candle-light or the Bell-mans second Nights-Walke* (1609), in which, after a number of picturesque episodes, the devil decides to make a visit to London. Dekker's most famous tract, however, is *The Guls Horne-booke* (1609), ironically instructing the "modern" young man of the day how to become completely odious. It is the most vivid picture we possess of Jacobean London. *A Strange Horse Race*, which followed in 1613, is an odd production in which knowledge is presented under the form of "races"—astronomy, for instance, being a race of the heavenly bodies. Dekker wrote clear and attractive prose of distinctive character. Other tracts are mentioned on p. 305.

A contemporary of Dekker was Samuel Rowlands, whose *Tis Merrie when Gossips meete* (1602) and *Greenes Ghost haunting Coniecatchers* (1602) revert to the older style. But in *Looke to it; for Ile Stabbe ye* (1604), a verse piece, he combines the old "Dance of Death" with the new "type" satire. In similar vein is his dialogue *A terrible Battell betweene the two consumers of the whole world: Time and Death* (1606). The beginning of the poem has an almost Miltonic grandeur. Romance of the old style came in for ridicule, and we may mention as an example of its kind *The Melancholie Knight* (1615) by Rowlands, the verse monologue of a character disgusted with his own age and infatuated with the enchantments of older times. The anonymous compiler of the *Merrie Conceited Jests of George Peele* (1607) found a framework for his detached anecdotes in the attractive personality of literary Bohemians. So great was the interest in personalities that there was a keen public for *Kemps nine daies wonder* (1600), in which the actor vivaciously describes the episodes of his morris dance from London to Norwich. Richard Brathwaite, adopting the name of a proverbial drunkard, describes a pilgrimage through the towns and villages of England in *Barnabae Itinerarium or Barnabee's Journal* (1638). The booklet is a triumph of easy rhythmic verse. On a lower level are anonymous "bacchic" pieces like *Pimlyco or Runne Red Cap* (1609) in which the poet describes a crowd of people seeking drink. Another form of popular literature is found in the broadsides and ballads which represented at a lower level the old Tudor love of music. Songs were sold and sung at the street corners, and continued to be thus sold and sung as late as the time when Silas Wegg at his little stall won the heart of Mr Boffin by dropping into a ballad. The ballad-mongers anticipated the lower forms of modern journalism in giving the public what the public is always alleged to want, "amazing" news, "startling" revelations,

ten short pieces, the first called *Of Studies*. The title-page bears no name; but there is a dedicatory letter to "M. Anthony Bacon his dear Brother" signed "Your entire loving brother. Fran. Bacon". Thus appeared one of the most famous of English books. It was followed in 1600 by *Essayes by Sir William Cornewalyes* and in 1601 by Robert Johnson's *Essaies, or Rather Imperfect Offers*, the latter definitely instructive. Florio's translation of Montaigne appeared in 1603. Later writers tended to blend the essay and the character—for instance, Geffray Mynshul in *Characters and Essayes of a Prison and Prisoners* (1618) and Nicholas Breton in *Characters upon Essaies morall and divine* (1615); and the form might have degenerated had not [illegible]

was complete. This collection contains fifty-eight essays, written with a perfect mastery of language in a spirit of lofty confidence. The excellence of these famous compositions lies mainly in the fact that in them Bacon is "table-talking", and not writing in the manner befitting grave philosophy. Those who find the *Essays* unexalted and curtly undeveloped forget that they are oracular utterances, thrown [illegible]

making out of his vast reading. In 1640 these were published posthumously as *Timber, or Discoveries made upon men and matter*. Although most of the substance has its origin in the books of other writers, *Timber* is not a mere work of paraphrase and transcription. A sense of manly integrity can be clearly discerned in this selection of the world's wisdom, and the style has a colloquial simplicity more humanly appealing than the oracular judgments of Bacon. We need [illegible] erse evoked by the [illegible] cept to remark that [illegible] *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* (1604); nor need we discuss the numerous rogue-books of the period. We can pass at once to the most important pamphleteer of Jacobean London, Thomas Dekker the playwright.

Dekker (1570?–1637?) is the first literary artist of London street life. *The Wonderfull Yeare* 1603 is remarkable for its vivid and harrowing description of London in the grip of the plague. *The Seven Deadly Sinnes of London* (1606) uses the old medieval machinery for an indictment of the city's modern vices. *Newes from Hell; brought by the Divell's Carrier* (1606) is another medieval device adapted to

wrote upon grafting and poultry, and produced *The government of cattell* in 1587, and *A Booke of fishing with hooke and line* in 1590. Barnabe Googe, whom we have already met as a poet, translated the *Foure bookes of Husbandry collected by M. Conradus Heresbachius* (1577). Sir Hugh Platt, an interesting person whose activity extended to other matters besides agriculture, was known as the author of many curious inventions, a number of which are described in his *Jewell House of Art and Nature* (1594). *The Grete Herball* (1526), founded on the French *Grand Herbier*, was the earliest of its numerous kind in English. William Turner, the reforming Dean of Wells, who had a garden at Kew, diversified his Protestant polemics with botanical pursuits; and his *New herball* (1551–62) is considered a starting point in the scientific study of botany in England. The *Niewe herball* (1578) of Rembert Dodoens, turned into English by Henry Lyte from the French version of L'Écluse (Clusius), was very popular. It was from Dodoens that John Gerard derived and adapted a great part of his celebrated *Herball or generall historie of Plantes* (1597). In 1629 John Parkinson, an ardent botanist and lover of flowers, brought out his delightful *Paradisi in sole Paradisus terrestris, or a garden of all sorts of pleasant flowers which our English ayre will permitt to be noursed up: with a kitchen garden...and an orchard*, the woodcuts for which were specially done in England. This was followed in 1640 by his great herbal, *Theatrum botanicum*, with its description of nearly 3800 plants and its 2600 illustrations. Parkinson deserves to live for the excellent pun the title page of his earlier book makes upon his name: "Paradisus-in-Sole" being "Park-in-sun". The prolific and inevitable Markham contributed as largely to the literature of vegetables as to the literature of animals. His least important works are the contributions to poetry and drama with which he endeavoured to enter literature by the front door.

XVIII. THE BOOK TRADE, 1557–1625

The outstanding fact in the history of English printing and bookselling during the period under consideration is the incorporation of the Stationers' Company in 1557. This official recognition served a double purpose: the control of publication by the state and the control of the trade by its own reputable members. The old Guild or Fraternity of Scriveners developed into the craft of Stationers, of which all persons connected with the book trade in the City of London were required to become members. After the incorporation in 1557 came the admission of the Company in 1560 as one of the Liveried Companies of the City. The "trade" was now fully established as a recognized commercial corporation.

and vivid accounts of monstrosities, portents, prodigies, disasters, crimes, executions, confessions and repentances. Only the absence of "sensational" divorces assures us that we are not moving among the familiar features of the modern popular newspapers.

XVII. WRITERS ON COUNTRY PURSUITS AND PASTIMES

While the great Elizabethans were creating their masterpieces of universal literature and the lesser Elizabethans were pouring out their prose and verse pamphlets of London life, others were producing books which, designed as guides and instructors in the rural pursuits of men for whom polite literature scarcely existed, sometimes themselves became literature. Before the Elizabethan period there had been few books on country life—*The Book of St Albans* (1486), Walter of Henley's *Book of Husbandry* (thirteenth century, printed about 1510) and John Fitzherbert's *New tract or treatyse...for all husbande men* (1523), were the most important. Elizabethan books are numerous, and many are the work of one person, Gervase Markham (1568?–1637), poet, dramatist, soldier, linguist, agriculturist, horticulturist, horseman, cattleman, dog-lover, rural encyclopedist, and last, but not least, the bold continuator of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*. The materials used by him and other writers are drawn from two main sources, first the stock of native lore, and next, an abundant [illegible]
came his chief work, *Cavelarice, or the English Horseman*, with a delicious descriptive title a paragraph long, in which he asserts that he can teach horses "to doe tricks like Bankes his Curtall"—an allusion to the famous performing horse Marocco, which achieved not merely a European reputation in life, but an eternity of fame after death, for it is the arithmetical "dancing horse" of *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act I, Sc. 2. To complete *Cavelarice* with veterinary information he brought out in 1610 *Markhams Maister-peece*. In fact, Markham was so prolific that the stationers grew alarmed, and in 1617 he was induced to sign a promise to produce no more books about "the Deseases or cures of any Cattle, as Horse, Oxe, Cowe, Sheepe, Swine and Goates &c." Nevertheless, *Markhams Faithfull Farriar* appeared in 1630. Apart from his books about horses, Markham produced an encyclopedia of rural occupations under the alluring title, *A Way to get Wealth* (1631, etc.), together with numerous other works that cannot even be named here.

Leonard Mascall (d. 1589), quoted by Markham as an authority,

1586 there were twenty-five. By 1640 the number had risen to sixty. There were more journeymen printers than could find work, and in 1587–8 the Company limited the number of copies of one impression of a book to 1250 or 1500. This gave more work, as the type had to be re-set for each new impression. Several bibliographical puzzles have arisen as a result of this re-setting of successive impressions. It was easier to become a bookseller and publisher than to become a printer. Anyone could acquire a stock of books by purchase and offer them for sale in one of the stalls or booths round St Paul's, the most popular centre of the book trade. To acquire property in a new publication the would-be publisher had to procure a manuscript, enter it in the Register and get someone to print it for him. This done, he could distribute copies by exchange for copies of new works from other publishers, and so acquire both profit and new stock. Distribution by exchange seems to have been common. Stationers sometimes engaged authors to produce works for them; and correcting and editing for the press afforded occupation for scholars in the more important printing houses. Translation was a stock kind of hack work, especially after 1622, when news-sheets began to be issued, with extracts from foreign "Corantos". Dearth of news was easily made good by imaginative hacks, and the debased "ballad" gave employment both to writers and printers.

So far, we have heard nothing of the author. How did authors get profit from their work? To the professional writer a patron was almost as essential as a publisher. A famous name in the dedication gave a book a greater chance of success; moreover the accepted dedication of a work often meant a substantial gift from a princely patron; hence the prevalence of fulsome dedications. There was no "copyright" as we understand it. Any stationer with a manuscript could enter it and publish it as his copy—how he came by the manuscript being nobody's business; and as popular poems (for example) had sometimes a large manuscript circulation, an unscrupulous printer could usually obtain a copy. The author had no redress. It was in this way that Sidney's *Sonnets* in 1591 and Shakespeare's *Sonnets* in 1609 first attained the dignity of print, if that description may be applied to such mean typographical productions. Ingenious persons, like John Minsheu the linguist and John Taylor the water-man, tried "printing at their own charge", but found, as other authors have found ever since, that the real problem is not publication but distribution. Dramatists were the special prey of piratical printers. The companies of players did not want their popular successes to be staled by print, and did not readily offer them for publication; but plays could be taken down in shorthand or reproduced from memory by an actor. There were complaints, but there was no redress. The printers and publishers of the early Shake-

Under the rules of the Company, every member was required to [illegible]

omission, they form a marvellous store-house of bibliographical information. The Marian authorities who gave the Stationers their charter were not moved by literary enthusiasm. On the contrary, their aim was to establish efficient machinery for the suppression of seditious and heretical publications. This purpose was clearly evident after Mary's death; for, in the first year of Elizabeth's reign, the Stationers' charter was confirmed and the regulation of printing made [illegible]

other specified dignitaries. The censorship thus established was to have a long life. That the authorities meant the *Injunctions* and later orders to be taken seriously is proved by the fate of William Carter, who had published "naughtye papysticall" books, and who, for [illegible]

ties in several bold attacks on the bishops before his activities were suppressed. That interesting story, already told, need not be repeated here. The attentions of the Company were not confined to illegal productions; the brethren themselves were well looked after, and the accounts of fines imposed for irregularities show that a rigorous *supervision was at least attempted.*

A cause of much dissatisfaction among the printers was the number of printing monopolies granted during the reign of Elizabeth. The exclusive right of printing law-books, school-books, almanacs and dictionaries was given at various times to certain printers, and the other members of the trade were naturally dissatisfied. On the one side were the possessors of profitable privileges or valuable copyrights; on the other side were ranged the unprivileged men who were driven to speculative business, and picked up anything—poems, plays or ballads—that the sounder men disdained. To the unprivileged printers, therefore, we owe the preservation in print of the greater part of the poetical, dramatic and popular literature of the time. There were, in fact, many piratical publishers who infringed the monopolies of the privileged persons. Such a one was bold John Wolfe who declared that he would print anything and [illegible]—he [illegible] be-

[illegible]

In 1582 there were twenty-two printing houses in London. In

Chepman and Myllar began printing in Scotland in 1508, and the work of the Scottish press at once assumed a strongly national character; but the close association of Scotland with the Continent resulted in the printing of the more scholarly works abroad. There was in Scotland no association like the London Stationers' Company. The beginning of printing in Ireland is represented by the *Book of Common Prayer*, printed in 1551 at Dublin by a London printer. The first use of Irish characters in print is found in 1571. But early Irish printing produced nothing of importance.

XIX. THE FOUNDATION OF LIBRARIES

Libraries grew naturally out of the accumulation of manuscripts and printed books in the monasteries, cathedrals and universities. The dissolution of the religious houses and the burning zeal of later reformers destroyed or dispersed many priceless treasures; but something was saved from the ruins. At Corpus Christi, Cambridge, when Archbishop Parker bequeathed his noble collection, the original library had almost disappeared. When he became Master in 1544 he took strict measures against further losses. Parker stands at the head of modern book collectors. As Elizabeth's first Archbishop he was able to choose from the salvage of the destroyed religious houses, and he used his privilege wisely. At Oxford, college libraries had been unscrupulously plundered by the Edwardian commissioners and little of value or importance remained at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Although a regard for learning was supposed to be a characteristic of James I, the royal pedant cared little about books. It was owing to Prince Henry that the royal library was saved from spoliation and to Sir Thomas Bodley (1545–1613) that the "Old Library" in the university of Oxford was re-established. Bodley, who was English resident at The Hague from 1588 to 1596, resolved to make the restoration of the library at Oxford the life-work of his retirement from public affairs. In 1602 the library was formally opened with about 2500 volumes. Among later benefactors of the Bodleian was Archbishop Laud who gave some 1300 manuscripts in eighteen different languages and also his fine collection of coins. Robert Burton bequeathed many books, and Oliver Cromwell presented some Greek and Russian manuscripts.

The public library of the university of Cambridge dates, apparently, from the first decades of the fifteenth century. The earliest catalogue contains 122 titles. The catalogue of 1473 contains 330, classified and arranged. Parker is among the later benefactors of the Cambridge library.

The Chetham library in Manchester was founded by Humphrey Chetham (1580–1653), a wealthy tradesman. In 1630, Sion College

[illegible]

Shakespeare Folio of 1623, being a large venture, was the joint [illegible] ...iew was devoid of [illegible] Some of the early [illegible] ...tion of good craft; [illegible]

bad imitations. Woodcuts were generally used, but illustrations of a [illegible]

Printed Bookes was that of Andrew Maunsell (1595).

Books were not very cheap. Here are some seventeenth-century prices: the Cambridge quarto Bible, with Psalms, 7*s*, the London quarto Bible, with notes and concordance, also 7*s*, and Bibles in octavo, 3*s*. 4*d*. Testaments in octavo cost 10*d*, and in duodecimo, 7*d*. The First Folio Shakespeare, which contains nearly one thousand pages, should have cost about fourteen shillings; an oft-quoted statement that the price was one pound rests upon doubtful evidence. [illegible] issued at sixpence, and [illegible], threepence, or four- [illegible] prices must be multiplied by six or seven.

The provinces were supplied by fairs or by travelling chapmen. In the first half of the sixteenth century printing had been carried on in several provincial towns, but the products were mainly theological, and by 1557 the activity of local presses had ceased. No actual printing was done in Cambridge from the cessation of John Siberch's [illegible] Thomas as university [illegible] d hard but unsuccess- [illegible] press at Cambridge, but accepted meekly the revival of printing at Oxford in 1584 and the official recognition of the press there in 1586.

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was founded as a corporation of all ministers and curates in London and the suburbs. During the Commonwealth it received many, and retained some, of the books from old St Paul's. Those that went back were destroyed in the Great Fire.

In singular contrast to the numerous collections which have been dispersed by war, the library of Trinity College, Dublin, originated in a victory won by English arms. In 1601, after the rebellion in Munster had been crushed, the conquerors at Kinsale subscribed the sum of £700 for the purchase of books to be presented to the college; and in 1603 James Usher and Luke Challoner were sent to London to expend the money. While thus employed, they fell in with Thomas Bodley, engaged in a like errand on behalf of the Bodleian. By 1610, the original forty volumes in the library of Trinity College had been increased to 4000. Usher's own library, after many adventures, including a veto by Cromwell on its sale abroad, and its ultimate purchase by the Parliamentary army in Ireland, also found its way to Trinity.

The library of the university of Edinburgh was enriched by a valuable gift from the poet, William Drummond of Hawthornden, who nobly observed in his preface to the catalogue, that, as good husbandmen plant trees for the future, so we, who have profited by antiquity, should do something to provide for posterity.

CHAPTER V

THE DRAMA TO 1642. PART I

I. THE ORIGINS OF ENGLISH DRAMA: INTRODUCTORY

In the first pages of the present chapter we go back many years to consider the beginnings of English drama. Readers who have not ready access to original texts will find helpful illustrative matter in such familiar works as A. W. Pollard's *English Miracle Plays* and J. M. Manly's *Specimens of Pre-Shakespearean Drama*.

English drama is a growth entirely of its own kind. Attic drama was the choicest product of an age which was as brief as it was wonderful. Spanish drama, nearest to English in the exuberance of its productivity, is associated with the decay of the nation's vigour. French classical drama was bound by its relations to a royal court, and debarred from an intimate union with the national life. English drama grew with the development of the whole nation and attained its full stature when England had become decisively a power in the world. Nothing resembling drama, as ordinarily understood, can be shown to have existed as a form of Old English literature. Dialogue there may have been; but dialogue is not drama. Dialogue is the interchange of speeches. Drama means spiritual conflict (tragedy) or social complication (comedy). Stories in Old English are narrative, not dramatic. Whether plays were acted in Britain during the Roman occupation we do not know. The Teutonic invaders who came when the Romans left may have met some wandering mimes on the Continent, but otherwise their ignorance of the Roman theatre must have been complete. The Roman drama during the Empire had perished of realism. Instead of murder in jest, there was the ghastly reality of slaughter in the arena. The gladiator displaced the actor, who took to the roads and became a vagrant entertainer; but little real drama remained for any wandering histrion to carry about. Roscius, the great actor, flourished a century before the building of the Coliseum. The drama had to be born again; and, very strangely, it was born of the church—strangely, because from the time of Tertullian the church had been vigorous in denunciation of theatrical ways and deeds. There are few traces in England or elsewhere of such medieval classical imitations as the feeble and over-rated plays written in the tenth century by Hrotswitha or Roswitha, the Benedictine abbess of Gandersheim in Eastphalian Saxony, with Terence as the dramatic

[illegible] in London [illegible]

[illegible] which have been [illegible] Dublin, originated [illegible] the rebellion in [illegible]

[illegible]

ultimate purchase by the Parliamentary army in Ireland, also found its way to Trinity.

The library of the university of Edinburgh was enriched by a valuable gift from the poet, William Drummond of Hawthornden, who nobly observed in his preface to the catalogue, that, as good husbandmen plant trees for the future, so we, who have profited by antiquity, should do something to provide for posterity.

of service, and we first hear of *Quem quaeritis* at the great Benedictine Abbey of St Gallen in Switzerland as early as the ninth century. The tropes were chanted, not spoken. There were other tropes—of the Ascension and the Nativity, the latter feast lending itself readily to dramatic questions and answers at the *praesepe* or Crib, the institution of which, as a feature of the Christmas season, long antedates St Francis, to whom its invention is popularly attributed. *Quem quaeritis* was gradually expanded to include events before and after the visit to the Sepulchre; more characters were introduced, more space was needed, and the scene was extended from the Easter sepulchre at one altar to the whole church, then to the churchyard, and then to the adjacent market-place. Liturgical drama, acted by ecclesiastics, moved from the church into the streets and became sacred drama acted by the laity. The original chanted Latin was modified by the introduction of spoken passages in the vernacular and presently gave place to the native tongue interspersed with fragments of Latin. The Shrewsbury School fragments (see Manly) show a combination of liturgical Latin with vernacular drama for performance in church (MS. 15th cent.). To the twelfth century (probably) belongs the famous Norman-French—perhaps Anglo-Norman—play of *Adam*, which survives incompletely, but which, as it now exists, contains several episodes with elaborate stage-directions for performance, and uses Latin for the semi-liturgical passages and French for the general action. Of course there were zealots who reprobated the dramatic method of appealing to the populace, and one oft-quoted passage declaring that it is forbidden "myraclis for to make or se" is found in *Handlyng Synne* (early fourteenth century) by Robert Mannyng. We may here remark that "miracles" became a general name for plays based on scriptural or sacred story; the somewhat later and more sophisticated "moralities" were didactic religious allegories of the kind beloved, as we have already noted, by the medieval mind. The term "mysteries", often used, is open to several objections: it was never applied in England to the miracle plays or morality plays in their own time; it was first used by later historians of English drama; it is a French, not an English term; and no one is quite sure what it meant exactly, even in French. The "morality", when extended to secular abstractions, became the "interlude".

The austerer clergy might deplore the dissemination of sacred story dramatically as a source of abuse and an opportunity for sin; but the development of the drama as a public institution received unexpected encouragement from the very Head of the Church. In 1264, the year of his death, Pope Urban IV instituted the festival of Corpus Christi in honour of the Blessed Sacrament, and the decree was made operative by Clement V in 1311. The new festival was to be celebrated by processions on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday.

model and with fanatical exaltation of virginity as the morbid and monotonous subject. Monastic drama was not necessarily performed [illegible] the native drama did not find its beginning in such literary and scholastic exercises. For the main lines of development we must look to the histrionic efforts of the popular entertainers of crowds, to the communal festivals with their ancient ritual of dance and song, and to the liturgy of the church.

The medieval church was the church of the people in a sense hardly comprehensible by the modern world. The large unseated space of a [illegible] Feast of Fools, with its ass and mock-king, and the Feast of Boys, with its Boy Bishop, during the winter revels that stretched from the feast of St Nicholas (6 December), the saint of the boys, to the Holy Innocents and the Epiphany. How far these outbreaks of licence, with their burlesques of the sacred ritual, were dim memories of heathen winter ceremonies need not concern us. Their importance lies in this: that they involved impersonation and public performance, even though they were burlesques; that some features of the comic ritual (e.g. the riding of the ass) could be diverted, by the church's remarkable gift of adaptation, to more solemn uses; that, for the central ceremonies, the stage was the church fabric; and that for the processions the scene was enlarged to the church precincts, the adjacent market-place and the neighbouring streets. But, apart from such seasonal outbreaks, the sense of drama is felt in the whole liturgy. The Mass, being the daily re-enactment of a sacrifice, is in essence dramatic, especially at the Passion season, when the Gospel for the day on Palm Sunday and Good Friday becomes a kind of [illegible] "stage directions" how the intercalated trope of the Resurrection in one of the Easter morning services shall be performed. Four [illegible] one); and the Angel was to answer, *Non est hic; surrexit sicut praedixerat* (He is not here; He is risen as He foretold); and so on. Tropes were interpolations meant to supplement and enrich the plain order

mentary dramatization of the tale better told in *Dame Siriz*. The word "interludium" or interlude is ambiguous. It may mean something "played between" the parts of something else, like a musical intermezzo, and it may mean a piece "played between" performers, i.e. distributed dialogue instead of solo recitation. The term was applied to pieces which, unlike the moralities, employed secular characters for secular instruction or diversion; but no definition can be strictly applied, for the miracles themselves were sometimes spoken of as interludes. The name, indeed, was given to almost any kind of play. Thus the tragedy of *Pyramus and Thisbe* presented by Peter Quince and his Athenian amateurs in a hall of the Duke's palace was an interlude, and is expressly thus described.

The minstrels, the successors of the Northern bards or "scops", were the ordinary medieval entertainers. In France there grew up a distinction between the Norman *trouvères* who sang of war, and the Provençal *troubadours* who sang in the softer south their songs of love. The Norman Conquest brought into England not only reputable minstrels like Taillefer and Rahere, but entertainers of many kinds. Under this foreign invasion the English singer lost his repute and was forced to appeal to his despised fellow-countrymen. Thus a higher and lower class of entertainer existed side by side, the Norman *trouvère* and the English minstrel, the former maintaining the tradition of the artificial *estrifs* or *débats*—compositions in which two characters represent different points of view—and the latter appealing by various means to the general crowd. We may conjecture that the lower minstrels did not greatly differ from the entertainers—troupes, cross-talk comedians, Punch-and-Judy men, acrobats and comic turns—who appeal to holiday throngs at the cheaper seaside resorts, large race-meetings and fairs: the desires of the crowd, open or restrained, are much the same in all ages and places. Actually, of course, we know nothing, as naturally the common minstrels' patter was never written down. But in some obscure way they helped to keep alive the elementary notion of dramatic entertainment. By the fifteenth century—we do not know how or why—religious drama had passed from the church to the amateur performers of town or guild and the minstrels stood apart as professional actors or entertainers. As a means of self-preservation they formed a guild of their own. Further, they challenged the amateurs by becoming "interlude players" themselves; and while towns encouraged the amateurs, wealthy patrons found it easier to hire the professionals. The development of such troupes of "interlude players" into the regular dramatic companies, such as "my lord chamberlayne's menne" in the reign of Elizabeth, is a natural process.

A much more obscure influence on the drama is found in the "folk-play". From primitive rites of spring and winter, imploring

Now processions or "ridings", especially when enriched by "dis- [illegible]

[illegible]

celebrations of the Nativity, sacred or profane, belonged to the inclement winter season. Even the Easter rejoicings fell in the fickle and often chilly spring. But Corpus Christi was assigned to the long [illegible]

[illegible]

"Haylle comly and clene". The linguistic problems raised by the various groups of plays are too technical for brief discussion and belong, indeed, to a later stage of study; but any intelligent reader [illegible]

[illegible]

genuity of versification in complete harmony with the freedom of treatment and sincerity of purpose found in the matter.

A word of warning should be added. We have naturally given first place to religious drama, because something is known about it. But primitive secular drama may have existed, and the performance of liturgical tropes may have been imitated from popular dramatic activities of some kind. The church has always been ready to divert even heathen rites to its own purposes. All we are entitled to say is [illegible] itive [illegible] of [illegible]

II. SECULAR INFLUENCES ON THE EARLY ENGLISH DRAMA: MINSTRELS, VILLAGE FESTIVALS, FOLK PLAYS

[illegible] what secular [illegible] Britain or in [illegible] Germany and France, however, can produce fragments that seem to imply the existence of primitive farces; and by the fourteenth century in England we have the *Interludium de Clerico et Puella*, a very ele-

astics, were not likely to have been in English. But they have not survived and we therefore know nothing about them. The play of *Adam* and the play of the *Resurrection*, the oldest dramatic poems in the French language, have no connection with England beyond the conjectured fact of their composition here in the twelfth century. English makes its appearance in drama as inserted verses or as paraphrases of the Latin texts. It is sometimes claimed that the earliest pure English plays known to us are the *Isaac* (incomplete) and the *Jacob* now preserved as part of the Towneley Plays; but of this claim to priority there is no proof, though the pieces are certainly primitive in versification and general style. A poem on Christ's descent into hell (*The Harrowing of Hell*, dating from the thirteenth century), has often been called the earliest English play, but it is a dramatic poem or debate which the reciter could deliver with changes of voice for the characters. The growing development of the drama is attested by the inevitable clerical disapprobation. But in spite of warnings from orthodox preachers and denunciations by fanatical Wyclifites, the religious plays as a means of edification and amusement flourished with the development of town life. Resemblances between English and foreign plays indicate, not any mutual indebtedness, but a common source of inspiration. The community of religious thought and ideas in the whole of European society during the Middle Ages is something the reader must never forget. There was a "matter of Christendom" irrespective of national boundaries. In no country did the religious drama reach the greatest heights of poetical beauty; but in England it certainly achieved the charm of ingenuousness and the attraction of metrical variety. The authors sought, simply and sincerely, to touch the hearts of unlettered hearers; and it is quite in character that none of the writers are certainly known by name and that not a single miracle play was printed till later times. Naturally, the comic scenes show most originality, for in these there is nothing borrowed from any theological authors, and there is much that indicates the free movement of the popular mind within the large limits of accepted doctrine.

As already noted, the institution of the feast of Corpus Christi stimulated the development of popular religious drama. It became customary for the Corpus Christi processions to be composed of groups typifying the ecclesiastical conception of universal history from the day of creation to the day of judgment. The groups were composed by the different crafts, who competed in making their show as fine as possible. These group-shows passed easily from tableau to drama, and plays appropriate to the crafts were performed—the boat-builders (in the York series) undertaking the building of the Ark, and the goldsmiths the gifts of the Magi. In the Chester plays the temptation of Eve is naturally entrusted to the drapers. The

or celebrating fertility in land and beast, developed symbolical performances showing the death and arising of some victim, animal or human. The maypole still recalls the dance round the sacred tree. Sword-dances are another remnant of old rites, with killing and restoring to life as a main incident, and with a tendency to develop into mummers' plays, of which St George (who, in Hanoverian times, becomes "King George") is the hero. But about all these matters there is more conjecture than certainty. Another instance of folk-festivals turned into plays and modified by the introduction of characters of later date is the development of the May game into the Robin Hood play. Perdita in *The Winter's Tale* refers to the "Whitsun pastorals". The "Whitsun pastoral" or "May game" was denounced by the clergy as early as the thirteenth century. In France, Robin and Marion were type names of the shepherd lover and his lass, and it has been suggested that the names passed into England and became appropriated to Robin-à-Wood or Robin Hood and Maid Marion. A fragment of a "play" of *Robin Hood and the Sheriff of*

"Robin Hood", whoever he was, became a popular national hero of ballad as well as of elementary drama.

III. THE EARLY RELIGIOUS DRAMA: MIRACLE PLAYS AND MORALITIES

for those to whom the Latin of the liturgy was unintelligible.

The first Anglo-French dramatist known to us by name is Hilarius ... an Englishman. Among ... ardic" libertinism charac- ... and three short religious dramas, one on the raising of Lazarus, one on the story of Daniel and

Coventriae is clearly later than the other cycles, and in its use of allegorical abstractions approximates to the morality plays. There is less humour, and more tendency to deal with later developments of doctrine and worship. The pageant of the Shearmen and Tailors in the pair of true Coventry plays shows an elaborate treatment of the Nativity, in skilful and varied verse, beginning with the Annunciation and ending with the flight to Egypt. It should be noted that the *Ludus Coventriae* plays are sometimes referred to as the "Hegge Plays", from the name of a former owner of the manuscript.

A Digby MS. (15th cent.) at Oxford contains three plays and a fragment, the subjects of the three being the Conversion of St Paul, St Mary Magdalene and the Massacre of the Innocents. They are quite separate compositions which have been copied into one manuscript and do not form a set. The verse is elaborate, and the style is that of the later moralities. Other individual plays, such as the Croxton play of the Sacrament and the Brome play of Abraham and Isaac must be left undiscussed. The first is crude, the second excellent. Some very interesting plays in Cornish (fourteenth to sixteenth century), performed on "rounds" in the peninsula, belong to England, but hardly to English literature. The curious may read them in translations.

In the later Middle Ages there grew up another kind of dramatic poetry in which the characters were personified types of virtue or vice or worldliness. This kind of play is partly an independent growth and partly a development of the didactic side of the miracle plays. They are usually termed morality plays—the name "morality", so applied, is at least as old as the beginning of the sixteenth century. From about the middle of the fifteenth century date three famous moral plays known as the Macro Plays from a former owner of the manuscript. In one of these, *Mankynde* (c. 1473), the typical man is assailed by Nought, New-gyse and Now-a-days with their minstrels, and is saved by Mercy. The second, called by some *Wisdom* and by others *Mind, Will and Understanding* (c. 1460), shows us Anima and her Five Wyttes, with the three "Christian powers" of the title betrayed by Lucyfer and saved by Wysdome. In the third, *The Castle of Perseverance* (c. 1425), the earliest surviving example of its kind, it is "Humanum Genus" who is fought for by his Good Angel with attendant Virtues, and his Bad Angel with attendant Vices. *The Pride of Life* (MS. imperfect) may be earlier still. Each play has its own elaborate stanza form. The most famous of all the moralities is the now well-known *Everyman* belonging to the end of the fifteenth century. One significant fact may be observed. In following the progress of religious folk-drama, with its happy air of improvization, towards the drama of moral contest, with its more formal argument, we gradually pass from anonymity to known authorship, and, the time being fortunate, from manuscript to print.

actors stood on a stage ("pageant") which moved about on wheels, and stopped at certain stations. Every drama was divided into a series of little plays. As one pageant rolled away and another approached, the spectators were called to order by some vociferous person—Herod, for instance, armed with the great sword which slew the Innocents. The word "pageant" was sometimes applied to the pieces as well as to the structures. Corpus Christi plays are recorded at Beverley in 1377 and at York in 1378.

Of such processional plays, three almost complete cycles have been handed down to us, those of York, Wakefield and Chester. Besides these, we possess individual plays from the cycles of Coventry, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Norwich, and another set alleged to belong to Coventry. Two fifteenth-century plays of Abraham and Isaac are also, probably, part of a cycle. Each cycle has distinguishing qualities and a pronounced character of its own The York series, written in the fifteenth c[illegible]
shows many [illegible]

The Town[illegible]
came from Towneley Hall in Lancashire, evidently belong to the crafts of Wakefield, and they were performed, not on movable "pageants", but on fixed stages erected along the route of the procession. The thirty-two plays in this series are not of one style or of one period Some represent earlier forms of plays in the present York cycle; some are undistinguished didactic pieces; some are pla[illegible]
hur[illegible]
of [illegible]
delightful examples of their kind.

The twenty-four plays in the Chester cycle were perhaps derived from French originals, and were Whitsuntide, not Corpus Christi, plays. Some of the scenes are religious in the more sober sense, though the traditionally humorous figures of Noah's wife and the Christmas shepherds are retained. Unlike the Towneley plays, the Chester cycle is entirely homogeneous and was probably the work of a single author, who may have been Ranulf Higden the chronicler.

With the *Ludus Coventriae* and Coventry Plays we meet a difficulty of nomenclature. A manuscript of 1468, which became the property of Sir Robert Cotton in 1630, is described in a later hand as *Ludus Coventriae sive Ludus Corporis Christi*, but the forty-two plays therein contained do not certainly belong either to Coventry or to Corpus Christi; and the confusion is increased by the fact that we possess two actual Corpus Christi plays of the Coventry crafts, the play of the Shearmen and Tailors and the play of the Weavers. The difficulty can be avoided by reserving the name "Coventry Plays" for the latter two and calling the larger set by the Latin title. The *Ludus*

theologian who wrote many plays of which few have survived. His *Comedy concernynge thre laws, of nature, Moses and Christ* (1548) is in the vein of the old moralities. A far more lively moral picture is unrolled by the Scottish statesman and author David Lyndsay in *Ane Pleasant Satyre of the Thre Estaitis*, already discussed. But interludes opposed to church teaching as fixed by the sovereign were now forbidden. Bale fled from England, declaring that plays which told the truth were no longer allowed. Under Edward VI, R. Wever's *Lusty Juventus* (printed 1565) makes the virtues quote St Paul while the devil swears "by the Mass" and "by the Virgin". Under Mary, *a merye enterlude entitled Respublica* (acted 1553) denounces those who have enriched themselves with church property. But the Elizabethans were to have the last word.

Criticism and history of the early drama must of course be based upon the material we possess. There is no clear line of descent. That the existing plays represent the whole dramatic efforts of two centuries cannot be supposed; but in the miracles, moralities and interludes that have happened to survive we clearly discern a vigour, a humour, a beauty of feeling, a deep sincerity and a stubborn national personality all promising well for the drama to come.

IV. EARLY ENGLISH TRAGEDY

Three stages may be marked in the history of Renascence tragedy: (1) imitations of Seneca; (2) translations; and (3) imitations of Greek and Latin plays. Three further subdivisions may be noted: (1) the treatment of secular subjects in the style of the familiar sacred plays; (2) the close imitation of classical models; and (3) the blending of those two modes into a form of tragedy at once artistic and popular.

The extraordinary influence of Seneca, who was a "closet" dramatist, not a theatre dramatist, is a fact which we must accept and need not discuss. Italy was naturally the home of Senecan drama, and its development there is most interesting, though to us, at the moment, irrelevant. Early French tragedy developed features of the Senecan model which were alien to English taste and tradition, especially the elaboration and extension of the choral lyrics. Our own earliest tragedies are both Senecan and English. Richard Edwards's *Damon and Pithias* (probably acted 1564), John Pickeryng's *Horestes* (printed 1567), R. B.'s *Apius and Virginia* (printed 1575) and Thomas Preston's *Cambises* (licensed 1569–70) approximate to the Senecan model, but have nothing classical about them except the names. The first makes an attempt to copy Seneca's *stichomythia* (i.e. dialogue of alternating lines), and the last mentions Seneca in the prologue; but in their action they are as realistic as later melodramas, and endeavour to present visibly hangings and stabbings and flayings.

[illegible] an [illegible] M- [illegible] whom however he is reconciled by Age. In the anonymous *propre newe Interlude of the worlde and the chylde, otherwyse called Mundus and* [illegible]

[illegible] and *Hycke Scorner* (printed 1515–16), in the latter of which Hycke Scorner and Imagynacyon (who had been shackled together in Newgate) come to repentance through Pyte and Contemplacyon. All these are written in stanza form. *Magnyfycence, A goodly interlude and* [illegible] (printed [illegible] the earliest [illegible] Appealing [illegible]

[illegible] of militant Puritanism the days of the popular religious drama were done. England had ceased to be merry. Cant, which had no place in medieval religion, became one of the new "notes of the Church". The pious chansons of Geneva drowned the wood-notes wild of "Haylle, comly and clene", and these were never heard on the stage again.

[illegible] *interlude and a mery of the nature of the iiij elements* (printed 1526?) by John Rastell (d. 1536), printer, and husband of Sir Thomas More's sister. This finds new dramatic themes in astronomy and geography. Similarly in the "comedie" *All for Money* by Thomas Lupton (printed [illegible]

[illegible] mischief he could. It is curious that nearly all plays which introduce a devil make him a semi-comic person.

Two other early dramatists known to us by name are John Bale and Sir David Lyndsay. Bale (1495–1563) was a zealous Protestant

Neither *Gorboduc* nor *Jocasta* had shown genuine romantic passion, and it seemed, therefore, as if there were a real opportunity for development when *Gismond of Salerne* was presented in 1567–8 by "the worshipful company of the Inner Temple Gentlemen". In the printed form it is called *Tancred and Gismund*. The story is dramatized directly from Boccaccio; but the several authors, the chief Robert Wilmot, were either too timid or too incompetent to handle the terrible theme, and almost any story would have been ruined by the persistent Senecan *stichomythia* emphasized by the alternately rhyming lines; for the blank verse of *Gorboduc* and *Jocasta* had been unwisely abandoned. However, in spite of all its faults, *Gismond of Salerne* boldly attempts a new theme, and does, in some measure, set human passion on the stage.

In 1588 a very full entertainment of "devises and shewes" was set before Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich "by the Gentlemen of Grayes Inne". After an elaborately allegorical introduction, with lengthy speeches, came the play itself, called *The misfortunes of Arthur (Uther Pendragons Sonne) reduced into Tragicall notes by Thomas Hughes one of the societie of Grayes Inn*. There are five acts, each with its preliminary dumb show, and the whole concludes with an Epilogue, which at least proves that the great verse instrument of English drama was being shaped and polished. The matter of the play is drawn from Geoffrey of Monmouth, the manner from Seneca's *Thyestes*.

These academic plays acted by gentlemen of the Inns of Court did something for the drama. They set a standard of lofty effort and they established blank verse as the medium. Let us now consider the players of "common Interludes in the Englishe tongue" who were continually harried by the London civic authorities, and alternately repressed and encouraged by the Queen. The organization of strolling players and noblemen's servants into regular companies, together with the building of the first theatres, gave the drama the standing of a profession, and attracted to it the "university wits", who were soon to raise it to the dignity of an art. Seneca was still the standard, and two dates are therefore important, 1581 when separately translated plays of Seneca were collected and published as his *Tenne Tragedies*, and 1589 when Greene's novel *Menaphon* appeared with a slashing preface by Thomas Nashe, from which we gather two facts, first that the university "gentlemen" were contemptuous of meaner playwrights who relied upon Seneca in English, and next that by 1589 there appeared to exist a *Hamlet* with tragical speeches in the Senecan style. It seems probable that the person specially attacked by Nashe is Kyd. Kyd, Marlowe and Marston, though not wanting in Latin, certainly borrowed from Seneca without acknowledgment. Elizabethan tragedy adopted not only Seneca's five acts, and occasionally his choruses, his stock characters and his philosophical

Our early playwrights accepted the bloody traditions of the miracle plays, and handed on to the theatres a physical realism which was evidently in accord with popular taste. *Horestes* combines history with morals, the prompter of evil being the "Vice". In Bale's *King Johan* (c. 1538) the morality draws its themes from history, Sedition becoming Stephen Langton and Usurped Power becoming the Pope. There are other allegorical abstractions to remind us that we are still in the realm of the morality play. Thus historical-morality is the kind of development that we should expect.

The reader must appreciate the crude effects, the abstract morality and the skimble-skamble verse of these early efforts at tragedy before he can begin to understand the apparently excessive praise bestowed by Sidney and others upon *Gorboduc*, written by Thomas Norton (1532–84) and Thomas Sackville, and acted before Queen Elizabeth at the Inner Temple in 1562. To us it seems lifeless; to its time it seemed a revelation. Its imitation of Seneca's form and style is obvious; yet it shows independence, not only in the choice of a native theme, but in the strong individuality of treatment. The old miracles and moralities were democratic plays; *Gorboduc* is aristocratic. There is almost no action or agitation. It is noble, austere, remote and high-spoken. The blank-verse may sound mechanical, but it is dignity itself after the doggerel of its contemporaries. The story comes from Geoffrey and the *Mirror*, and the play was published as *Ferrex and Porrex*, the two brothers whose strife is the theme of the tragedy. The latter part of the play shows the hand of Sackville and there touches [illegible] but use their allegorical dumb-shows with marked originality. Further, they disregarded the precepts and practice of the Italian followers of Aristotle which insisted on the unities of time and place, and so gave to English tragedy from the beginning that liberty of action which was to be one of its greatest glories.

When the members of Gray's Inn presented a comedy and a tragedy in 1566 they took *Gorboduc* as their model for the latter. *Jocasta* is written in blank verse, which *Gorboduc* had introduced to the English stage, and its composition was divided between George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmersh, the former contributing the major part. The full title reads: *Jocasta. A Tragedie written in Greeke by Euripides, translated and digested into Acte by George Gascoygne and Francis Kinwelmershe of Grayes Inne, and there by them presented*, 1566. The translation was not made from Euripides, but from an Italian adaptation. *Jocasta* can hardly have encouraged the development of English tragedy, as it was the translation of an imitation, and in no sense an original work.

with exuberant gaiety and zeal for reform Heywood resembled the author of *Utopia*. The new era following the death of Queen Mary drove him from England, and he died abroad. Thus, although Heywood lived to the eve of the Armada, his extant plays date from the reign of Henry VIII, and three of these were printed as early as 1533. He belongs in spirit to the period of the morality plays; nevertheless his distinctive achievement is that he dispenses with vague allegory and gives a realistic representation of contemporary citizen types. His "new and very mery enterludes" therefore bring us far on the road towards fully developed comedy. Of the pieces definitely attributed to him, three form an allied group: *A Dialogue concerning Witty and Witless* (first printed 1846), *The Play of the wether* (1533) and *A play of love* (1534). They are dialogues or debates discussing a set theme, and their method is forensic rather than dramatic. In the first, characters dispute whether it is better to be witty or witless; in the last, two pairs of characters debate about love. In the second, the personages number ten; but they still discuss an abstract theme, namely, weather-control. *The Playe called the foure P P* is later and was printed probably in 1544. A dispute between Palmer, Pardoner, and Potycary about the value of their respective occupations is referred to an Autolycus-like Pedler, and a contest of mendacity ensues, the winning lie being that of the Palmer who declares:

> I never sawe nor knewe in my consyens
> Any one woman out of paciens.

Two other pieces attributed to Heywood show a definite dramatic advance: *A mery Play betwene the pardoner and the frere, the curate and neybour Pratte* (1533) and *A mery play betwene Johan Johan the husbande, Tyb his wyfe, and syr Jhann the preest* (1533). In the first a dispute between the pardoner and the frere reaches the extreme of physical violence, and the curate and neybour Pratte intervene. We are in the atmosphere of Chaucer, but drama has replaced narrative. Much the same may be said of the second play (probably from the French) in which a duped husband, a lickerish priest and a complaisant wife provide the situations. Both are successful farces, which have left mere dialogue far behind. It can justly be claimed that a stronger hand is to be found in the three plays last named than in the earlier dialogues; and modern criticism suggests that no less a person than Sir Thomas More himself may have collaborated in them. That More had a natural gift for drama is thought worthy of notice by his first biographer, William Roper.

A still nearer approach to true comedy was made by *A new comodye in englysh in maner of an enterlude etc.* generally known from it chief characters as *Calisto and Melebea* (printed c. 1530) and some times called *Beauty of Women*. It was adapted from *Celestina*, th

commonplaces, but his exaggerated passions, his crude horrors and his exuberant rhetoric.

Fortunately the wave of patriotic feeling culminating in the triumph over the Armada inspired some of the chroniclers, and these, in their turn, gave our playwrights a store of national themes to draw upon. Thomas Legge's *Richardus Tertius* (between 1570–80) is a Senecan

The True Chronicle History of King Leir, and his three daughters,

not here augment. There appears to be some connection between the plays, as a few passages, slightly varied, are common to both.

classical authorities dear to the gentlemen of the universities and the Inns of Court. English tragedy moved away from the frozen dignity of *Gorboduc* towards the warm humanity of the best old miracle plays. Nevertheless, from the Senecan models it derived not only its persistent defects of sensational horror and insistent declamation, but some recognition of the necessity for dignity of person, lofuness of utterance, and real, though not mechanical, unity and coherence.

V. EARLY ENGLISH COMEDY

with the writers' names, and among the earliest of these are some of John Heywood's interludes. John Heywood (1497?–1587) was in the service of Henry VIII as a musician. He belonged by marriage to the circle of Sir Thomas More, and his own daughter became the mother of John Donne. In his combination of steadfast orthodoxy

the Queen, perhaps performed by Westminster boys, for he was headmaster there from 1554 to 1556. Udall was evidently a man of versatile powers, but unfortunately he survives mainly in mere records and allusions. The sole work which remains to illustrate his dramatic gift is *Ralph Roister Doister*, perhaps performed in 1553 or 1554 by Westminster boys. In imitation of Plautus and Terence, Udall substituted for the loosely knit structure of the English morality or debate an organic plot divided into acts and scenes. Within this framework, he adjusted figures borrowed from Roman comedy, but transformed to suit English conditions, and mingled with others of purely native origin. *Ralph Roister Doister* has genuine life as an English comedy, and does not live merely historically. *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, another academic comedy, by an unknown writer, is discussed later.

Yet another adaptation from Plautus is *A new Enterlued for Chyldren to playe, named Jacke Jugeler*, entered for printing in 1562–3, but written, very probably, during the reign of Mary. Jack Juggler, the "Vice", assumes the identity of Jenkin Careaway and makes that hapless lackey believe in the loss of his own personality. In spite of its classical origin, *Jack Juggler* is little more than a briskly written farcical episode. It appears to embody an attack on the doctrine of transubstantiation, and must be the only case of the "confusion of identity" common in farce translated into the service of controversial theology.

But Tudor writers found inspiration in the work of contemporary Continental humanists as well as in works of the classical period. The *Thersites* in Latin hexameters by the Frenchman whose name is Latinized as Ravisius Textor was adapted into a very free English version acted in 1537. The medley of English metres and the comic allusions to English traditional heroes, including "Robin John and Little Hode", helped to give the adaptation a convincing native air. With another of Textor's Latin dialogues, *Juvenis*, *Pater*, *Uxor*, we reach a theme which had a considerable run of popularity—the Prodigal Son. One fragmentary version has been called *The Prodigal Son* (1530); another, by Thomas Ingelend, is called *The Disobedient Child* (c. 1570). A writer who cannot be identified with certainty wrote, probably about 1560, a play, *Misogonus*, which enables us to claim for England the credit of having produced one of the most elaborate and original comedies on this theme. *The Historie of Jacol and Esau*, licensed for printing in 1557, but extant only in an editior of 1568, may be grouped with the "prodigal son" plays, though i varies from the standard type in its use of song and the by-play c servants. With Gascoigne's *The Glasse of Government* (1575), we re turn to the more orthodox type of prodigal son play. But the auth adds a complication by doubling the principal characters. Tv

celebrated Spanish work which took Spain and Europe by storm in spite of its prolixity. The unknown English author has definite dramatic power, and narrowly missed giving English drama its first [illegible] a [illegible] ier [illegible] a *godely interlude of Fulgens Cenatoure of Rome and Lucres his doughter* by Henry Medwall, chaplain to Cardinal Morton and author of *Nature,* [illegible] influenced by the first. *Fulgens and Lucrece* achieves the success which *Calisto and Melebea* missed. The story has human interest and the characters are credible figures, not mere abstractions. Its greatest success is achieved in the "comic relief", which shows genuine invention. *Fulgens and Lucrece* is the first true secular comedy known in our literature. All the comedies so far named use rhymed verse of [illegible]

The classical revival on the Continent began to influence the English stage early in the sixteenth century. Naturally, the first performances of classical plays and adaptations took place in schools and other seats of learning. Special interest attaches to the appearance of the boys of "the Gramarskolle of Westminster" in 1569 before Queen Elizabeth in plays of Terence, for the Latin play at Westminster was to become a permanent institution. There were still earlier school performances at Eton and St Paul's—at the latter in 1527. T[illegible] attainec[illegible] drama'[illegible]

The earliest extant memorial in English of the revived study of Roman comedy is a translation of the *Andria,* entitled *Terens in Englysh,* printed by John Rastell about 1520, but the bold step of writing an entirely English comedy on classical models was taken by Nicholas Udall (1505–56). Udall was a Winchester and Oxford [illegible] Eton from 1534 to 1541, but lost his post for misconduct. A letter of 1554 shows that he exhibited "Dialogues and Enterludes" before

VI. THE PLAYS OF THE UNIVERSITY WITS

During the sixteenth century, the drama, now settled into a regular entertainment, seemed at first to be developing along two divergent lines, which we may loosely describe as courtly drama acted by young gallants and choir children in halls and noble houses, and popular drama acted by common players of interludes in the yards of inns and later at The Theater, the first London playhouse, erected in 1576. The literary men from Oxford and Cambridge took the drama as their special province. They drew a sharp distinction between the civilized theatre of the Court and the common playhouse of the vulgar; and, claiming the first for themselves, denounced "the alcumists of eloquence, who (mounted on the stage of arrogance) think to outbrave better pens with the swelling bumbast of a bragging blanke verse", and commit "the digestion of their cholerick incumbrances to the spacious volubilitie of a drumming decasillabon". It is Marlowe, university man though he was, who may be meant, for had not the drumming decasillabons of *Tamburlaine* caught the ears of the playhouse groundlings? These quotations from the arrogant essay of Thomas Nashe prefacing Robert Greene's *Menaphon* have a curiously familiar ring. Nashe does not actually use the modern phrase about reading this or that "in the original", but he expresses contempt for the meaner sort "that never ware gowne in the Universitie", and leaves "to the mercie of their mother tongue (those) that feed on nought but the crummes that fal from the translators trencher". Kyd is perhaps the man here intended. Antagonism was fiercer then than now because the world of letters was smaller and the competition keener.

The leader of the university group was John Lyly (1544–1606), of Oxford and Cambridge, whose receptive mind was hospitable to the more delicate graces of literature. That his material was usually some slight theme suggested by stories of the classical deities may be gathered from the titles of his plays—*A most excellent comedie of Alexander, Campaspe and Diogenes* (1584), *Sapho and Phao* (1584), *Endimion the Man in the Moone* (1591), *Gallathea* (1592), *Midas* (1592), *Mother Bombie* (1594), *The Woman in the Moone* (1597), and *Loves Metamorphosis* (1601). Most of these are described as being "played before the Queenes Majestie" by the "Children". The dates given are dates of printing. Lyly found models for style and matter in Sir Thomas North's *The Diall of Princes* (1557) and in George Pettie's *The Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure* (1576). Nevertheless his sentences, elaborately, artificially framed, are his own, and bear the mark of a genuine literary personality. Lyly's immaterial view of love is Italianate, and his interest in "behaviour" shows the influence of *Il Cortegiano* and other Renascence discussions of courtly

fathers are introduced, each with a pair of sons—the younger a model of virtue and the elder a scapegrace. The harshly Calvinistic spirit of *The Glass of Government* makes it a Puritan tract in the disguise of a humanist play. Gascoigne had already made a new [illegible] English drama by giving us the firs[illegible] of intrigue. His *Supposes*, acted at [illegible] Ariosto's *Gli Suppositi*, which, written first in prose and afterwards rewritten in verse, was first performed in 1509. It is one of the earliest regular comedies in a European vernacular. Gascoigne appears to have utilized both the prose and the verse [illegible]

[illegible] which anticipate the kindred qualities of Lyly's dramatic prose Its enduring reputation is attested by its adaptation about 1590, with considerable changes, and in verse form, as the underplot of the anonymous *Taming of a Shrew* (not to be confused with Shakespeare's). [illegible]

[illegible]

example of farcical comedy [illegible]

[illegible]

already referred to [illegible]

[illegible] founded on Whetstone's play, he gave to the story its final form. With its sustained level of workmanlike though uninspired alexandrines and decasyllabic lines, including some passages of blank verse, *Promos and Cassandra* is a good example of romantic drama as written before the period of Shakespeare's immediate predecessors. Both Edwards and Whetstone wrote prefaces expounding their theory of the function of comedy, insisting that comedy must be true to its own life The principle is vital What the writers of comedy had yet to learn was the artistic use of prose as a form of expression—that comedy without style loses half its charm. John Lyly first clearly divined that secret and taught comedy to speak in its proper language. To him we now pass.

The Old Wife's Tale is the first English play to embody literary criticism in its jests. Though much of Peele's work is untidily disposed and carelessly executed, he had a clear vision of literature as an art: *primus verborum artifex*, Thomas Nashe called him. His feeling for the musical value of words can hardly be missed by the careful reader.

Robert Greene (1558–92) was a member of both universities. He seems to have travelled widely and he probably knew at first hand the Italian authors to whom his work is most indebted. He was one of those not uncommon Englishmen who fly between the extremes of Bohemian licence and Puritan idealism. That his life offers several problems, attractive to investigators, should be clear from the discussion of his pamphlets in an earlier chapter (see p. 163). It is generally agreed that the order of his surviving plays in this: *The Comicall Historie of Alphonsus King of Aragon* (printed 1599), *A Looking Glasse for London and England* (with Thomas Lodge, printed 1594), *The Historie of Orlando Furioso* (printed 1594), *The Honorable Historie of frier Bacon and frier Bongay* (printed 1594), and *The Scottish Historie of James the fourth* (printed 1598). *Alphonsus* is merely imitation of Marlowe, especially of *Tamburlaine*. *James IV* is not, as its title suggests, a chronicle play, but the dramatization of a tale from Cinthio's *Hecatommithi* and introduces Oberon, King of the Fairies, whom another was to borrow. In *Friar Bacon* Greene develops the mere hint of an old romance into the idyllic incidents of Margaret of Fressingfield, Lacy and the King. *Orlando Furioso* comes from Ariosto, but is far away from its original. Probably only a portion of Greene's dramatic work survives. To him has been attributed some share in such famous plays as *Selimus*, *The Troublesome Raigne of John*, *The First Part of the Contention betwixt the Houses of Yorke and Lancaster*, and *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke* (i.e. *Henry VI*, Parts II and III); but these attributions cannot be proved; on the other hand there are reasons for believing that he wrote *George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield* (ptd. 1599), and that it is one of his latest plays. Unlike Peele, Greene was no haphazard dramatic story-teller. Lyly prepared the way for high comedy by his dialogue, his artificial characters and his feeling for style; Greene carried the path further into the region of complicated plot, verisimilitude and simple human feeling.

Thomas Lodge (1558–1625) was educated at Oxford. He began his play-writing as early as 1582, and his novel-writing as early as 1584 with *The Delectable Historie of Forbonius and Prisceria*. *Rosalynde, Euphues golden legacie*, appeared in 1590, and *Scillaes Metamorphosis*, a book of verse in 1589. Lodge was a facile writer; and in quick succession came his two plays, *The Wounds of Civill War* (1594) and *A Looking Glasse for London and Englande* (1594), his book of verse, *A Fig for Momus* (1595), and his romantic story, *A Margarite of America*

actors were also singers; and there is always the possibility that the

To pass from the doggerel of the early popular comedies to the con-

coarse-

High

e first

master of prose style in English comedy. He was essentially a court dramatist, and added to drama the feminine qualities of delicacy, grace, charm and subtlety The English drama was masculine already to the point of swaggering. Lyly refined it and took it out of the alehouse into the presence-chamber

George Peele (1558–97) was at Oxford for several years His plays, with dates of first publication, are *The Arayguement of Paris. A Pastorall* (1584), *The Famous Chronicle of king Edward the first* (1593), *The Battell of Alcazar* (1594), *The Old Wives Tale* (1595), and *The Love of King David and Faire Bethsabe* (1599). His hand is probably to be found in other works, and he has been credited with a share in such Shakespeareana as *Locrine* and *Henry VI*; but these attributions are not established. Though Peele's dramatic career was very short, his work shows great variety. Whether he wrote by chance upon any subject or whether he was deliberately experimenting must remain a matter for speculation. The obvious facts are that *The Arraignment of Paris* is a pastoral-masque, *Edward I* a chronicle-history flavoured with romance, *King David and Fair Bethsabe* a modernized miracle play, and *The Old Wives Tale* a satirical drama with romance not far away. The last named is the best known of Peele's plays The title is really *The Old Wife's Tale*, for the

forest.

to be a

romant

predecessor of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*. There is also a "privye nippe" at the English-hexameter fanatics like Stanyhurst, in such lines as.

> Phylyda phylerydos, Pamphylyda florida flortos,
> Dub dub a dub, bounce quoth the guns, with a sulpherous huffe snuffe.

of scorn. The facts about his life and works are as obscure as the circumstances of his death. He had become notorious for "atheism", and he was fatally stabbed in a Deptford tavern at the end of a long day spent with three men of very dubious repute. Some time before, Kyd had been arrested for "mutinous sedition", but was released after Marlowe's death, having shown that heretical papers found in his room belonged to Marlowe, whom he accused of blasphemy. There is no profit in speculating on what was behind Marlowe's death. He had lived dangerously and was such a man as could have written his plays. His literary life begins with an undated translation of Ovid's *Amores*, called *Elegies* by the publishers. This has more merits than it is usually allowed. Like Shakespeare, Marlowe set forth on his way as a poet of classical amorism, but, unlike Shakespeare, he did not immediately find his natural magic and music. Marlowe's first original work was *Tamburlaine the Great*, in two parts, played in 1587 or 1588 and printed anonymously in 1590. The grandeur of the style, the powerful acting of Alleyn and the superiority of the piece to the plays which had so far held the popular stage gave *Tamburlaine* great popularity. Yet, save in one obscure and hostile allusion by Greene, the author is nowhere named. Even Heywood, who mentions both Marlowe and *Tamburlaine* in his *Apology for Actors*, does not clearly associate them. The dramatic excesses of the play were disliked by some, but, of course, the real offence was that Marlowe succeeded. Like Swinburne he carried the young men away by the irresistible force of his style. *The Tragicall History of D. Faustus*, of which the first known edition is the quarto of 1604, is assumed to be his next play and is dated c. 1588; but there is good reason for refusing it a date earlier than 1592. *Faustus*, however, is not so complete a thing as *Tamburlaine*. The comic scenes are almost abjectly bad, and prove either that Marlowe's excesses of humour are worse than his excesses of tragedy, or that his play has suffered from foolish theatrical additions. Nevertheless the greatest parts of *Faustus* show him at the height of his poetic and dramatic magnificence. The same difficulty is presented in another play, *The Jew of Malta*. It is mentioned as early as 1592; but as there is no evidence that it was printed before 1633, we have a reasonable excuse for disclaiming the poorer passages as playhouse alterations. In *The Troublesome Raigne and Lamentable Death of Edward the Second* (printed 1593–4), Marlowe gave us the first historical play of the type which Shakespeare followed in *Richard II*. *The Massacre at Paris* and *The Tragedie of Dido Queene of Carthage* complete the list of Marlowe's accepted dramas. The first known edition of the former is undated; it was acted in 1593; the earliest text of the latter belongs to the year 1594. *The Massacre*, badly transmitted, has fitful power. *Dido*, usually dismissed with undeserved

(1596). Apparently he wrote no more, though he lived for another thirty years. He became a Catholic, and settled down to the life of a physician. Of his plays only two survive. *The Wounds of Civil War*, which is a *Titus Andronicus* with all the thrills and horrors left out, is evidently the work of a man neither by instinct nor by practice a dramatist. It affords no clue as to his share in *A Looking Glass for London* which he wrote with Greene. Lodge added nothing to the development of the English drama.

Thomas Nashe (1567–1601) has already been mentioned in preceding pages as pamphleteer and story writer. Apparently he went [illegible] not to the season, but to the celebrated jester, Will Summers or Sommers. To know Nashe at his best one must read his pamphlets and *The Unfortunate Traveller*.

Three of our five "university wits" certainly helped the development of the drama; but not a single play by any of them has genuine life for the stage of to-day. Like others of the same kind they were more successful in proclaiming their superiority than in proving it. The apparently diverging streams of literary drama and popular drama were to be drawn together in one mighty flood by the genius of writers whom we are next to consider, Marlowe, a daring scholar from Cambridge, who did not disdain the public, and Shakespeare, a new poet from the provinces, who took the popular drama as he found it, and gave it back to the world transfigured.

VII. MARLOWE AND KYD

Whether *The Spanish Tragedy* is earlier than *Tamburlaine*, as some suppose, does not greatly matter; for, historically, Kyd and Marlowe are not easily separable; they both attained great popularity at the same time and both fell together.

The sentimentalists can no longer make a pathetic story out of Christopher Marlowe's life (1564–93). Recent additions to our knowledge have left us few illusions. Marlowe, son of a Canterbury shoemaker, passed from the King's School in his native city to Cambridge, where he absorbed the music and the legends of Latin poetry [illegible] Though he [illegible] one of their [illegible] had made himself common, and appears to be pointed at with Nashe's finger

dramatic effort. But it merely seems the best because it never sinks to the worst depths of *Tamburlaine* and *Faustus.* Just as certainly it never touches their greatest heights. In passion and word-music the play is inferior to the greater pieces; it lacks, too, the touch of caricature that gives them convincing vitality. Still, it is the first successful attempt we have at the interpretation of history on the stage; for a successful history-play must interpret history, it must not merely label figures with historical names. The earlier historical plays were only another form of the cautionary historical poems in *A Mirror for Magistrates.* After Marlowe's *Edward II*, Shakespeare's *Richard II* and its great successors became possible; but Marlowe could never have attained the all-embracing versatility of Shakespeare. *Edward II* shows his limitations as clearly as his powers. No one remembers its characters and scenes as one remembers the characters and scenes of *Richard II.*

Marlowe gave his age true tragedy. He also gave it tragedy's true instrument, great verse. *Gorboduc* had taught blank verse how to speak on the stage; *Tamburlaine* taught it how to sing. Indeed, it might be said that Marlowe's genius is operatic, and he obviously learned something of his music from Spenser. His famous passages are like great solos, superbly lyrical and appropriate, but not integrally woven into the texture of the drama. His dramatic blank verse unites the formal dignity of *Gorboduc* with the musical fluency of *The Faerie Queene*; and so it is rhythmically free and inventive, capable alike of magic and of majesty, always the master and never the slave of its metrical pattern. And though his daemonic figures may seem excessive in deed or aspiration, their poetic speech, however "mighty", is spontaneous, natural, and even simple.

Thomas Kyd (1558–94) appears to be the person held up to contempt by Nashe in his preface to *Menaphon* as an example of those who "could scarcelie latinize their necke-verse if they should have need". Kyd's great offence was that he had made an immense theatrical success with *The Spanish Tragedy*. The extent of Kyd's Latinity may not have been great; but though he "never ware gowne in the Universitie" he was a fellow pupil with Spenser at Merchant Taylors'. His translations from the Italian and French, which seem to have annoyed Nashe specially, are quite unimportant. The Italian work is a pamphlet, and the French a version of Robert Garnier's *Cornélie* under the title *Pompey the Great, his fair Corneliaes Tragedie* (printed 1594—there is no record of its being acted). Other works attributed to him raise too many bibliographical problems to be accepted readily. *The First Part of Jeronimo*, extant in a quarto of 1605, is possibly a "first part" to *The Spanish Tragedie*, but not very probably written by Kyd himself. *The Tragedye of Solyman and Perseda* (published 1592) may perhaps be his, for that is the subject of the play within the play in *The Spanish Tragedie*; but it is quite

contempt, bears the name of Nashe on its title as co-author; but of Nashe's hand there is little trace.

The supposed association of Marlowe with works attributed to Shakespeare or used by Shakespeare must be barely mentioned in a survey such as this. Assertions about composite authorship are easy to make and hard to establish or refute. Still, composite authorship and revision by several hands are known facts of the time. Readers should trust their own convictions and not accept attributions too readily. In *Titus Andronicus* and in *Henry VI* there is some show of argument for Marlowe's hand. The full-bodied verse of *Titus* and the soaring, defiant character of Aaron might be the work of the author of *Tamburlaine*, but might equally well be the work of a young admirer. Marlowe may have had a share in *Henry VI*, but the nature and extent of that share (if any) cannot be discussed briefly. At this time of day it is impossible to distinguish between the verse of Marlowe and the verse of a young poet writing with Marlowe's infectious tune in his head. *Arden of Feversham* is one of the pseudo-Shakespearean plays in which some students have detected Marlowe's hand.

Two other works, non-dramatic, remain for mention: *Hero and Leander* and *Lucan's First Booke Translated Line for Line*, both entered for printing in 1593. The first, unfinished, was published in 1598, afterwards with a [illegible] 1600. The famous s[illegible] appeared first in T[illegible] form, in *Englands Helicon* (1600). The nearly simultaneous publication of these pieces appears to indicate an effort by friends to leave little or nothing of the poet's work unprinted. We gather, from various allusions, that Marlowe had friends and admirers in spite of his ill-repute.

The first duty of a historian is to dwell, not upon Marlowe's faults, but upon his achievements; and the fact to be recorded is that Marlowe is a prime creative force in English literature, and a creative force of a new kind. Till Marlowe's time no one had made possible and credible such daemonic figures as Tamburlaine, Faustus and [illegible] possession of the strong man, and could use his sources creatively. [illegible] praise it. Because it is the first complete historical play of the stricter type without lapses into foolery, it is singled out as Marlowe's best

Shakespeare's life with pleasing hypothetical incidents, and next by the incorrigible cranks whose different piety assigns all the work called Shakespeare's to numerous members of the peerage. But two great unassailable facts we do know and must never forget: first, that a man named William Shakespeare lived and wrote, was seen by many, was admired for his works, and was liked for his qualities; second, that a great mass of work was known by friends and by rivals to be his, was published as his by people who had been, so to speak, in the making of it, and was never doubted to be his by any contemporary, or by any successor, till America in the nineteenth century began to throw up a succession of cranks representing the extremes of ignorant credulity and morbid ingenuity. Actually we have as much vital information about Shakespeare as we have about most artists of any early period. Shakespeare has come to seem a special case of mystery solely because his majestic eminence has induced people to attempt the writing of his life without material of the expected kind. Shakespeare is not a special case of mystery. We know almost nothing about Kyd, author of the most popular tragedy of the day; we knew almost nothing, till recently, about the death of a celebrated person like Marlowe. If we know rather more about Ben Jonson, it is because Ben was the kind of writer, found in all ages, who can never resist talking about himself. And, actually, what we know of Ben Jonson's life is of singularly little aid to the understanding of Ben Jonson's works.

There is abundant contemporary testimony to the work of Shakespeare. Our most precise and almost disconcertingly exact piece of early information is the summary of works given in a little volume called *Palladis Tamia; Wits Treasury* (1598) by Francis Meres (1565–1647), a Cambridge divine and schoolmaster. The book is a series of choice passages from famous authors, followed by *A Comparative Discourse of our English Poets with the Greeke, Latine and Italian Poets*. Meres includes Shakespeare's works among those which have built lasting monuments to their authors. He includes Shakespeare among the "Lyrick poets". He includes Shakespeare among the "Tragicke poets". He includes Shakespeare with "the best for Comedy amongst us". He includes Shakespeare with those who "are the most passionate among us to bewaile and bemoane the perplexities of love". But the most extensive allusion is the following paragraph, which must be quoted in full:

> As *Plautus* and *Seneca* are accounted the best for Comedy and Tragedy among the Latines: so *Shakespeare* among ye English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage; for Comedy, witnes his *Gentlemen of Verona*, his *Errors*, his *Love labors lost*, his *Love labours wonne*, his *Midsummers night dreame*, & his *Merchant of Venice*: for Tragedy his *Richard the 2. Richard the 3. Henry the 4. King Iohn, Titus Andronicus* and his *Romeo* and *Iuliet*.

definitely inferior to that piece. Even the *Tragedie* itself is a problem. Its date is unknown. It may have been written just before 1588. By [illegible]

in 1599. None of them gives the least clue to the author's name; and it is not till 1612 that "M. Kid" is named casually by Heywood, [illegible] -Senecas Seneca [illegible] But there can be [illegible] in details of the story, but in the halting, suffering, distracted, self-communing character of Hieronimo, who was an entirely new kind of tragic hero. *The Spanish Tragedy* is the first example we possess of the Hamlet type of play.

Kyd can be easily underrated. His contribution to drama is intrinsically as well as historically important. He was the first English [illegible]

is the first English dramatist who writes dramatically. We have parted company with the older declamatory tragedy of the English Senecans, with the "operatic" tragedy of Marlowe, and we are [illegible]

carry over some sections of an older, non-Shakespearean play? There is no certain answer to any of these questions. Perhaps in some obscure library there lies unrecognized the lost *Hamlet* of Kyd, or another, as the lost *Fulgens and Lucres* lay unrecognized till 1919. Perhaps, on the other hand, there never was such a play.

VIII. SHAKESPEARE: LIFE AND PLAYS

Of William Shakespeare (1564–1616), in the biographical sense, we know both too much and too little. The diligence of investigators has amassed a quantity of information, most of which is utterly useless and irrelevant. We do not want to know about Shakespeare's lawsuits. We do not need any personal conjectures about the man; but we urgently need much bibliographical and textual information about the works. Of this we possess far too little; and the more frankly we admit our ignorance the less likely we are to be deceived, first by the sentimental biographers whose piety fills the blanks in

solidly minded that he is remembered to-day, not as an actor, but as a benefactor to education. As a poet, Shakespeare met very early the differently inspiring Earl of Southampton, his first patron, a dazzling young nobleman through whom he got to know the great world and grew familiar with the courtier's, scholar's, soldier's eye, tongue, sword. There must have been similar stimulating influences that we can only guess at. The kind of knowledge eminently possessed by Shakespeare is something beyond mere acquisition—the kind of knowledge that comes only to "an experiencing nature"; and the experiencing nature, like creative genius, is a gift, not an acquirement. People have made a "Shakespeare mystery" by trying to find reasons for what is beyond reason. All creative genius is a mystery, and utterly inexplicable.

Another kind of difficulty made about Shakespeare will have small power to alarm those who have traced in these pages the development of the drama from church services to the anonymous and unprinted miracle plays of the guilds, from them to the anonymous and occasionally printed morality plays, from them to plays prepared for performance in schools or universities or inns of court, and from them to plays written for the general public. Why did Shakespeare not publish his plays? The answer is that a play was meant to be published in speech, not to be published in print. It was a theatrical property, not a work of literature. Even poems of a personal kind were kept in manuscript. Meres bestows praise upon Shakespeare's "sugred Sonnets among his private friends"; and they remained among his private friends for ten years after Meres had mentioned them; further, when they were printed in 1609 there is no evidence that they were published with the author's consent. Shakespeare was willing to publish his carefully composed *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*; but his improvizations and adaptations for the stage he viewed with the practical eye of a man of the theatre, and they stayed with the players for whom they were written and to whom they belonged. What is remarkable about the publication of Shakespeare's plays is not that the author took no interest in preserving them for posterity, but that, seven years after his death, friendly actors should have made a great volume of them. That was an unprecedented tribute of contemporaries to his greatness.

The real problems in the study of Shakespeare arise from the fact that we have in print a mass of theatrical literature never prepared for the press. Some of it is ill-printed; some of it is misprinted. The plays in the First Folio are roughly grouped, but they are not arranged. We do not know the chronological order of their composition. In any one play there may be strata of several different periods. Theatrical literature beyond any other is liable to addition, subtraction, modification and revision; and the attempt to date any

No play called *Love labours wonne* exists, and identification is [illegible] list of Shakespeare's plays is therefore selective and not exhaustive, and Shakespeare is the only writer whose works are named so ex- [illegible] of speculation. Shakespeare, with his greatest works still unwritten, takes first rank in the estimate of a stiff contemporary critic.

Upon one matter of controversy we must touch very briefly. The propositions generally alleged can be summarized baldly as follows: (1) We know nothing about Shakespeare's life and upbringing; (2) therefore he must have been an ignorant boor, (3) and therefore his plays, which show multiscience, if not omniscience, must have been written by a member of the peerage. We need not discuss these propositions. They refute themselves As we know nothing about Shakespeare's life and upbringing we do not know what he knew. The plays exhibit nothing resembling omniscience or even multiscience. There is not the slightest correlation between great learning and great creative power. The symptoms interpreted as evidence of omniscience are exhibited daily by journalists and barristers. The belief that special capacity for scholarship, creative art and public affairs can be found only in the "upper classes" is a curious and almost pathetic superstition of the servile or genteel mind. The cranks who have declared that the plays of Shakespeare are too good for an actor to have written have never noticed that they are too bad for a Lord Chancellor to have written. They contain elementary mistakes of fact. They are unoriginal in substance. They are haphazard in form. They are full of loose ends. They are thoroughly untidy. They contain singularly few literary allusions. They bear every mark of hasty improvization. They smell of the theatre, never of the study. They are not, in any respect, considered works. A man with Shakespeare's unrivalled power of registering peculiarities of human character could easily acquire and assimilate the kind of knowledge shown in the plays What we know definitely about Shakespeare's education is that he studied in two great seats of learning, the theatre and the world. As an actor and dramatist Shakespeare inherited three centuries of tradition. He heard the thunders of *Tamburlaine* and *The Spanish Tragedy* rolled forth by Edward Alleyn, an inspiring person on the stage, and off the stage so

Smithfield and received as a public spectacle the abominations of Tyburn. There is no sound literary reason for refusing to accept *Titus* as a first adventure in the tragedy of horror by the future author of *King Lear*. At the other extreme is *Love's Labour's Lost* (c. 1594), an exquisite artificial comedy to which less than its due admiration is given. It is the finest comedy that the English stage had produced at that date, and it is the finest example, at that date, of the successful application of charm, humanity and style to the drama, not even excepting the more obvious Titanism of *Tamburlaine* and *Faustus*. The author of *Titus Andronicus* might have written *Tamburlaine*; the author of *Tamburlaine* could never have written *Love's Labour's Lost*. Shakespeare's youthful comedy foreshadows things that he was to do better afterwards; Marlowe's tragedies foreshadow no kind of development. They could not be developed, they could only be repeated.

These three "earliest" plays are succeeded by three "earlier", *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *All's Well that Ends Well* (supposing, for the moment, that to be *Love's Labour's Won*) and *The Taming of the Shrew*. *The Two Gentlemen* (c. 1594) is the insecure handling of a romantic story; but it shows a grasp of character far from insecure, and it shows the verse-medium steadily settling into blank verse that is both beautiful and practicable. *All's Well* (c. 1602) is an oddly unsatisfactory play, crude enough to be early, yet mature enough to be late. Its chief failure is the heroine, Helena, who does not really let us know what manner of woman she is; its greatest success is the old Countess, about whom there is no doubt of any kind. An early date for *All's Well*, as it stands, cannot be accepted. *The Taming of the Shrew* (c. 1594) seems, at first sight, to be adapted from *The Taming of a Shrew* (printed 1594); but the latter may be nothing but an attempt at a reported version of Shakespeare's play, eked out with quotations from Marlowe. No one would claim that the play is a great addition to the Shakespeare canon, successful as it is after its own fashion.

Of the other seven plays in the Meres list, we can be content to say that they are all "early". *Romeo and Juliet* (c. 1595) is Shakespeare's greatest triumph up to this date. It is a pure tragedy of youth told in verse that is both youthful and intense. No such loveliness of music had been heard before on the English stage. Some of the characters are mere diagrams; but Romeo, Juliet, Mercutio and the Nurse are now part of the world's mythology. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (c. 1596) is a triumph of a different kind. There is the stuff of half a dozen poetical comedies in it, yet not in the least confusedly disposed. *The Merchant of Venice* (c. 1596) is not so completely successful. The parts do not flow into each other as in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Some seem less mature than others; and it is possible to believe that the different strata are of different dates.

The chronicle plays mentioned by Meres introduce a new division

play from internal evidence is hazardous. A specific allusion in a passage dates that passage: it does not necessarily date the whole play. Still, though no confidence can be placed in any list of the plays [illegible]

Not one of the plays in that list, *Titus* excepted, was published till the year before Meres wrote, and three were not printed till the issue of the Folio of 1623. Greene's allusion in *A Groatsworth of Wit* cites a line of *Henry VI*, a play not mentioned by Meres. The special value of the Meres list and its date is that the eleven plays named form a compact block of early work, and so give us a definite standard of reference—we know that certain works are early and from them we learn the characteristics of "earliness". But we know very little else, and it is precisely here that we desire to know more. The [illegible]

his invention, as he called it? What share had he in the three parts [illegible]

verse exhibited in a delightful early comedy like *Love's Labour's Lost*? These are some of the questions to which we desire an answer; but answer there is none.

Unquestionably two of the earliest plays are *The Comedy of Errors* (c. 1592) and *Titus Andronicus* (c 1593). *The Comedy*, derived somehow from the *Menaechmi* of Plautus (with the twins doubled), is an ambitious farce containing here and there touches in the serious style of the early Shakespeare *Titus Andronicus* must receive more notice than it deserves. Because it is crudely horrible it has been thought unworthy of Shakespeare and has been denied to him This is sentimentalism, not criticism. A play, *Titus Andronicus*, was acted, [illegible]

could confidently offer to an audience that remembered the fires of

Smithfield and received as a public spectacle the abominations of Tyburn. There is no sound literary reason for refusing to accept *Titus* as a first adventure in the tragedy of horror by the future author of *King Lear*. At the other extreme is *Love's Labour's Lost* (c. 1594), an exquisite artificial comedy to which less than its due admiration is given. It is the finest comedy that the English stage had produced at that date, and it is the finest example, at that date, of the successful application of charm, humanity and style to the drama, not even excepting the more obvious Titanism of *Tamburlaine* and *Faustus*. The author of *Titus Andronicus* might have written *Tamburlaine*; the author of *Tamburlaine* could never have written *Love's Labour's Lost*. Shakespeare's youthful comedy foreshadows things that he was to do better afterwards; Marlowe's tragedies foreshadow no kind of development. They could not be developed, they could only be repeated.

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The chronicle plays mentioned by Meres introduce a new division

of Shakespeare's work. As we have seen, the first chronicle plays hovered between history and morality and did not attain full artistic success till Marlowe wrote *Edward II*. In no kind of drama did the genius of Shakespeare find a fuller field for expatiation. His three greatest gifts, his power of poetic expression, his power of character-creation, and his power of weaving both into a story, were exactly what was needed to turn these formless agglomerations into real organisms, possessing life and beauty. The three parts of *Henry VI* (c. 1590–1), ignored by Meres, were included by the editors of the First Folio in the canon of Shakespeare's works. Parts II and III of *Henry VI* were published as *The First part of the Contention between the two famous Houses of* [illegible] *Tragedie of Richard D* [illegible] *Sixt* (printed 1595). [illegible] much contention between famous critical houses; but readers should not be seduced by these contentions into early partizanship and should in particular beware of the confident exponents of the higher criticism who will distribute definite portions of a play called Shakespeare's among five or six different authors. No one is required to believe in the literal inspiration of the First Folio. That no word of Shakespeare's is to be found out of it or that no word but Shakespeare's is to be found in it are two extreme propositions, which, like all extremes, are the concern only of fanatics. Sensible persons will believe that the vast space between those extremes is Shakespeare's own. After all, the evidence of the Folio is contemporary evidence, [illegible]

later achievements as *The Comedy of Errors* is unlike *Twelfth Night*.

Richard II (c. 1596) has no traceable original, but it had a model in Marlowe's *Edward II*; Shakespeare's Richard, however, is a finer achievement than Marlowe's Edward, though the part is not strongly or even variously supported. In fact, *Richard II* is more of a lyrical monologue than any other play by Shakespeare, with the monologue very exquisitely written.

King John and *Richard III* are both examples of the adaptation and working up of existir[illegible] *took much of The T*[illegible] heightened the pres[illegible] bears much less resemblance to *The True Tragedie of Richard III*, and derives something indirectly from the life of Richard by Sir Thomas More, included in Holinshed's *Chronicles*. It has some famous scenes, but its chief triumph is the character of Richard, which has

attracted every great actor from Burbage to Irving. The puzzling problems of the text and its transmission do not concern us here.

Last in the Meres list comes *Henry IV* (c. 1597) worked up from an older piece, *The Famous Victories of Henry the fifth*, but more remarkable than any of the earlier chronicles for complete transformation of the merest brute material into magnificent art. The two parts of this play are continuous and together form one of Shakespeare's very greatest achievements. In particular, the blending of history with invention is a triumph of accomplishment. The curious and universal humanity of Shakespeare's portraiture, so utterly different from the shrill striving of so-called realism, is scarcely anywhere shown more finely than in Nell and Doll, a pair of trulls who become almost endearing figures. It is a detail worth noticing how prodigal Shakespeare has been of Warwickshire and Gloucestershire reminiscences in this play.

Early in the Folio of 1623 comes *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (c. 1600). No attempt was made to fit this Falstaff story into the historical series; and so it is lost labour and idle sentimentality to lament the decadence and defeat of a triumphant figure. There are many compensations. The *vis comica* of the piece is perfect; its invention and variety are abundant; and the actual construction is more careful than usual. So admirable are the characters, especially the two "wives", with their sterling honesty carried into the region of charm, that the half-patronizing, half-apologetic, tone sometimes adopted towards *The Merry Wives*, as a "farce", is singularly amusing to a liberally catholic student of literature.

Measure for Measure (c. 1604), which follows in the Folio, is an unsatisfactory play with great things in it, therein differing from *All's Well*, which is an unsatisfactory play with good things in it. The characters who present the dramatic problem are much less vivid and convincing than the rank and shabby accessories. The Duke is improbable as man and as ruler, and Angelo is both improbably flagitious and improbably repentant. Isabella embodies high and difficult virtues; if we dislike her for them we are ourselves in some need of amendment. Mariana in the moated grange is the one haunting figure of romance. The problem is evaded, not solved; but the unhappily contrived "happy ending" was entirely in the taste of the time. Whatever its faults, the play is a wholesome affirmation. It does not juggle with values, but says plainly that vice is vicious and forgiveness a supreme virtue.

After *Measure for Measure* in the Folio comes the *Errors*, and then *Much Ado about Nothing* (c. 1599). The Hero-Claudio story is as old as story-telling. Beatrice and Benedick, the duellists of sex who capitulate to each other, are Shakespeare's own, and, with the constabulary of Messina, are the making of the play. The piece is "good theatre" and carries itself successfully by sheer dramatic speed over

of Shakespeare's work. As we have seen, the first chronicle plays

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the matters for debate cannot be set forth here. We may, if we are disposed, call *Troilus and Cressida* a history without dignity, a comedy without laughter and a tragedy without tears, but we are bound to admit that it is a masterpiece of its kind. Equally puzzling, though not in the same way, is *Timon of Athens* (c. 1607), which, though manifestly late, bears many marks of immaturity, one being its meagreness. There is nothing in *Timon* that Shakespeare, at one time or another, may not have written; there are some things which hardly anyone but Shakespeare can have written; but the play as a whole is both undelightful and unedifying. Readers should not be too readily seduced into accepting dangerous and unwarranted personal interpretations of *Troilus* and *Timon*. There are some unpleasant things to be said about human nature, and Shakespeare chose to say them in unpleasant plays; but he said them as one steadfastly affirming the good and refusing to think of evil otherwise than as evil.

The two plays which may be called Greek stand in the sharpest contrast to the great Roman trio, based, in Shakespeare's most easy-going fashion, on North's *Plutarch*, but made his own absolutely and for ever. None of the three was printed till the Folio appeared. *Julius Caesar* (c. 1600) has its magnificent scenes and memorable characters. The use of the crowd as part of the drama is a great touch. *Coriolanus* (c. 1607), a much austerer play, has an odd power of provoking outbreaks of strong political feeling. The mob, the democracy, is cruelly exposed, but hardly more cruelly than aristocracy in the person of the hero himself. With *Antony and Cleopatra* (c. 1607) we pass into a different world. *Julius Caesar* is fine; *Coriolanus* is admirable; *Antony and Cleopatra* is superb. It is among Shakespeare's highest achievements. The beauties of its versification and diction are almost unparalleled in number, diversity and intensity; and the two great poetic motives, love and death, are transcendently employed. In addition it is a masterly chronicle play dramatizing whole years of history and keeping them dramatically one. Nowhere has even Shakespeare surpassed his hero and heroine, who go down magnificently to destruction with their imperfections as crowns upon their heads; and we feel that for them the world was well lost. The last scenes attain the absolute of beauty in human speech.

Somewhere near the last Roman plays in time of composition is the perplexing *Pericles* (c. 1607), which was printed as Shakespeare's twice in 1609, again in 1611 and again in 1619; but it was not included in the First or Second Folio, and made its first "collected" appearance in the Third Folio (1664). Some of it is altogether below Shakespeare at his worst; but the end, with its note of infinite pity and understanding, is lifted to the level that is Shakespeare's own.

In the years between *Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra* Shakespeare produced what may be called the four wings of his spirit,

some very shaky passages of plot; but it is not a play that a reader returns to with affection. A point sometimes overlooked is that the play is almost entirely in prose—and very good prose, too.

[illegible] a messenger—are swept away in the freshness of the forest breezes.

To follow one boy-girl romance with another was to take a great risk; but Shakespeare took it and triumphed; for *Twelfth Night* (c. 1600) bears no resemblance to *As You Like It*. This play is the perfection of romantic comedy. There is not a failure in it; though [illegible] Orsino [illegible] Malvolio [illegible] -anxious [illegible] veloped to the point at [illegible] self-approval. [illegible]

The Winter's [illegible] festly late, may be postponed, and consideration given to the remaining histories. The first of them is *Henry V* (c. 1599), which owes something to *The Famous Victories* already mentioned in connection with *Henry IV*. That the play and its hero are fervently patriotic has naturally displeased certain critics. Why English poets, alone of the [illegible] hero of a heroic poem. The fresh presentment of Pistol and the addition of Fluellen demonstrate the inexhaustibleness of the poet's comic invention.

The last remaining, and probably the last written, of the English history group is *Henry VIII* (c 1613), which presents remarkable peculiarities, and which has been divided up among several possible authors. It is a loose and patchy composition; and though there are points of great and truly Shakespearean interest of character, it cannot be said that the characters unify the play in the Shakespearean manner. Those who knew best thought there was enough Shakespeare in it to justify its inclusion in the Folio.

With the classical plays we come to a new and very interesting group. *Troilus and Cressida* (c. 1601) was issued twice in 1609, the second time with the unusual addition of a preface. The editors of the Folio included it among the tragedies and omitted its name from the list of contents. In senses more than one it is a "problem" play, but

of the kind that instinctively tries to pull down whatever it feels to be above itself, but not quite beyond itself. In a modern village community Iago would be a writer of anonymous letters. The simple-hearted, elementary Othello might see in Iago a demi-devil; Emilia knew better. The textual independence of the first two Quarto versions and the first two Folio versions offers a curious problem of bibliography beyond our present range of discussion. We may briefly note that the verse of *Othello* has a magnificent operatic style totally unlike the meditative elegiac note of *Hamlet*.

Macbeth (c. 1606) is so much shorter than the other great plays of its period that it seems to be a cut-down version. We have nothing but the Folio text to help us. Further, even the text we have shows evidence of different strata of composition. The interest is concentrated almost entirely on the two chief characters, who demand a super-humanity of performance to which few players have been able to rise. Almost anybody succeeds as Hamlet; almost everybody fails as Macbeth; and so the play is regarded as a "Jonah" of the theatre. Macbeth himself is a marvellous variant sketch of Hamlet, with this difference, that Hamlet expatiates melodiously upon what he cannot begin to do, and Macbeth expatiates even more melodiously upon what he cannot cease from doing. Lady Macbeth is peerless alike in triumph and in defeat. Few of Shakespeare's plays are lovelier in language. The fresh handling of the supernatural—and of different strata of the supernatural—is not the least wonderful part of the play; indeed, Shakespeare's handling of agencies more than earthly is one of his greatest triumphs.

The power of *King Lear* (c. 1606) is so stupendous that we are astonished to remember that it makes no use of the supernatural. *King Lear*, like its companions in the great *quatuor*, has special virtues, but it resembles them and *Antony and Cleopatra* in a certain regality of tone which hardly appears elsewhere. The beginning, which has been objected to, is a true beginning, for it begets all the evil that follows. Gloucester, who jocosely sows the wind, bitterly reaps the whirlwind, and in the tempest guilty and innocent perish together. That the blinding of Gloucester is found shocking testifies to the exaltation of tragedy by Shakespeare to heights far beyond the level of *The Spanish Tragedy*, in which such an incident would be almost unremarked. The catastrophe is properly complete. Those who feel the need for some kind of "happy ending" are incapable of tragedy and should recline at ease upon sentimental novels. Cordelia, often feebly represented, is a piece of stubbornness—her own father's daughter, and they fall, as they should, together. In its unsparing purgation of the spirit *Lear* is the greatest of Shakespeare's tragedies.

Last come the famous three: *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*, where no idle fancy has seen "the calmed and calming *mens*

is one of the few contemporary parallels or preliminaries to Shakespeare worth reading; for it shows, first, what was the current version of the story, and next, what parts of that story had, and what had not, any interest for Shakespeare. Thus, the feigned madness of the primitive Hamlet did not interest Shakespeare at all: he mentions it, he does not exploit it. Put briefly, the play of Shakespeare is the story of a sensitive and cultured man's revolt from the carnality and grossness of human life. To interpret Hamlet's revolt from carnality as a personal tragedy of Shakespeare himself after some humiliating

;; but as we do not

we should refuse to

about Shakespeare's

Hamlet is provided by the "bad" quarto of 1603. This is probably a rough version "potted" from memory by actors who could re-

ledge. Sensible persons, therefore, will dismiss theories and forget the crude pamphlet called the First Quarto, and be content with the

extraordinary; and that, perhaps, joined with the imperial speech of which so many phrases have become current coin of quotation, is the secret of its fascination. For once, we see ourselves as the greatest of

mankind. Iago, far from being the super-subtle Italianate fiend that fanciful criticism has made him, is an almost commonplace bad man

theatre itself has changed beyond recognition during the last three centuries, but the plays of Shakespeare have fitted all varieties of building or no building, all methods of presentation, all styles of acting and all tastes in drama. It has been possible for a diligent theatregoer to see every one of the thirty-seven plays produced; and of at least a dozen of them it can be said that they hold the stage by sheer popular appeal, when not a single play by any of his contemporaries genuinely survives. In some countries Shakespeare is more popular than any native dramatist, and his appeal to children is extraordinary.

A sensible person will begin his reading of Shakespeare with Shakespeare himself and not with his critics and commentators. Problems and difficulties cannot be considered by those to whom they have never really become problems and difficulties. The important thing is to get the Shakespearean atmosphere, to feel the breath of the Shakespearean spirit. Shakespeare has never been surpassed in the power to unfold a story on the stage, in the power to create the characters who unfold the story, and in the power to combine story, character and utterance in a texture so perfectly implicated that, though the parts are clearly discerned in the whole, the whole is greater than its parts; and this mastery of triple counterpoint, displayed with an ease of execution that makes the elementary, uncombined association of story, character and utterance in any play by Marlowe or Webster seem, in comparison, the patchwork of gifted amateurs, is shown as plainly in an early composition like *Love's Labour's Lost* as in a late composition like *Antony and Cleopatra*. And so the stories and the characters of Shakespeare have become part of the world's mythology. That neither may have been his own invention is unimportant; it is Shakespeare's shaping genius that makes them live. The prodigality of his creation in character is equalled only by its almost divine impartiality. He never weights the scales against any person, but draws hero and hangman with the same kind of mastery. He never presents a case or pleads a cause. His characters really live. They are not the "type" characters of a different kind of drama: Shylock is not The Usurer, he is a human being who lends money. Shakespeare is not squeamish, but, equally, he is not grossly coarse for coarseness' sake. He is so thoroughly wholesome that the appropriate remarks of his less cleanly characters seem natural and need no defence. That there are occasional horrors, even in the best plays, must be accepted as a tradition of the stage of his day; but here again the excesses are as few in Shakespeare as they are many in his predecessors and successors. Shakespeare has no mannerisms in his style. The rhetoric is occasionally overcharged—again the tradition and very formation of his stage must be pleaded in defence—and there is sometimes a superfluity of word-play, which cannot be excused,

" of which Fulke Greville speaks in a great passage of prose

tion. *The Winter's Tale* is as loosely built as *Cymbeline* and like that play is great in episodes. The poignant domestic tragedy, the pastoral

member that Shakespeare always respects the unity of time in spirit. Years may seem to pass, but the old grow no older. Hermione is the same fair woman at the end as she was at the beginning. There are no "time schemes" in Shakespeare. "For ever wilt thou love and she be fair" is the only law of time in Shakespeare.

Shakespeare's magical swan-song *The Tempest* is, in construction, sharply different from *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale*, for it is the most compact of plays, and it is almost "regular" in time, place and action. One detail relating to time deserves mention. Stage tradition makes of Prospero an elaborately upholstered piece of senility, when the play clearly makes him a vigorous man, father of a barely adolescent child, and instantly ready to re-assume the governance of his lost dukedom. Gonzalo's quotation from Montaigne is an invaluable autobiographical touch giving us a clue to one of the creative influences on Shakespeare's own development. The magical loveliness of the story and the tender melancholy of the subtly suggested farewell to a life of creative art sometimes obscure the fact that the play contains not a little of the old Shakespearean violence and

storm and its story of charity almost divine we reach the sunset hour and music at the close.

Shakespeare, by reason of his supremacy, has suffered much, both from the orthodox and the heretical. The former have made him a

popular, and were praised by contemporaries. In 1598 the invaluable Meres referred to Shakespeare's "sugred Sonnets among his private friends" as well as to *Venus* and *Lucrece*; and in 1599 William Jaggard, an impudent and unscrupulous printer, included two of these sonnets (138 and 144) in a small miscellany of poems which he called *The Passionate Pilgrime. By W. Shakespeare.* The whole collection of sonnets was published ten years later (1609) by Thomas Thorpe, with Shakespeare's name, but without any sign of recognition from him. We do not know whether he authorized or approved the publication; but we know that he did not repudiate it by any surviving protest or by issuing a better edition. Thorpe subjoined to the *Sonnets* a poem in rhyme royal stanzas called *A Lover's Complaint*, about which we know nothing more. In *The Passionate Pilgrim*, the enterprising Jaggard had not merely included the two sonnets referred to, but had assigned the whole of the poems, of which three others were taken from *Love's Labour's Lost*, to "W. Shakespeare", although some had already appeared with the names of their writers. Nine are unidentified. It appears that, in this instance, Shakespeare did protest; at any rate, the dramatist Thomas Heywood, from whom Jaggard, in a later edition, "lifted" two more poems to add to the original twenty, says that Shakespeare was "much offended"—a little personal fact, the value of which has been insufficiently appreciated. One gathers, at least negatively, that Shakespeare was not "offended" by the publication of the sonnets. Lastly, there exists a rather obscure, very curious and, in parts, extremely beautiful short poem called *The Phoenix and the Turtle*, which, in 1601, was added to Robert Chester's *Love's Martyr*, as a contribution by Shakespeare: Jonson, Chapman, "Ignoto" and others contributing likewise. This was reprinted ten years later, and we hear of no protests from any of the supposed contributors. Thus, *Venus* and *Lucrece* are genuine, acknowledged publications. The *Sonnets* came dubiously into print, but were never repudiated, and their genuineness has not been seriously challenged. *A Lover's Complaint* may be Shakespeare's, though it is so unimportant as to be hardly worth discussion, and this can be said, too, of *The Phoenix and the Turtle.* Some of the unidentified pieces in *The Passionate Pilgrim* are pleasant enough to make us hope they are rightly assigned to Shakespeare. *Sonnets to Sundry Notes of Music*, often separately entered in the contents of editions, is not a separate work, but a division, with sub-title, of *The Passionate Pilgrim.*

There is nothing, therefore, in the bibliographical history of the poems to justify any special diversion from the study of them as literature. But, beyond all question, there is perilous stuff of temptation away from such study in the matter of the *Sonnets.* And, unfortunately, Thomas Thorpe stuck a burning fuse in the live shell of this matter by prefixing some couple of dozen words of dedication

save as the exuberance of a genius for words. Shakespeare coms [illegible]

Shakespeare's versification is one of the guides to the order of his works. The earliest plays cited by Meres exhibit the "single-moulded" lines of Marlowe's fashion; the less early plays, while still keeping mainly to the single-moulded line, show more flexibility and a tendency towards rhyme and even to stanza forms. *Plays of his* [illegible]

In plays of the later period the rhythms become subtler and more [illegible] grace and ease with which varied kinds of verse are used on special occasions, for choruses, insets, masques, interludes, and so forth. [illegible] speare's prose dialogue is definitely better than that of anyone of his age, both in itself and as the medium of drama. Moreover, Shake- [illegible] and from the part to the whole.

IX. SHAKESPEARE: POEMS

[illegible] but several Elizabethan or Jacobean peers. Nevertheless the main fact [illegible] app[illegible] auth[illegible] as [illegible] *Lucrece*, again dedicated to Southampton. Both poems were very

arranged as he wished. Still, that volume is our sole authority. Modern literary detectives have ransacked the little book for "clues", and, as a result, some have produced elaborate new arrangements of the poems, some have identified all the persons in the drama—the identifications being far from identical—and some have made a confident distribution of the poems among at least five authors. The disconcerting and contradictory conclusions of the detectives should confirm the reader in a resolution to take the volume of 1609 as it stands, and to read it as a collection of poems and not as an assortment of conundrums. A dim kind of story can be discerned in the collection. Sonnets 1–126 are addressed to a handsome youth; a break is marked by the incomplete form of 126; sonnets 127–152 are addressed to a "black" woman, wanton, perverse and alluring; sonnets 153 and 154 are conventional exercises. The handsome boy has betrayed his friend the poet, and there is allusion to a rival poet who seeks the young man's favours. Very little else can be got from the story. We may take the view that the whole thing is a mere literary exercise, a continuation, sometimes in matter and often in manner, of *Venus and Adonis* and *Love's Labour's Lost*; or we may take the view that the sonnets contain a complete, precise, unadorned and undistorted account of certain passages in the life of the poet. If the first view is thought unlikely, what can be thought of the second? Would any man set down in poems for circulation the exact story of his intimate relations with identifiable persons? Even Pepys resorted to the privacy of shorthand. Yet it is the extreme "exhibitionist" view of Shakespeare that is accepted by those who take the poems as veritable documents in the poet's life story. That Shakespeare (like other men) had disturbing emotional experiences which he projected into poems and plays may be taken as possible; that the sonnets describe details of these experiences can be dismissed as impossible. And, upon any interpretation, the story comes to very little and tells us next to nothing. We may note, if we will, as curious facts, that the story and characters of the sonnets resemble nothing in the plays, but that, in certain early works, the poet calls attention to women of "black" favour—Rosaline in *Love's Labour's Lost*, the unseen Rosaline in *Romeo and Juliet*, and Hermia in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. There let the matter rest. The sonnets of Shakespeare, we repeat, should be read as a collection of poems, not as an imperfect and improbable detective story. We must not fail to remember that the author of the sonnets was also a dramatist.

The sonnets are of the "English" form (now generally called "Shakespearean"), i.e. they are each built up of three quatrains with a final "clench" in the shape of a rhyming couplet; Shakespeare does not use the "Italian" octave and sextet form. Nevertheless many of the sonnets have the real "two-poem" character of the Italian form

in capitals: "*TO . THE . ONLIE . BEGETTER . OF . THESE . INSUING . SONNETS . MR . W . H . ALL . HAPPINESSE . AND . THAT . ETERNITIE . PROMISED . BY . OUR . EVER-LIVING . POET . WISHETH . THE . WELL-WISHING . ADVENTURER . IN . SETTING . FORTH . T . T.*" It would be rash to guess, and impossible to calculate, how many million words of commentary these simple nouns, adjectives and verbs have called forth. And neither dedication nor commentary has any real importance for the lover of poetry. They appeal to the wrong kind of curiosity, and have a special fascination for persons to whom all poetry is nothing but a vast acrostic and to whom nothing not acrostic is ever poetry. The exact identification of "Mr. W. H." could tell us nothing vitally important about our supreme poet and dramatist; and so the sensible course is to dismiss that embarrassing phantom and his delusive dedication from our minds, and to think of the sonnets as poems, and not as puzzles. But we must return briefly to the earlier pieces.

The poet happily called *Venus and Adonis* "the first heire of my invention". It is exactly what a child of poetical youth should be. The story is but the excuse for a series of beautiful and voluptuous pictures in mellifluous, if slightly "conceited", verse. It is all sheer poetry for poetry's sake, with abundance of exquisite lines that musicians have naturally seized upon for songs. The poem comes three years after *The Faerie Queene*, and, like that great invention, proves that mastery of English poetic rhythm has passed from experiment to certainty. It has been usual to recognize a certain advance in *Lucrece*—so called on the title-page, though called *The Rape of Lucrece* in the headlines. The story is serious and is seriously told, without any wantoning in the pleasure of poesy. But it is difficult to put the poem as evidence of genius and as a source of delight even on a level with *Venus and Adonis*, much more to set it above that poem. What is specially remarkable, in the work of one who was to be the greatest master of character, is that Lucrece herself is so very little of a person. From the author of *Venus and Adonis* we might expect almost anything in poetry; from the author of *Lucrece* we should expect nothing beyond the more sober work of a Drayton or a Daniel

As we have seen, sequences of sonnets about love, real or assumed, became an irresistible poetical fashion during the decade from 1590 to 1600. To this period and to this species belong the sonnets of Shakespeare, which differ from the others only in being much better poems singly and collectively. Some of them, as we know from Meres, were in circulation by 1598, and, as we have said, they were published as a body in 1609, without visible sign of the author's approval, and therefore without guarantee that the poems were

(1592), *Edward III* (1596) and *Sir Thomas More* (not printed till 1844).

The second issue of the Third Folio (1664) adds to the thirty-six plays of the First Folio seven of those named above: *Pericles*, *The London Prodigal*, *The History of Thomas Lord Cromwell*, *Sir John Oldcastle*, *The Puritan Widow*, *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, and *Locrine*.

There is no external evidence of value about these uncanonical plays. The fact that a publisher declared a work to be Shakespeare's tells us something about his popularity but nothing about his authorship. The true canon rests upon the Folio of 1623; and the exclusion of a play from that volume must be taken as strong, but not necessarily irrefutable, evidence against it. Plays in which Shakespeare had a major or a minor share may not have been available for use by the editors and publishers of that volume. Nevertheless it is unlikely that much was allowed to escape from an enterprise of such magnitude. There remains, therefore, the evidence furnished by the plays themselves—the internal evidence of style, diction, metre, etc., evidence which is indubitable and even decisive, but which is extraordinarily "subjective", for to people with strongly fixed views the same piece of evidence tells different stories and yields different conclusions.

The question of Shakespearean authorship is not the only point of interest presented by the doubtful plays. So varied are they in character that they furnish us with an epitome of the Elizabethan drama during the period of its greatest achievement. Almost every class of play is here represented, and one class—that of domestic tragedy—finds, in *Arden of Feversham* and in *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, two of its best examples. The Senecan tragedy of vengeance is exemplified by *Locrine*; the history, chronicle or biographical play by *Edward III*, *Sir Thomas More* and *Cromwell*, and, less precisely, by *The Birth of Merlin* and *Fair Em*. The romantic comedy of the period is illustrated by *Mucedorus*, *The Merry Devil* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*; and *The London Prodigal* and *The Puritan* are types of that realistic bourgeois comedy which, in Stuart days, won a firm hold upon the affections of the play-going community.

Of the apocryphal tragedies the earliest was probably *Locrine*, which, in its main outline, is a Senecan revenge tragedy, the direct successor of *Gorboduc*. It contains passages of good rhetoric and some vigorous clown scenes; but nowhere can be found the faintest trace of the Shakespearean hand. There are, indeed, some liberal borrowings from Spenser. *Arden of Feversham* was first claimed as Shakespeare's by an editor in 1770. The author may justly be called the first English dramatic realist, for he refused to "tragedize" his matter in the Marlowe-Kyd fashion, and triumphed in his own way. Yet some think he is Marlowe. He is not Shakespeare. *A Yorkshire*

—i.e. there is a break in thought at the end of the octave. Others are more continuously wrought. Regarded as poems, the sonnets are at the height of their kind. The poems other than the sonnets are either tentative essays or occasional "graciousnesses" for a special purpose; the sonnets themselves have an intensity of central fire that makes most of the sonnets of the other Elizabethan sonneteers seem tepid exercises.

X. PLAYS OF UNCERTAIN AUTHORSHIP ATTRIBUTED TO SHAKESPEARE

[illegible]

which is not Shakespeare's, though his name appears in a quarto of 1600, dated fraudulently by Thomas Pavier, a printer of proved dishonesty.

(2) Plays published after Shakespeare's death and bearing his name as sole or joint author: *The Troublesome Raigne of John King of England* (published anonymously in 1591, initialled in 1611, and re-issued as Shakespeare's in 1622); *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (by Fletcher and Shakespeare, published in 1634); *The Birth of Merlin* (published as the work of William Shakespeare and William Rowley in 1662).

(3) Plays attributed to Shakespeare merely because they were bound together in a volume labelled "Shakespeare Vol. I" from Charles II's library: *Mucedorus* (1598); *The Merry Devill of Edmonton* (1608); *Faire Em* (1631—a quarto, c. 1593, exists).

(4) Plays attributed to Shakespeare by later critics. These are numerous; but only three need be mentioned: *Arden of Feversham*

Amadine the kings daughter of Arragon, with the merie conceites of Mouse. It is a very primitive piece with which Shakespeare can have had no connection.

The London Prodigall is full of bustling life, but is wholly wanting in the finer qualities of dramatic art and poetic speech. There is some resemblance to the Charles Surface story of Sheridan's *School for Scandal*; there is no resemblance to anything of Shakespeare's. *The Puritane Or The Widdow of Watling-streete* (also called *The Puritaine Widdow*) is a realistic comedy of intrigue, bordering, at times, upon farce, and its main object is ridicule of the Puritan party and of London citizens. Shakespeare, plainly, had nothing to do with it.

The Two Noble Kinsmen is described on the title-page of the first known edition (1634) as "Written by the memorable Worthies of their Time; Mr. *John Fletcher*, and Mr. *William Shakspeare*. Gent." Most of the plot comes from *The Knight's Tale* of Chaucer, and to this the dramatists have added the story of the gaoler's daughter. The play has some imaginative power, energy of thought and colour of romance, and, in its lighter scenes, may be said to approach the manner of Shakespeare; but it exhibits none of Shakespeare's skill in the telling of a story; indeed, on the stage it is lifeless and bookish. The play has been claimed for Fletcher with possible aid from Massinger; but the Shakespearean authorship of some part of it is still firmly accepted by a few critics. We should notice that it was not among the seven plays added to the Third Folio.

XI. THE TEXT OF SHAKESPEARE

From time to time people are heard demanding a "standard text" or "plain text" of Shakespeare, unsullied by the ingenuities of editors. Such a demand arises from ignorance or confusion. It presupposes the existence of exact contemporary copy prepared for the press and purified from the errors of printing. No such body of matter exists or ever has existed. The major sources of misunderstanding about the text of Shakespeare are, first, an assumption that conditions of publication were the same in the sixteenth century as in the twentieth, and next an assumption that plays were written for printing. Publishing in the days of Shakespeare was more piratical than it has been since. All publishers were not pirates. Indeed, most of them were entirely respectable persons; but some were more adventurous than scrupulous and published surreptitiously procured copy without regard for the author's views. It is useful to remember that even to-day, when new means of transmission and multiplication have come suddenly into existence (e.g. the gramophone, the sound-film, broadcasting and television), there is some difficulty in adjusting the "rights" of all concerned. Textual difficulties are further complicated by the fact,

Tragedy is a less successful domestic drama than *Arden of Feversham* in the same style of realism. The story was used by George Wilkins in *The Miseries of Inforst Mariage* (1607), but Wilkins provided a [illegible] plays, [illegible] may [illegible] with *A Yorkshire Tragedy*.

Edward III was first claimed for Shakespeare by Capell in 1760. That Shakespeare added some finer, romantic touches to an old chronicle play is quite possible, and certain good judges allow him part of it. *The Troublesome Raigne of John* is merely the two-volume play of 1591 which Shakespeare used as material for *King John*. *The ...life and death of Thomas Lord Cromwell* and *Sir Thomas More* are biographical rather than historical. The theme in both is a life, not a reign, and in neither does Henry VIII appear. *Cromwell* bears on its title-page the words "Written by W. S."; but it contains no trace of Shakespearean authorship. In every respect *Sir Thomas More* is superior to *Cromwell*. There is no probability that this play was ever published or performed in Elizabethan times—the sympathetic portrait of Henry VIII's noblest victim would hardly have been tolerated by Henry VIII's daughter. The play has an extraordinary interest because of the theory that a portion of it is not only composed by Shakespeare but is actually written in his hand. The view was first put forward in 1871 by Richard Simpson, a notable student of Shakespeare, and has lately been strongly defended. In the manuscript of the play there are additions by several hands, and the fourth of these is considered to be Shakespeare's own, both in composition [illegible] have been identified as Munday's, Chettle's and Dekker's.

The Birth of Merlin: Or, The Childe hath found his Father is a lively [illegible] history with love romance—brief, not tedious, and certainly not Shakespeare. *The Merry Devill of Edmonton* recalls *Frier Bacon and Frier Bongay* in its highly popular blending of scenes of magic and the black art with a romantic love comedy standing out against a pleasant background of English rural life; but it is not Shakespeare's Even more popular than *The Merry Devil* was the court piece, *A Most pleasant Comedie of Mucedorus, the kings sonne of Valentia and*

Amadine the kings daughter of Arragon, with the merie conceites of Mouse. It is a very primitive piece with which Shakespeare can have had no connection.

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already mentioned, that plays were written for performance, not for printing. We have seen that the "university wits" tried to draw a [illegible] hardly worth the dignity of print. Plays were, so to speak, mere scenarios to be translated into performance by stars like Edward Alleyn and Richard Burbage; and they were worth as little in themselves as the scenarios which are now translated into performance by [illegible] much as any man, who gave to plays a publication value, and his first plays came early into print.

Who sold a play to a publisher? (1) A play might be honestly sold by the company which owned it, when they thought its drawing-power had ceased; and they would probably hand over the much used theatre-copy; or (2) it might be sold less honestly by one or two hard-up members of a company, who would vamp up as much of the play as they could recollect, their own parts, naturally, being best remembered; or (3) it might be taken down in shorthand by someone anxious to procure copy for publication, or someone hired by an amateur of letters, desirous of possessing the words that had pleased him. There are refinements on these processes, but these [illegible] maimed and unauthorized editions which probably came into print by methods (2) or (3) described in the preceding paragraph.

1594 Titus Andronicus
[illegible] Two Famous Houses
[illegible] aming of the Shrew)
*1595 The True Tragedy of Richard, Duke of York (i.e. Henry VI, Pt. 3)
*1597 Romeo and Juliet
1597 Richard II
1597 Richard III
1598 Henry IV (Pt. 1)
1598 Love's Labour's Lost. "Newly corrected and augmented." (These words seem to imply that there was another printed edition, which has not survived.)

1599 Romeo and Juliet. "Newly corrected, augmented and amended."
1600 Henry IV (Pt. 2)
1600 A Midsummer Night's Dream
1600 The Merchant of Venice
1600 Much Ado about Nothing
*1600 The Chronicle History of Henry the Fifth
*1602 Sir John Falstaff and the Merry Wives of Windsor
*1603 Hamlet. (This mysterious bad quarto is immediately followed by a better edition.)
1604 Hamlet. "Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much again as it was, according to the true and perfect Copy."
1608 King Lear
1609 Pericles, Prince of Tyre
1609 Troilus and Cressida

After Shakespeare's death and just before the First Folio was published appeared a quarto version of *Othello* (1622). The following plays were never printed, as far as we know, till the publication of the First Folio (1623): *Henry VI* (Part I), *The Two Gentlemen of Verona, The Comedy of Errors, The Taming of the Shrew* (Shakespeare's revised version), *King John, As You Like It, Julius Caesar, Twelfth Night, Measure for Measure, All's Well that Ends Well, Macbeth, Timon of Athens, Antony and Cleopatra, Coriolanus, Cymbeline, The Winter's Tale, The Tempest, Henry VIII.* The Folio contained the first "true texts" of *Henry V* and *The Merry Wives.*

In 1619 W. Jaggard and T. Pavier attempted to make an unauthorized collection of Shakespeare by binding up a few real and spurious plays: *The Whole Contention* (two parts), *Pericles, The Merry Wives, The Merchant of Venice, A Midsummer Night's Dream, Henry V, King Lear, A Yorkshire Tragedy* and *Sir John Oldcastle*, some with false dates, but all printed in 1619. This fraud was first fully discovered by A. W. Pollard and discussed in works already mentioned. The immediate effect of "the false folio" of Pavier and Jaggard was to cause Shakespeare's old friends and fellow actors John Heming and Henry Condell to work at a full and worthy collected edition; and this came into being as a large folio volume in 1623—the famous "First Folio", which forms, with the Bible of 1611, the major glory of English literature. A great debt of gratitude is due to Heming and Condell, who worked hard and honestly according to their lights—they were men of the theatre, not men of letters—for without them we should probably have lost twenty famous plays. Their date, 1623, is already perilously far away from Shakespeare's retirement and death, and every succeeding year would have hastened the inevitable attrition of theatrical documents. The strong remarks in the prefatory address about "stolne and surreptitious copies, maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of injurious impostors that

already mentioned, that plays were written for performance, not for printing. We have seen that the "university wits" tried to draw a [illegible] plays [illegible] to [illegible] hardly worth the dignity of print. Plays were, so to speak, mere scenarios to be translated into performance by stars like Edward Alleyn and Richard Burbage; and they were worth as little in themselves as the scenarios which are now translated into performance by stars of the film world. Philip Henslowe, theatre manager, knew [illegible] for a copy of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*. It was Shakespeare himself, as much as any man, who gave to plays a publication value, and his first plays came early into print.

Who sold a play to a publisher? (1) A play might be honestly sold by the company which owned it, when they thought its drawing-power had ceased; and they would probably hand over the much used theatre-copy; or (2) it might be sold less honestly by one or two hard-up members of a company, who would vamp up as much of the play as they could recollect, their own parts, naturally, being best remembered; or (3) it might be taken down in shorthand by someone anxious to procure copy for publication, or someone hired by an amateur of letters, desirous of possessing the words that had pleased him. There are refinements on these processes, but these [illegible]

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1594 Titus Andronicus
*1594 The First Part of the Contention betwixt the Two Famous Houses of York and Lancaster (i.e. Henry VI, Pt. 2)
*1594 The Taming of a Shrew (a version of The Taming of the Shrew)
*1595 The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York (i.e. Henry VI, Pt. 3)
*1597 Romeo and Juliet
1597 Richard II
1597 Richard III
1598 Henry IV (Pt. 1)
1598 Love's Labour's Lost "Newly corrected and augmented." (These words seem to imply that there was an earlier printed edition, which has not survived.)

incredible to later ages. His edition (1747) is remarkable alike for its insolence and its ignorance. His conjectures would furnish a curiosity shop of impossible words. Almost the sole value of Warburton's edition is that it drew from Thomas Edwards in 1748 an ironical supplement, which, reissued as *The Canons of Criticism*, takes high place among critical studies of Shakespeare. The long-announced and long-delayed edition of Dr Johnson appeared in 1765 and atoned for its technical defects by the great preface, which is one of the landmarks in English literary criticism. With the next editor, Edward Capell (1713–81), begins the scientific study of the text, for he was the first to make complete and exact collations of all the old copies and thus to put textual criticism on the right path. His arrangement of the lines is that now usually followed. Capell's edition began to appear in 1768. George Steevens (1736–1800), who, in 1766, had done good service by printing twenty old quartos, took over Johnson's edition, made good its defects, and published the whole in 1773. Steevens was a learned and impish scholar—the Puck of commentators. He profited, with marked ingratitude, by Capell's researches. The next important name is that of Edmund Malone (1741–1812), the greatest Shakespearean scholar of his age. After contributing various supplements to other editions he produced his own in 1790. The publishers began to "pool" their Shakespearean collections in editions combining all the most useful features. What is known as the Third Variorum Edition (1821), edited by Malone and Boswell (son of Johnson's biographer), belongs in date to the nineteenth century, but is an encyclopaedia of eighteenth-century studies in Shakespeare. Its twenty-one volumes are still indispensable to any comprehensive Shakespearean library.

Among those who contributed to the general explication of Shakespeare by work other than editorial may be named Thomas Tyrwhitt with his *Observations and Conjectures upon some Passages of Shakespeare* (1766), in which occurs the first reference to the *Palladis Tamia* of Meres, Richard Farmer with his *Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare* (1767), and Francis Douce with his *Illustrations of Shakespeare* (1807). Among the first nineteenth-century editors were S. W. Singer and J. P. Collier, the latter of whom did valuable work with the Shakespeare Society, which was formed in 1840, and was the source of many important studies. Unfortunately Collier lapsed into dishonesty, and produced emendations, not as his own, but as contemporary manuscript corrections in his copy of the Second Folio. The Shakespeare Society did not survive the exposure of Collier's forgeries, and everything touched by Collier now unhappily lies under suspicion. James Orchard Halliwell (afterwards Halliwell-Phillipps), a youthful member of the old Shakespeare Society, produced a magnificent folio edition (between 1853 and 1865) which is

expos'd them" perhaps refer not so much to the bad early quartos as to the more recent piratical enterprise of Jaggard and Pavier. The Second (1632), Third (1663 and 1664) and Fourth (1685) Folios are testimonies of the most solid kind to the enduring admiration for Shakespeare, but they added nothing of authority to the text, though, as we have seen, the Third Folio included seven new plays, of which one only, *Pericles*, has been taken into the canon. The Fourth Folio modernizes the spelling, but it takes over most of the errors committed by the Second and Third. The period of printers and copyists lasts, therefore, to the end of the seventeenth century. With the eighteenth century comes the period of scholars and editors. The whole process is similar to that undergone by any classical text.

It is fitting that a poet laureate and dramatist should be the first editor of Shakespeare. Nicholas Rowe's edition (1709) was pioneer [illegible] systematic division and location of scenes, the lists of *dramatis personae*, the clear entrances and exits, and other additions designed to make a difficult body of old literature intelligible to readers and [illegible] into his text and silently appropriated by his successors. Rowe [illegible] *Shakespeare Restored* (1726) by Lewis Theobald [illegible] important critic and reviser of the old texts. [illegible] emendation was made in the story of Falstaff's [illegible] the meaningless "and a Table of greene fields" [illegible] green fields". Pope had no talent for editorial [illegible] he had a genius for spite, and he replied to [illegible] making him the hero of *The Dunciad*. [illegible] Shakespeare appeared in 1733. He was [illegible] [illegible] of Gloucester, was one of those bullies of [illegible]

fashion; but there is no evidence that his name or the name of any English author was attached to the matter served up by these strollers. The performances were actors' shows, not literary exhibitions.

The name of Shakespeare was barely mentioned abroad before the end of the seventeenth century. Foreign readers got their first real information from the remarks in Temple's *Essay of Poetry*, which had been translated into French in 1693, and from Addison's criticism in *The Spectator*, which had been published at Amsterdam in French in 1714. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes had led to a wide dispersion of the intelligent French Huguenots and a consequent demand for French versions of attractive current literature. But the great discoverer of Shakespeare for Europe was Voltaire, who, beginning with curiosity and ending with antagonism, was interested enough to keep writing about him. French drama of the seventeenth century, and especially French tragedy as written by Corneille and Racine, had developed in obedience to supposed classical laws and strictly respected the unities of time, place, action and kind—all very good things, for their other names are continuity, stability, simplicity and congruity. There was perfect decorum on the French stage. Phaedra, in Racine's play, kills herself unseen, and the terrible death of Hippolytus is reported in a long narrative declamation. The story of their conflict has no complication, and the action proceeds without pause and in one place. Such was French tragedy, and it was accepted everywhere but in England as the model; and even in England Sidney had long before demanded classical congruity and decorum. Shakespearean tragedy developed, not from examples of classical restraint, but from the realism of the "miracles" and the horrors of Seneca; and so a play like *Julius Caesar*, with the hero openly slain by the conspirators, with Brutus and Cassius perishing violently on the stage, and with the visible, audible ghost of Caesar himself intervening in an action that ranges in place from Rome to Philippi and includes comic interludes by the crowd, had for Voltaire the fascination of complete impropriety. To him Shakespeare was a natural, uncouth genius, full of the wayward errors of raw invention. Voltaire, who came to England in 1726, embodied his interest in Shakespeare not only in his *Lettres sur les Anglais* (1733), but in *La Mort de César* (1735) and other plays; and a Shakespeare vogue began to develop in France. But Voltaire grew less tolerant of Shakespeare's wayward genius when enthusiasm for it showed signs of spreading, and especially when Germany stole a march on France and produced in 1741 a full translation of *Julius Caesar* by Caspar Wilhelm von Borck, the first translation of a Shakespearean play into any foreign language. Voltaire was not the man to endure rivals, either in creation or in criticism. Borck's *Julius Caesar* gave young German enthusiasts like Lessing their first glimpse of a new poetic drama, and marks the

still of value. Nikolaus Delius in 1854–61 produced a sound text based on first-hand study; and in 1857 Alexander Dyce published his scrupulously careful and honest edition, the best of its time. The [illegible] been the standard [illegible] W. G. Clark and [illegible] Wright. This text is used in the popular one-volume *Globe* edition and in Gollancz's *Temple Shakespeare*. Later work includes the excellent *Arden Shakespeare* (with various editors), many great volumes (from America) of a *New* [illegible] and son, [illegible] folios, an [illegible] A. T. Qu [illegible] to the textual and bibliographical problems.

XII. SHAKESPEARE ON THE CONTINENT

It is a tribute to the power of the Elizabethan drama that it found an audience on the Continent at a time when literary taste was under the spell of the revived classic traditions, and was intolerant of irregularity, wildness and excess. There was, of course, no formal triumph [illegible] Elizabethan [illegible] "thril- [illegible] xteenth [illegible] versions of their outstanding successes, and aiming at the "sensational" rather than at the quieter effects. Passion, not poetry, was their purpose. The English comedians proved very popular, and left many traces of their passage, not the least remarkable being German plays written in imitation of the English pieces. Some of these are anonymous theatrical products, but Jacob Ayrer, Andreas Gryphius and Christian Weisse wrote acknowledged pieces in the English [illegible] *Hamlet*, which existed in a manuscript of c. 1710, [illegible] critics have rashly assumed to be the transcript of [illegible] the very original—*Hamlet*; but obviously, and [illegible] who saw it acted in 1924, the piece is nothing [illegible] or adaptation of Shakespeare's play, as [illegible] "potted", probably from memory, by [illegible] "parts". Thus some of Shakespeare's work [illegible]

Germany's greatest actor, Friedrich Ludwig Schröder, electrified audiences from Hamburg to Vienna with his Shakespearean interpretations. The performance of *King Lear* in Vienna on 13 April 1780 was a landmark in the history of the theatre. So complete was the conquest that Shakespeare has never since lost his commanding position on the German stage. Unfortunately, German enthusiasm led to a falsely romantic interpretation of Shakespeare, the outstanding effort in this kind being the egregious discussion of *Hamlet* in the first part of *Wilhelm Meister*, published in 1795–6, though begun twenty years before. Much of the "gushing" criticism to which Shakespeare was subjected during the nineteenth century originates in German romanticism of the *Sturm und Drang* period. But, fortunately, there was more than mere empty enthusiasm. August Wilhelm Schlegel was stimulated by Goethe to pursue the task of a new translation and the nine volumes appeared between 1797 and 1801. With this marvellous translation German labours to naturalize the English poet reach their culmination. The extent of Shakespeare's influence in Germany can hardly be exaggerated. He not only set German dramatic literature free from the restraint of French "rules", but he led it into a romantic fairy-world of which the French classic stage knew nothing.

In France the influence was naturally not so deep or so lasting; but the precursors and leaders of the new romantic movement found inspiration in Shakespeare. Stendhal (Henri Beyle) in his *Racine et Shakespeare* (1823) took Shakespeare's side emphatically against the classics, and Guizot not only revised Le Tourneur but lauded Shakespeare as a dramatic poet. In 1822 an attempt of English actors to produce Shakespeare in Paris had failed; but in 1827 a renewed attempt, with the co-operation of Charles Kemble, Macready and Edmund Kean, awakened the enthusiasm of all literary Paris; and, under the influence of this excitement, Victor Hugo wrote his famous manifesto of the new romantic movement, the preface to *Cromwell* (1827). Alfred de Musset's whole dramatic work is permeated and coloured by Shakespearean influence. That influence is equally discernible in the paintings of Delacroix and in the compositions of Berlioz. From this time, the supremacy of Shakespeare in modern literature has not been seriously questioned in France. Better translations were made, the most notable being that of François Victor Hugo, son of the great poet (1859–66), and there have been later individual translations of high merit. But Shakespeare was never naturalized in France as he was in Germany. Performances of his plays, though sometimes dramatically electrical and politically disturbing, are matters for special occasions and for a special public.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Germany, like France, continued to produce translations of Shakespeare. The assertion, some-

beginning of German romanticism. French interest in Shakespeare was further stimulated when, in 1745, Pierre Antoine de La Place published synopses, with illustrative passages, of certain Shakespeare plays; and Voltaire saw with resentment that his fascinating barbarian was not only being stolen from him by others, but was being offered seriously to cultivated people as a legitimate artist in drama.

Knowledge and appreciation of Shakespeare in France developed rapidly, and even reached the point of constraining one anonymous essayist to contribute a *Parallèle entre Shakespear et Corneille* to *Le Journal Encyclopédique* in 1760. Voltaire, incensed by this challenge to French supremacy, issued his *Appel à toutes les Nations de l'Europe*; but this did not prevent Diderot from admiring the "Gothic colossus", or Le Tourneur from embarking upon a new and much more ambitious translation in 1776. Voltaire carried his appeal by letter to the highest court, and on 25 August 1776 his denunciation was solemnly read by d'Alembert to the French Academy. A second letter from Voltaire followed on 7 October, and was published as the preface to his tragedy *Irène*, the performance of which had been his last triumph in Paris. "Shakespeare is a savage with sparks of genius which shine in a horrible night." This was Voltaire's final verdict. [illegible] been the champion of [illegible] ie. But an avenging [illegible] who succeeded to Voltaire's seat in the Academy, produced versions that put Shakespeare effectively on the French stage and enabled Talma, in *Othello*, to gain one of his greatest triumphs. The versions of Ducis were little more than perversions, but they were not greatly worse than the distortions which satisfied English playgoers from the days of Davenant's *Macbeth* and Dryden's *Tempest* to the days of Colley Cibber's *Richard III* and Nahum Tate's *King Lear*.

Though French literature was fashionable in the Germany of Frederick the Great, Shakespeare steadily grew in favour. Lessing, who resented French dictatorship of the drama, saw in Shakespeare, [illegible] prose translation. Its faults are obvious enough, but its consequences filled Wieland and Lessing with something like dismay; for the young men who read Wieland's translation were not interested in "Shakespeare the brother of Sophocles"; they went wild over "Shakespeare the voice of Nature". They did not criticize, they worshipped; and Shakespeare became the ultimate voice of romanticism, whose utterances were as much beyond question as the phenomena of nature. The new enthusiasm reached Goethe, twenty years the junior of Lessing. Better translations were made, and

Some tribute ought to be paid to the independence and originality of American contributions to Shakespearean criticism and research. By borrowing the best elements in English critical methods and combining them with German thoroughness and patience, American scholars, in recent years, have thrown much light on dark places and contributed very materially to our understanding of Shakespeare's work.

XIII. LESSER ELIZABETHAN DRAMATISTS

Philip Henslowe, shrewd man of business, included theatrical management among his activities, and kept a rough diary from which we learn something about the lesser dramatists of the last Elizabethan years. We have no such record as Henslowe's for the company in which Shakespeare played and wrote. The Chamberlain's men managed their own business co-operatively and sought to secure plays of good quality that would be sure of a run. Henslowe, on the contrary, seems to have gone in for popularity at any price, and he believed that success was to be found in collaboration. The virtue of a dramatic piece lay in its suitability for performance, not in its suitability for publication; and several authors would be more likely than a single writer to provide actable sensations quickly. Works thus produced are not likely to survive. We can be reasonably sure that no important play of Shakespeare's has been lost; the bulk of Chettle's and Munday's work has perished. The lesser dramatist does not stamp his individuality upon his adaptations or collaborations or modernizations, and his work is not easily identifiable. Nevertheless, in the writings of the popular playwrights who were a little too early to be deeply affected by the powerful influence of Shakespeare or Jonson there is a curiously attractive quality. Munday's anticipations of Shakespeare are more intrinsically interesting than Brome's patient imitations of Jonson.

Henslowe's diary begins to record payments made to dramatists at the close of 1597. The entries come to an end, for the most part, in 1603. During this time, twenty-seven authors are named as composers of plays or parts of plays. The work of ten can be dismissed as unimportant. Of the remaining seventeen, six are writers of force and distinction, not to be reckoned as "lesser": they are Chapman, Dekker, Heywood, Jonson, Middleton and Webster. We may note that, of these six, only Chapman refuses to collaborate with inferior men; that Jonson, when collecting his plays in 1616, included nothing belonging to this period; and that Middleton and Webster are not named in the diary till 1602. Rowley and Smith began writing in 1601; Rankins is mentioned only in 1599 and 1601. Eight writers are left who constitute the main group of lesser men writing for the Elizabethan stage between the end of 1597 and the beginning of 1603.

times made, that Germany "discovered" Shakespeare will need no refutation for those who have read the preceding pages. For we must readily admit that Germany has paid a noble tribute to Shakespeare by devoting to the study of his works all the resources of scholarship and by devoting to the presentation of his works all the resources of the stage. August Schlegel's *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature* (1809–11) may be said to have revealed Coleridge to himself; and Coleridge brought his own kind of transcendentalism to the interpretation of Shakespeare. After German romance came German philosophy, with the result that, during part of the nineteenth century, the influence of Hegel was strongly felt in German criticism. This led to an excessive preoccupation with metaphysical theories of tragic guilt and tragic purpose, to a misleading confusion of moral and aesthetic standards and to a too confident reliance on *a priori* theories of literary genius. The Hegelian influence, it should be noted, has strongly affected some eminent English critics of Shakespearean tragedy. However, the works of numerous German writers, whether scholars, critics or philosophers, have in one way or another contributed something to the elucidation of Shakespeare, and since 1865 the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* has been the valuable repository of [illegible]

[illegible] followed Germany and the south followed France. Italy first learned of Shakespeare through Voltaire. The work of translation was begun by Leoni early in the nineteenth century, continued by Rusconi and completed by Carcano. But Italy's most memorable tributes of honour to Shakespeare have been the tragic impersonations of Salvini and Ristori, and the operatic versions of many composers, culminating in the *Macbeth*, *Otello* and *Falstaff* of Verdi. Considering the [illegible] Hungary, Shakespeare has long been popular.

"lamentable tragedy of chaste Matilda", strains of a higher mood than anything we know Munday to have written. His lost plays hardly concern us; but we may note that a continuation of *Sir John Oldcastle*, in which he had a share, is among them. Munday is one of the minor Elizabethans eminently worthy of sympathetic study. To Munday has been attributed *Fedele and Fortunio, The...fine conceited Comoedie of two Italian Gentlemen* (1585). No perfect copy of this was known till 1919. The chief character, Captain Crackstone, is the prototype of Jonson's Bobadill and the other braggarts of the Elizabethan stage. The attribution of the play to Munday is questioned. Yet another play attributed to him is *The Weakest goeth to the Wall* (1600), which, unlike *The Two Italian Gentlemen*, contains a good deal of blank verse. Barnabe Bunch speaks some Falstaffian prose; but Jacob van Smelt is a character that indicates Dekker as a possible author or adapter. A play in the same general style as Munday's is the anonymous *Looke about you* (1600). We are in the region of mingled chapbook and history. There are reminiscences of *The Comedy of Errors* and, still more clearly, of the Falstaff scenes in *Henry IV*. The play has also been assigned to Dekker and to a certain Anthony Wadeson. The dates are those of first publication; but *John a Kent* was not printed till 1851.

If Munday deserves mention for the length of his days, Henry Chettle (d. 1607?) should be named for the extent of his output. Henslowe associates him with some fifty plays. Chettle, like Munday, was apprenticed to book-production; but what is most generally remembered about him is that he edited *Greenes Groatsworth of Wit* and apologized in his own *Kind Harts Dreame* (1593) to the two anonymous dramatists (most probably Marlowe and Shakespeare) who had been the special objects of Greene's malignity. Meres names Chettle as among our "best for comedy"; but no comedies have survived. The one extant play of Chettle's is a gloomy piece called *The Tragedy of Hoffman or A Revenge for a Father* written about 1602 and published in 1631. It is a series of horrors, and may be described as Kyd coarsened and unredeemed. His *Englands Mourning Garment* (1603), written to commemorate Queen Elizabeth's death, is excellent prose, and contains good descriptions of contemporary poets in verse. With Chettle has been associated another gloomy play, *Two Lamentable Tragedies*, printed in 1601, but assigned on the title-page to an unknown "Rob. Yarington" who has been conjectured to be the "Wm. Haughton" of other entries in Henslowe's diary. The play deals with two murders; the first is the murder of Robert Beech by Thomas Merry in 1594, the second is the murder of the babes in the wood, placed in an Italian setting. As the play possesses, intrinsically, very small value, we need not discuss the problems of its composition. It shows how incredibly bad the Marlowe type of villain can become

These, in alphabetical order, are Henry Chettle, John Day, Michael Drayton, Richard Hathwaye, William Haughton, Anthony Munday, Henry Porter, and Robert Wilson. The comments of Francis Meres in 1598 upon English contemporary writers enable us to check this result. Of Henslowe's men Meres names, among "our best for tragedy", Drayton, Chapman, Dekker, Jonson; among "the best for comedy", Heywood, Munday, Chapman, Porter, Wilson, Hathwaye, Chettle.

Of the lesser men, Anthony Munday, oddly called by Meres "our best plotter", is the most considerable and interesting. His long life, moreover, of eighty years (1553–1633) covers the whole of the Elizabethan and Jacobean era of dramatic activity. He had a varied experience. He was apprenticed to a stationer; he took up anti-Roman controversy; he tried (and dismally failed) to be an extempore actor in the manner of Tarleton and Kemp; he took to letters and made translations of romances such as *Amadis of Gaul*, *Palmerin of England* and *Palladine of England*; he wrote "ballads" which put him into contact with old stories, and he worked hard as a dramatist for Henslowe between 1594 and 1602; further, he was a "city poet" for twenty-six years and helped to devise the pageants for the annual "riding" of the Lord Mayor. Munday's numerous occupations made him a mark for satire during "the war of the theatres". Ben Jonson (*The Case is Altered*) introduces him as "Antonio Balladino", a pageant poet, "when a worse cannot be had"; and the anonymous *Histrio-Mastix* (c. 1599, revised by Marston) calls him Posthaste. Munday's chief surviving "original" plays are: *John a Kent and John a Cumber* (c. 1594); *The Downfall of Robert, Earle of Huntington, Afterward called Robin Hood of merrie Sherwodde* (1601); and *The Death of Robert, Earle of Huntington* (1601) in collaboration with Henry Chettle. Munday further collaborated with Drayton, Hathwaye and Wilson in the pseudo-Shakespearean *Sir John Oldcastle*. *John a Kent and John a Cumber* was very popular. On lines laid down by Greene in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, it describes the "tug for mastery" between the two wizards John a Kent and John a Cumber. The comic scenes faintly suggest Bottom and his mates; and Shrimp, John a Kent's "familiar", with his "invisible music", less faintly suggests Ariel. Munday, the writer of ballads, was familiar with the stories of Robin Hood. In his *Downfall of Robert* he tries, not very successfully, to blend the ballad element with sober history. The play is better on the romantic side, and the rhyming lines run more happily than the blank verse. Possibly the poet of the Forest of Arden may have learned something from it. That the poet of *Macbeth* remembered such phrases as "made the green sea red" and "the multitudes of seas dyed red with blood" seems hardly deniable. The second Robin Hood play, from which the last quotation is taken, and to which Chettle added an Induction and some scenes, contains,

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when presented without the saving grace of poetic imagination. The one surviving play definitely given to William Haughton is *Englishmen For my Money: or A pleasant Comedy, called, A Woman will have her Will*, written about 1598 and printed in 1616. Its picture of the lanes of the old City of London, in which, for a night, the characters play hide and seek, and its homely and lively sketches of citizen life, give the play an attractiveness of its own. It may be called an anticipation of Ben Jonson. Another extant play which Henslowe's diary assigns to Haughton but which the title-page gives to an unidentified "I. T." is *Grim the Collier of Croydon; Or, The Devil and his Dame: With the Devil and Saint Dunston* (written about 1600, published 1662). This combines a comic plot with a perversion of history. The comic scenes are clearly a development of the improvisations in which Tarlton and Kemp succeeded and Munday failed.

Henry Porter is described by Meres as one of "the best for Comedy amongst us". He wrote, wholly or in part, several plays for Henslowe; but of these the only survivor is *The Pleasant Historie of the two angrie women of Abington*, twice printed in 1599. The play is a strong and sturdy picture of rural life; it smacks of the soil, and has in it something of the vigour and virility which stamp Jonson's best work. Ben was not so isolated as he supposed. Just as we can perceive a background to Shakespeare's genius in the work of Munday and Chettle, so the comedies of such men as Haughton and Porter prove that Jonson's art was in the air when he began to write.

Of Richard Hathwaye (an interesting name!), numbered among "the best for Comedy", nothing survives but his unidentified share in *Sir John Oldcastle*. Robert Wilson also contributed to that piece; and he (or another of that name) published *A right excellent and famous Comoedy called The three Ladies of London* (1584), *The Pleasant and* [illegible]

Michael Drayton, like Shakespeare, is a writer who took care of his poems and no care of his plays. Meres puts him among the best for tragedy, and Henslowe records payments to him for over twenty plays, mainly in collaboration; but his share in the first part of *Sir John Oldcastle* alone survives. The poems show that Drayton's genius was essentially undramatic.

John Day received payment from Henslowe once as sole author, and he collaborated in twenty-one plays. The only survivor of these compositions is *The Blind-Beggar of Bednal-Green* written about 1600 and printed in 1659. It is a confused, hastily-written "ballad-play", not so pleasant and sweet as Munday would have made it. Day's

better work belongs to the Jacobean period and will be considered later.

Samuel Rowley did little for Henslowe. With W. Bird he made additions to Marlowe's *Faustus*. His one surviving play is *When you see me, You know me. Or the famous Chronicle Historie of King Henry the eight* (printed 1605). This leaves the region of popular legend, and attempts to dramatize actual history. Rowley's play is of great interest as the forerunner of *Henry VIII*, but has its own merits. The scenes in which Will Summers appears carry us back to the days when the leading clown could hold up the progress of the play by his irrelevant jesting. There is extant also *The Noble Souldier*, printed in 1634 as "written by S. R.". It is an interesting play, containing work by Day and probably by Dekker. If any substantial part of the work is Rowley's, the favourable impression of his talent produced by *When you see me, You know me* is deepened.

Besides the popular Elizabethan drama, there was an unpopular Elizabethan drama, which failed because it aimed too high and remained tied to classical methods and traditions. In France, a Senecan style of drama dominated the stage, and, through the French poet Robert Garnier (1534–90), exercised a strong influence upon a coterie of distinguished literary people in England. Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, translated Garnier's *Marc-Antoine* into scholarly English blank verse as *Antonius* (1592), using lyrical measures for the choruses, and reaching, in this part of her work, a high level of excellence. Daniel's *Cleopatra*, printed in 1594, was a kind of sequel to Lady Pembroke's play, and his *Philotas* (1605) was a second study in the same style. Both plays are meritorious and may be read with pleasure. Kyd's translation of Garnier's *Cornélie* is mentioned earlier. In touch with this circle of poets was a genius of very singular and rare quality, Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, who produced two plays which were probably written in the main before the end of the century—*Mustapha*, printed 1609, and *Alaham*, printed posthumously. Though Greville imitated the Senecan model he produced a kind of drama that is Greek in its intensity and severity, but peculiar to itself in its selection of dramatic types and character from the world of politics and statesmanship. He tells us, significantly, that he writes for "those only that are weather-beaten in the sea of this world". The verse of his choruses, strange, stiff, oracular, have an almost disquieting note of unnatural calm. The originality of Greville's work becomes clear when we compare it with the dull though able *Monarchicke Tragedies* (1604–7), i.e. *Croesus, Darius, The Alexandraean, Julius Caesar*, by Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling (1567–1640). Greville is the seer or Hebrew prophet of the Elizabethan dramatists, and altogether a fascinating, solitary figure.

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wrote *The Hector of Germaine*, acted about 1613 and printed in 1615; his connection with other "Smith" productions cannot be ascertained.

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dramatists; for Essex, like Southampton, like Mountjoy, like "the incomparable paire of brethren" William and Philip Herbert, Sidney's nephews, to whom the First Folio was dedicated, was a patron of poets and a friend of letters; and to him there are numerous references which audiences of the time could not fail to identify.

The court of Elizabeth exhibited an openness to intellectual interests such as only her unfailing regard for learning and letters could have long maintained. No similar intellectual exertion was made by James I, whose literary tastes, like most of his thoughts and impulses, were mean. The sovereign and the greater nobles were girded round with elaborate etiquette and ceremonial. Neither Elizabeth nor her royal father was so accessible to messengers and strangers as are some of Shakespeare's monarchs. The courtiers were typified in life by Sidney and in art by Hamlet; but we are not to suppose that the population of England was composed of Sidneys and Hamlets. Part of the attraction of Sidney was that he was a brilliant exception. But the important fact is that the type was admired and accepted. The "low brow" in mind and morals had not then attained to the glory of general adulation and emulation.

The repute of trade was steadily rising. Shakespeare depicts the bourgeois Fords and Pages with sympathy; but like other dramatists he is severe with usurers. The modern passion for wealth merely for wealth's sake would have met, too, with small mercy at the satiric hand that drew Sir Epicure Mammon.

The greatest charm of an English house, its garden, might almost be described as an Elizabethan addition to English domestic life; before this period, private horticulture had chiefly directed itself to the production of kitchen vegetables and medicinal herbs. Flowers were now coming to be much prized, and the love of them displayed by several Elizabethan dramatists, pre-eminently by Shakespeare, was fostered by a desire to gratify popular taste.

That there was gluttony and intemperance is evident from the protests of Hamlet against the drunkenness for which the change from light French wines to the heavier "Sherris sack" beloved by Falstaff was probably responsible. The "new vice" of taking tobacco is not mentioned by Shakespeare; but Ben Jonson gives us "Signior WHIFFE", who had "come to spit private, in *Paules*".

In the Elizabethan and early Stuart ages, an excessive love of dress was as marked a national characteristic as a fondness for the pleasures of the table. Actors delighted to display gorgeous costumes on the stage. Shakespeare alludes very definitely to articles of dress and personal adornment; but whether the characters are Greek, Roman or Danish, whether the times are Homeric or Renascence, the details are English and contemporary.

The naval and military professions as such played very small part

XIV. SOME POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE LATER ELIZABETHAN AND EARLIER STUART PERIOD

The later years of Elizabeth and the earlier years of her successor

national affairs; nevertheless the drama pursued its own natural way and reflected the intense life of its time. In the earlier half of

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been well and truly laid of the magnificent dramatic creation that we rightly call Elizabethan.

The peculiarity of Elizabethan monarchy was that it was Elizabethan. Only the cranks bothered about theories. Elizabeth herself was better than any theory of government. So the dramatists are all ardent monarchists and loyalists. That the Queen neither brought into England a foreign prince to share her throne nor raised any

after her death command was given for the great new version of the Bible, which in spirit, though not in date, is Elizabethan. So, the dramatists are generally as anti-papal as they are anti-puritan—even Ben Jonson's conversion having no perceptible influence on him as

with Spain, which included the marauding adventures of our great seamen and the protection of the Netherlands, culminated in the defeat of the Armada; yet there is no contemporary play which

danger still remained a menace; and it was rearing its head at our very doors in Ireland. On the other hand the fate of Essex, a prominent figure in the long war, could not escape notice from the

rebellions, or by particular phrases of particular characters. Shakespeare depicts his mechanicals with a Dickensian understanding. What he says plainly through his characters is that he does not want the mob to rule. Well, who does?

Though life seemed cheap and was lightly forfeited, violent crime was held in abhorrence. The public punishments, sometimes very horrible, must be remembered when we encounter scenes of physical horror in the plays; but how few these are must have been noticed by every reader. Shakespeare is remarkably free from them. That there was strong feeling and high spirit can be seen in martyrdom as well as in ruthlessness. But the final cause of this high spirit was the belief in things worth living for and worth dying for—a belief which lies at the root of noble endeavour, and without which no nation will continue to be great.

The position of women—a sure clue to the character of any age—is exhibited pleasingly by all the dramatists. The legal rights of women may have been few; but their social freedom was large. The lot of women in the Victorian age was, by comparison, barbarous and primitive. Shakespeare's own female characters compose a wonderful Legend of Good Women. The noblest of all feminine types will not be sought for in vain in the Elizabethan and Jacobean drama; and he would err who should look for them only on the Shakespearean heights.

It is fitting that a chapter discussing the earlier dramatists should conclude with a tribute to Lamb's *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets who lived about the time of Shakespeare* (1808), a delightful work which, in spite of textual defects, long served to give general readers their first acquaintance with the Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists—an acquaintance further stimulated by Hazlitt's lectures. During the nineteenth century useful editions of the major writers were produced, and the fervid essays of Swinburne and the modernized texts of the popular *Mermaid Series* (1887–9) helped to make the contemporaries and successors of Shakespeare better known. In 1907, almost exactly a century after the publication of Lamb's *Specimens*, the Malone Society began its issue of exact reprints of old plays under the general editorship of Walter Wilson Greg, and a new and higher standard of textual accuracy was established. Greg's edition of Henslowe's diary and papers (1904–8) and his *Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration* (1939, etc.) are important contributions to the history of the drama.

in the social history of the country. No standing army was kept up for warfare. The local authorities could always form a militia on paper and fill it with recruits of the kind that Falstaff collected from Mr Justice Shallow. In London and elsewhere order was kept by watchmen with their brown bills—familiar figures of Elizabethan [illegible] to Eastcheap.

The clergy held no very high standing, as far as the drama gives evidence, but they were generally intelligent and even learned men. The dramatists never ridicule the doctrines of Puritans, but are legitimately concerned with their moral pretensions and "humours". The feeling against Jews was merely the persistence of ancient prejudice, for Jews in London throughout the whole of the period were few in number and little known. Shylock and Barabas are not portraits from life.

Among the professions, the law took a high place, and many of our dramatists, with Shakespeare at their head, show familiarity with legal terms and processes. The Inns of Court were great social institutions and to them the drama and the masque are heavily indebted.

The physician's profession, about this time, was being disentangled, on the one hand, from that of the clergyman, and, on the other, from the trade of the apothecary and of the barber, who united to his main functions those of dentist and yet others. Medical treatment was old-fashioned in no flattering sense of the term. To new diseases it was savage, to mental trouble, barbarous.

Booksellers were beginning to flourish, and even playwrights could acquire a competence. It is curious that in this period of intense dramatic activity only about nine persons seem to have combined, like Shakespeare, the functions of actor and author; actually, [illegible] There is no English poet so clearly at home in music as Shakespeare. The external conditions of the drama proper were such that it could owe little or nothing to architect, sculptor or painter; the achievements of Inigo Jones belong to the history of the masque.

That the yeomen and labouring classes are sympathetically depicted will hardly be denied by any unprejudiced student of the drama. It is not just to illustrate the contempt of the Elizabethan drama for the masses either by satirical pictures of mobs and popular

returned to the Church of England. We know many facts about Ben Jonson's life, though few are of real value to criticism. He had periods of prosperity and poverty, living now in the sunshine and now in the shadow of court favour. Literary indiscretions brought him more than once into trouble. A specially interesting episode in his life was a visit to Drummond of Hawthornden in Scotland during 1619 (see p. 193). Drummond, evidently, made rough notes of Ben's remarks, but the sole existing manuscript is not contemporary. Whether genuine or not, the observations are entirely in character. At the Mermaid Tavern Jonson is alleged to have had many wit-combats with Shakespeare, and seems to have established himself as a literary dictator, in anticipation of his namesake. Ben Jonson the poet and dramatist shared an uneasy bed with Ben Jonson the scholar and critic. What the artist would have done excellently by instinct the critic required to be done less excellently by rule; so Ben Jonson has engaged the attention of persons and periods that are disconcerted by sheer creative fecundity and prefer writers with theories that can be discussed. Jonson disapproved of the course that the drama had taken since *Tamburlaine* and *The Spanish Tragedy*. He disliked fantastic comedy, wide-ranging chronicle-history and stupendous tragedy. The stage, he thought, should not "Fight over Yorke and Lancasters long warres", carry its characters far "ore the seas", spread itself over excessive periods of time and exhibit violent revolutions in character and condition. The stage's main concern should be none of these things,

> But deeds, and language, such as men doe use;
> And persons, such as Comoedie would chuse,
> When she would shew an Image of the times,
> And sport with humane follies, not with crimes.
>
> (Prologue, *Every Man in his Humour*.)

Jonson believed that the remedy for the excesses of the contemporary stage was to be found first, in imitation of classical examples of restraint (that perpetual panacea!) and next, in a greater infusion of realism. Both appeared to be present in the comedies of Terence and Plautus; and an immediate satirical touch could be given by a use of the "humours" (see p. 220), the mingling of which determined men's dispositions. The term "comedy of humours" is best represented in modern language as the "comedy of types". There were dangers in the method. The new comedy might escape monsters only to fall into diagrams. Jonson had too much creative exuberance to narrow himself into diagrams, but he gives us his characters in the flat, not in the round. And the curious irony of his reform is that his "type" satirical figures appear to belong to the same order as the "type" tragical figures of Marlowe. In general he approximates

CHAPTER VI

THE DRAMA TO 1642. PART II

I. BEN JONSON

could write the tenderest epitaph as well as the grossest epigram. He rode his hobbies hard, confusing his scholarship with pedantry and his verse with theory; but few have ever served learning and poetry with so wholehearted a devotion.

A false charge of his ill-feeling towards Shakespeare has been maintained. There are no facts to support it. In conversation with Drummond he said that Shakespeare "wanted art"; and if he meant that Shakespeare was careless in construction he was right. When the actors boasted that Shakespeare never blotted a line, he replied: "Would he had blotted a thousand"; and he rightly objected to this being thought malevolent; for if he meant that there was danger in

had been spared much foolish verbiage. The ten words of the famous line in his First Folio tribute, "He was not for an age, but for all time", contain more essential truth about Shakespeare than ten

educated at either university, although, later, he received honorary degrees from both. He served as a soldier in Flanders, and in 1597 is found employed as both actor and playwright by Henslowe, none of his plays for whom, however, survive. Meres, in *Palladis Tamia*,

Ben Jonson's poems are contained in the collections called *Epigrams, The Forest* and *Underwoods*, the first two included in the folio of 1616, the third in the posthumous second volume of 1640. In the main, they are strong, manly, intelligent utterances, less read than they should be. But they repel by sheer lack of charm. Here are no "Spenserian vowels that elope with ease"; instead, there is an almost wilful hardness and stiffness of articulation. One is oddly conscious *that the poet is trying to* avoid something as well as to achieve something; and what he seeks to avoid is the seduction of pure poetry. The exquisite "Queen and Huntress" and the popular "Drink to me, only, with thine eyes" are exceptional in their felicity; and two supposed poems, often quoted, "It is not growing like a tree" and "Have you seen but a bright lily grow", are merely single stanzas cut out of less happy longer poems. "Underneath this sable hearse" is now usually assigned to William Browne. In general, Ben Jonson seems to have refused the grace and melody of verse for ingenuities of idea and expression. Ben might say of his contemporary Donne that "for not keeping of accent he deserved hanging", but he did not himself escape a certain grittiness of style and substance. His poetical cerebrations, however, aroused the enthusiasm of imitators like the one who asked to be "sealed of the tribe of Ben". Cerebration is always admired when creation is feeble. There are in Jonson's poems numerous honest, manly and admirable pieces, like *To Penshurst* and *To Sir Robert Wroth* that, leaving Spenser behind, reach forward to Dryden, without attaining Dryden's superb mastery. Indeed, in all but the best of Jonson's verses one feels a deliberate, self-conscious avoidance of effects that could be called "poetical". The pedant impeded the poet; and the man who might have been an English Horace is not even an English Martial. We must remember the intellectual angularities of Jonson, Donne and their tribe when we come to consider the revolution which the age attributed to Waller.

Jonson's plays fall into well-defined classes: masques, comedies, tragedies and one pastoral, unfinished, *The Sad Shepherd*. The last named is charming. The masques suffer inevitably from being the *libretti* for music, dancing and spectacle, but their inventive art is full of resource, though they rarely touch the heights of poetry. They are discussed in a later page. But Jonson's place in literature is determined by his dramatic work for the popular theatres. Some of it is lost. His additions to an enlarged revision of *The Spanish Tragedy* (1602) are not convincingly identified. He begins for us as a dramatist with *The Case is Alterd* (c. 1597), which he did not include in his collected works. The caricature of Anthony Munday as Antonio Balladino had more point for its time than for ours. The play is not a "comedy of humours", and indeed is not important. Jonson's real beginning

[illegible]

always anxious for thought-saving labels, have taken Jonson at his word, and he goes down to posterity neatly ticketed in all the text-books as the inventor of the comedy of humours. Actually the greatest asset in any play by Jonson is Jonson. The exuberant personality is always there, with its appetites, its enmities and its self-esteem: indeed, in some plays there is too much Jonson, and we thank heaven for Shakespeare's superb impersonality. With years [illegible] ntful of humanity's foibles and to [illegible] fed upon itself. One of his last [illegible] a Tub; and we are reminded of another satirist who wrote *A Tale of a Tub* and fell into the depths of misanthropy. Although Jonson was more careful than Shakespeare about publication, his works raise several unsolved problems of bibliography. These we shall not discuss. In 1616 appeared a folio edition of *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson* containing nine plays, four entertainments, eleven masques and two collections of poems; and so, for the first time, playhouse products (with more reputable [illegible]

admirer's inscription on his gravestone has proved unforgettable, however read· "O rare Ben Jonson". The folio of 1616 was reprinted in 1640, with a second volume containing matter uncollected or unprinted. A collection of memorial eulogies by many famous men of the time appeared in 1638 with the title *Jonsonus Virbius.* Ben Jonson, unlike most dramatic authors of his time, proclaimed certain critical views, and the present account of them is a necessary preface to notes upon his individual works. To these we can now pass.

[illegible]

volume of 1640. Perhaps the name *Timber* carried on the "notion" of *The Forest* and *Underwoods*. This slight but very attractive work (oddly dated 1641) has already been mentioned (p. 221).

acquaintances, and exposes their hypocrisy. Plot, characters and blank verse unusually vigorous and flowing all show Jonson at his best. *Epicœne or The Silent Woman* (1609, date of first printing uncertain) is less intent on moral castigation, and, perhaps on that account, is the most agreeable, even if it is not the best, of Jonson's comedies. In *The Alchemist* (1610, printed 1612), Jonson essays another large canvas of tricksters and gulls. The entire play is in blank verse, which is most skilfully adapted, as required, to rapid dialogue or to orations. The characters, especially Sir Epicure Mammon and the two canting Puritans, are masterly. The satire on alchemy flavours the fun without destroying it; and the picture of Elizabethan London is without an equal, unless it be in *Bartholomew Fayre* (acted 1614, printed in posthumous folio). In the presentation of manners and character, *Bartholomew Fayre* may, indeed, be held to outrank even *The Alchemist.* It has "all the fun of the fair", and something of its rankness, bustle and disorder. But the principal characters are drawn with painstaking exactness and with unflagging animation. The Induction appears to gird at Shakespeare for introducing a "servant-monster", masques and "the concupiscence of jigs and dances" into serious plays, for it was part of Jonson's plan to keep the "kinds" in drama separate. Moreover, the fantasy of such a play as *The Tempest* was outside Jonson's range of appreciation or ability; and so his own *Bartholomew Fair*, as a comedy of manners, is written wholly in prose—prose remarkable for its clearness and flexibility. The kind of comedy which it presents has endured in prose fiction—in Fielding, Smollett and Dickens; but, with the coming of Puritanism, it was driven from the stage, though some of it crept back by way of the Victorian music-hall.

The Divell is an Asse (acted 1616) betrays a flagging invention; and there is nothing good to be said for the remaining plays, *The Staple of Newes*, *The Newe Inne*, *The Magnetick Lady: Or Humours Reconcil'd* and *A Tale of a Tub.* Dryden curtly called them "mere dotages".

The great excellence of Jonson's plays is their exuberance of invention, especially in character. His main technical fault is sheer garrulity, or it might be more politely called sheer thoroughness, which refuses to let person, speech or situation pass till everything possible has been said. Yet, in spite of all limitations, Jonson's comic characterization and the "wholeness" of his dramatic invention remain among the greatest achievements of the English theatre. He never puts us off with half the truth and never betrays our trust in his artistic sincerity. What most discourages the reader of Jonson is the absence of charm, and, even more, the absence of charity. In play after play we find him declaring "Now step I forth to whip hypocrisy". Comedy, of all forms of literature, has its duties in the street or tavern as well as in Arden or on the sea-coast of Bohemia;

[illegible]
comedy, in matter as well as in style. Like Wordsworth, Jonson wanted normal facts expressed in normal speech—nothing "tempestuous". The lines already quoted from the Prologue to the 1616 edition state the author's general thesis; but the play itself is free from the laboriousness that often results from devotion to a theory. The general inspiration is derived from Plautus; but the piece is highly individual in matter and in character. Bobadill, indeed, is almost the greatest of Jonson's creations. It is worth noting that Dickens knew and acted this character. The play is written mainly in terse and [illegible]
advance. *Every Man out of his Humour* (acted 1599, printed 1601) is long-winded, didactic, and over-charged with satirical criticism of his contemporaries. *The Fountaine of selfe-love. Or Cynthias Revells* (printed 1601) resembles *Every Man out of his Humour* in its censure of follies and in its lack of interest. Only the lively Induction and the "Queen and Huntress" song save it from utter dullness. Jonson's arrogance as censor of his contemporaries had drawn upon him the resentment of his fellow-dramatists, and a "war of the theatres" began. In *Poetaster, or The Arraignment* (printed 1602) Jonson gave a countercuff to his antagonists by ridiculing Marston as Crispinus and Dekker as Demetrius, and presenting himself as Horace. The play has its good moments, but Jonson's passion for censure was making him tedious.

[illegible]
Sejanus and *Catiline* than in *Coriolanus* and *Antony and Cleopatra* with all their expatiation. Jonson's tragedies are not saved by some [illegible] another failure to [illegible] ake first rank as Jonson's masterpieces. In *Volpone or The Foxe* (1606, printed 1607) the chief character, a miser and sensualist, works on the greed of his

original poet. Distinction of mind and intellectual vigour are apparent in all Chapman's work; but, though he may occasionally soar, he never sings, and his finest verses possess gnomic and didactic, rather than lyric, quality.

Though Chapman was known as a dramatist in 1598, only two plays by his hand are extant which were produced before that date—*The Blinde begger of Alexandria* (printed 1598) and *An Humerous dayes Myrth* (printed 1599). Both are comedies, and neither deserves particular notice. *Al Fooles* (printed 1605), another comedy, apparently first produced under the title *The World runs on Wheels*, displays a surprising advance in dramatic technique. *The Gentleman Usher* (printed 1606) and *Monsieur d'Olive* (printed 1606) are comedies of small importance, a judgment that applies even more strongly to *The Widdowes Teares* (printed 1612). Chapman's fame as dramatist rests upon his tragedies founded on French history, of which *Bussy D'Ambois* (printed 1607) and *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois* (printed 1613) have always and rightly received most attention. These plays owed their success to the flavour of recent history, to the character and career of the chief figure, formed by nature for an invincible hero of romance, and to the glowing rhetoric which rises in places to pure and impassioned poetry. The second play is inferior in dramatic interest but, with its ghost demanding revenge, it is suffused with memories of *Hamlet*, to which it is clearly indebted. If intellectual interest and noble eloquence sufficed to constitute a dramatic masterpiece, *The Conspiracie, And Tragedie of Charles Duke of Byron, Marshall of France* (printed 1608) would give Chapman rank among great playwrights. But it is an epic rather than a drama. In his next tragedy, *Caesar and Pompey* (printed 1631), Chapman turned from contemporary to classical history; but the play is feebly handled and the characters fail to communicate themselves. *Chabot Admirall of France* (printed 1639), *Revenge for Honour* (printed 1654) and *Alphonsus Emperour of Germany* (printed 1654) are also attributed, at least in part, to Chapman. His fame would not be increased by the certainty that he had written any of them. Jonson observed that, next himself, only Fletcher and Chapman could make a masque. If Chapman made many, they have vanished, for only one remains. It is mentioned later.

By "a fallacy of duration" Chapman lives in the tribute of a later poet; and, indeed, "Chapman's Homer" is his chief title to fame. Something has been said of this in an earlier chapter. The first instalment, *Seaven Bookes of the Iliades of Homere*, was published in 1598. In 1609 the first twelve books appeared, and the complete *Iliad* about 1611. The first twelve books of the *Odyssey* in the heroic couplet appeared in 1614, and the second twelve within another year. *The Georgicks of Hesiod* was his next translation and it appeared in

but Jonson, unlike Dekker, found neither charm nor heroism in London streets, just as he found neither the truth and passion that lay at the heart of Puritanism, nor the joy and fancy that stirred the light-hearted moods of Fletcher, Shirley, or Herrick. But he

II CHAPMAN, MARSTON, DEKKER

In Elizabethan and Jacobean times the drama was the most popular form of expression; and just as writers without any noticeable gift for fiction now write novels, so writers without any noticeable gift for drama then wrote plays. Of these latter, George Chapman (c. 1559–1634) was an example. He was by nature a poet; he was *not by nature a dramatist. He never learnt to think in any character* but his own; and his plays seem to be written, not by natural instinct, but by main strength. We know nothing of his early years.

to write twenty years before his death By assertive disintegrators and reconstructors the name of Chapman has been unhappily en-

who find traces of Chap-

who confidently identify

Sonnets, who believe that

Holofernes in *Love's Labour's Lost* is a satirical portrait of Chapman, and who are sure that *Troilus and Cressida* is a burlesque of Chapman's zeal for Homer and the Homeric heroes. The reader is urged to avoid the barren seductions of any and all of these theories, and to

Chapman did better things. In his continuation of Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* (1598), Chapman not unworthily completed an incomparable fragment, and in *Euthymiae Raptus; or the Teares of Peace* (1609), dedicated to Prince Henry, he reached his happiest mood as an

The Spanish Tragedy. Marston is closer to Seneca than to Shakespeare. The satirical comedy *What You Will* (printed 1607) has already been mentioned. A marked advance is apparent in *The Malcontent* (printed 1604), which, with a Hamlet-like character, Malevole, is more of a close-knit work of art. *The Dutch Courtezan*, published in 1605, shows still further advance in the handling of plot and character, but it is surpassed by *Eastward Hoe* (printed 1605), written by Marston, Chapman and Jonson, a brilliant and enjoyable piece. This satire on the needy Scottish adventurers who came south with the new king gave great offence, and the collaborators found themselves in prison with their ears and noses in jeopardy. As a picture of city life *Eastward Ho* has great merits. "Comedies are writ to be spoken, not read; remember the life of these things consists in action", remarks the author in the preface to his play entitled *Parasitaster, Or the Fawne* (printed in two editions 1606), and certainly, though no doubt fairly successful on the stage, this play offers small excitement to the reader. Marston had promised "to present a tragedy which should boldly abide the most curious perusal". This was *The Wonder of Women or the Tragedie of Sophonisba* (printed 1606). It is not fully satisfying as a tragedy, but it certainly deserves curious perusal, for it contains some excellent passages of writing, with memorable sentences. *The Insatiate Countesse* (printed 1613), the last play published as Marston's, is, in a later edition, given to William Barkstead. It was probably left incomplete by Marston. After a dramatic beginning which is more than merely promising, Marston turned his back on letters and quietly took up the work of a parish priest. In his art there is nothing that can be called completely successful. But he has an arresting quality. When we are about to condemn, he suddenly flashes into unexpected splendour, and his best characters refuse to be forgotten.

Thomas Dekker (1570–1641) was a man of many parts, and endearing in all of them. He wrote for Henslowe many plays which have not survived, and he poured himself out in a stream of miscellaneous writing. To the mental energy and literary facility of Defoe, he added the genial kindliness and the happy heart of Goldsmith. Two plays printed in 1600, *The Shomakers Holiday. Or the Gentle Craft* and *The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus*, are enough to give Dekker a place in the history of drama. The first is full of vigorous, jovial life, and brings all London before the eyes—the London of honest tradesmen and apprentices and rather less honest courtiers. Sim Eyre the shoemaker who becomes Lord Mayor is an immortal character. The second play has less life, but it has definite quality. *Satiro-Mastix*, Dekker's reply to Jonson's *Poetaster*, has already been referred to. In the first part of *The Honest Whore* (printed 1604), Middleton had a share; the second and much superior part is mainly,

1618. In 1616, both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were issued in a folio entitled *The Whole Workes of Homer, Prince of Poets*, and with *Batra-* [illegible]

John Marston (1575?–1634) is one of the most attractive of the lesser dramatists. He began his literary career as a satirist, changed his muse, and entered the dramatic field at the end of the sixteenth century, but left the theatre for the church a few years later. A collected but incomplete edition of his plays was published in 1633 Few writers have asked less of posterity or have taken a more modest view of their value. Nevertheless Marston's literary life was not free from strife. In 1598 he published *The Metamorphosis of Pigmalions Image. And Certain Satires*, and in 1599 *The Scourge of Villanie*, thereby provoking a controversy with Hall, who had claimed to be the father of English satire (see p. 219). In the "war of the theatres" [illegible] temporaries and presented himself as the honest exposer of pretences. We need not wonder that he was facetiously saluted by Dekker in his "three or four suites of names, Asper, Criticus, Quintus, Horatius, Flaccus". About 1599 *Histrio-Mastix* was performed, in which Jonson thought he was ridiculed. The play, an early work of uncertain authorship, was revised for this occasion by Marston. Jonson retorted upon Marston and others in *Every Man out of his Humour*, [illegible] and *Poetaster* was still more vigorous. The next assault on Jonson came in *Satiro-Mastix, Or the untrussing of the Humorous Poet* (acted 1601, printed 1602), written by Dekker, perhaps with Marston's help. In this some of Jonson's own characters were cleverly introduced. Though the play falls short of *Poetaster* in construction, its mockery is more genial and its humour more sparkling. In yet another play Jonson was the target of satirical jest, Marston's *What You Will*, probably written (1601) before *Poetaster* and revised later; and with this play the war of the poets came to an end. In 1605 we find Marston collaborating with Chapman and Jonson in *Eastward Hoe*. Audiences of the day were able to take and enjoy the points of the quarrel in a way denied to us. Shakespeare, though alluded to in [illegible]

III. MIDDLETON AND ROWLEY

Like his contemporaries, Thomas Middleton (c. 1570–1627) wrote for Henslowe several plays of which only the names survive; but a large body of work, his own, or written in collaboration, still remains. Middleton, a strangely elusive personal figure, is specially associated with William Rowley, of whom, also, little is known. It is possible that *The Mayor of Quinborough*, which was printed with Middleton's name in 1661, is the earliest play of his that we have; and possible that we have it only in a revised state. *Blurt Master-Constable*, the first published of his plays (1602), shows Middleton setting off spiritedly on the comedies of intrigue which were to form the first division of his work. The prose has become swift of foot, and slips easily into verse and back again. *The Old Law*, written c. 1599, printed 1656, is ascribed to Middleton, Massinger and Rowley; but in 1599 the two latter were in their middle 'teens and hardly capable of authorship. The play is very unequal, and the probable revision has not pulled it together. *The Phoenix*, acted in 1604, appears to be an attempted imitation of Jonson. The two plays which followed, *A Trick to Catch the Old-one* and *A Mad World, My Masters* (both printed 1608), are among the best of Middleton's comedies, with easy dialogue, and with characters that definitely transmit themselves. Middleton's figures seldom fail to have genuine life. There is true and good human feeling even in some of the most shameless scenes of *Your five Gallants* (printed 1608). We remember Middleton's comedies less for their separate characters than for a kind of "criticism of life" of which the characters are the unexpected exponents. The strongest scenes of *The Roaring Girle* give us this sense of character acting beyond itself. We remember, also, passages of a marvellous and sometimes cruelly comic reality, such as the death scene in *A Chast Mayd in Cheape-side* (acted 1611) where an old sinner makes his exit in grotesque and frightened repentance. The prose of Middleton, as we see it in the comedies, is a pungent, fluent, very natural and speakable prose. Only at times, as in *The Famelie of Love* (printed 1608), does it become pedantic. Verse, to Middleton, is a native idiom; he speaks in it easily, bending it as he pleases to any shade of meaning, filling it with stuff alien to poetry and yet keeping its good metre. He has a few fine passages where imagination has fastened upon him, and dictated his words. Apparently he found no difficulty in collaboration. *The Widdowe*, not printed till 1652, was perhaps revised by Fletcher; and *No Wit, no Help, like a Womans*, printed 1657, was revised by Shirley. We find Rowley's name beside Middleton's on the title-pages of *The Old Law*, *A Faire Quarrell*, *The World tost at Tennis*, *The Spanish Gipsie*, and *The Changeling*: most,

perhaps entirely, Dekker's (printed 1630). Four less important pieces, *The Whore of Babylon* (printed 1607), strongly Protestant and patriotic, as the title implies, *If It be Not Good, the Divel is in it* (printed 1612), *Match Mee in London* (printed 1631) and *The Wonder of a Kingdome* (printed 1636), complete the list of plays which can with any confidence be assigned to Dekker's unassisted pen. The last-named was probably worked over again by John Day. There are several other plays in which Dekker was a collaborator. We know that Middleton had a share in the first part of *The Honest Whore*, and a share, perhaps the largest, in *The Roaring Girle* (printed 1611), whose heroine, Moll Cutpurse, masquerades as a London gallant; we know that Webster took part in the composition of *West-Ward Hoe* and *North-Ward Hoe*, comedies of intrigue, the first preceding and the second following the Jonson-Chapman-Marston *Eastward Ho*, and in *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyat* (all printed 1607). The [illegible]

written with John Ford and William Rowley, and Ford assisted with [illegible]

was not clever, yet he succeeded where more richly endowed men failed. For the student of Elizabethan social life, Dekker's prose is even more important than his plays. Some account of his pamphlets has already been given (see p. 221). Both in *The Wonderfull Yeare* (1603) and in *A Rod for Runawayes* (1625), Dekker anticipates Defoe in the realism and force of his descriptions. *Worke for Armorours, or the Peace is broken* (1609), with its motto, "God help the Poor, the [illegible]

Dekker (not to mention Shakespeare) can doubt that what Arnold called "the victory of the prose style, clear, plain and short" was already won by our dramatists before the advent of Dryden, the virtues of whose prose were derived from his studies in their school. *Dekker his Dreame* (1620) is a mixture of prose and verse, which [illegible]

by a deep spirit of devotion, exquisite feeling and sensitive phrasing.

and it depicts with great power scenes and characters almost wholly vile. With one more experiment, and this a masterpiece of a wholly new kind, "the only work of English poetry", says Swinburne, "which may properly be called Aristophanic", the career of Middleton closes. *A Game at Chesse* (printed 1625) is a satire, taking the popular side against Spain. But it is more than a satire; it is a critical indictment, not of city manners or personal vices, but of the nation's policy. Politics and literature are here for the first time made one in an English play. Middleton's genius was varied and copious, and he showed capacity to do almost every kind of dramatic work with great vigour. Though none of his plays is satisfactory throughout, there is, in almost all of them, a quality or character that rises beyond the dramatic conventions of the time, and appeals to the deepest convictions of every age. The social implications of Middleton's plays may have importance but cannot be studied in a brief sketch.

IV. THOMAS HEYWOOD

Thomas Heywood (1572?–1650?), though a writer of the second rank, has, for the student, interest of the first order. In his long literary life he attempted almost every kind of play, except the comedy of cruel "humours" from which his simple heart shrank; and he succeeded in writing the first genuinely moving domestic tragedy in which all the action lies on the plane of ordinary existence. In addition he is pleasantly communicative about himself and the theatre of his time. By 1596, Heywood is mentioned in Henslowe's diary as writing, or having written, a play; and in 1598 he became an actor.

Heywood's industry was enormous. He declared that he had "either an entire hand, or at the least a main finger" in two hundred and twenty plays; a tremendous total even for thirty-seven years' connection with the theatre; and we may reasonably suppose that the main finger of adaptation did more than the entire hand of composition. He gave little or no thought to the destiny of his plays as "literature". To have finished his play and brought it on the stage was enough for him. But his remarks about the printing of plays are too instructive to be overlooked. He objected to the appearance of one corrupt copy, which had been taken down by some enterprising expert in stenography, who "put it in print (scarce one word trew)"; though he did not produce a correct edition. He made no attempt to collect his plays as *Works*. "One reason is, that many of them by shifting and change of Companies have been negligently lost; Others of them are still retained in the hands of some Actors, who thinke it against their peculiar profit to have them come in Print, and a third,

that is, of Middleton's best later work. The manner and measure of this collaboration is not easy to discover.

dates are dates of publication. In *The Witch of Edmonton*, published in 1658 as "a Tragi-Comedy By divers well esteemed Poets; William Rowley, Thomas Dekk

Rowley is difficult to make out.

laboration with Middleton, his hand has been most generally traced in the comic underplots. In the two chief plays which he wrote by himself, he wove comic prose not ineffectively into more serious substance. In *Alls Lost by Lust* Rowley proves himself a poet by his

clearly in *A Faire Quarrell* (printed 1617) Soon after, they collaborated in the entertaining masque *The World tost at Tennis* (printed 1620). For the most part, Middleton's masques are tame and tedious, without

the interpolation, as it obviously was, of certain lines of his witches' songs in the text of *Macbeth*, that a play in which the main action is almost a grotesque parody of the romantic drama has come to be looked upon as one of Middleton's chief works. To the same time must be assigned the tragedy called *The Changeling* (printed 1653), in which Rowley had some share. This remarkable play is one of the best non-Shakespearean tragedies of the period. The villainous De Flores has real individuality, and Beatrice, his employer and then his victim, exhibits a gradual development of character, moving inevitably deeper and deeper into sin, for which there is hardly a

1621), a tragi-comedy

(and even doubtful)

Anything for a Quiet Life, printed in 1662, is a return to the earlier manner of the farcical comedies of city life. But in two plays published together in 1657 we see the last mood of Middleton, after his collaboration with Rowley was at an end. *More dissemblers besides*

Age (1613), *The Brazen Age* (1613) and *The Iron Age* (in two parts, c. 1632), in which he dramatized classical myths from Saturn to Ulysses. The characters are very numerous; but even the indefatigable exertions of "old Homer" as presenter and chorus, aided by occasional dumb-shows, hardly succeed in bridging the gaps and presenting the invisible. The dates are dates of printing.

The earliest play in which Heywood attained real eminence is *A Woman Kilde with Kindnesse* (published 1607), which is both his best play and the best play of its kind. *Arden of Feversham* and *A Yorkshire Tragedy* had been striking attempts to use for serious purposes on the stage certain calamities of domestic life; but these two tragedies rely more upon horror than upon infelicity. In *A Woman Killed with Kindness* there is no physical horror, no deed of blood; the stage is filled by the moving spectacle of life and happiness irrevocably lost by the lapse of a woman who is sinful without being wicked. It is a play true to its own level of life and justifies the inspired observation of Lamb that Heywood was "a sort of *prose* Shakespeare". Heywood's tragedy is in quite good verse; but it is verse that remains on the pedestrian level.

The Wise-Woman of Hogsdon (c. 1604, printed 1638), a lively comedy, has a complicated plot and many grotesque characters. *The Fayre Mayde of the Exchange*, published anonymously in 1607, has been attributed to Heywood, but is not accepted by later criticism. It offers a lively picture of city life. *The Royall King, and the Loyall Subject* (acted about 1602) is almost certainly Heywood's, though on this occasion he essayed a flight into purely romantic drama. *The Rape of Lucrece*, printed in 1608, is in a different style, if style of any sort can be ascribed to this odd medley of tragedy and vaudeville. It contains the one lyric known to have come from his pen—"Packe cloudes away, and welcome day". *The Fair Maid of the West*, printed in 1631, is another romantic comedy in which we have the note of patriotism and a breath of the sea. *The English Traveller*, printed in 1633, was probably acted in or about 1627. The main plot turns on the idea which lies at the root of Heywood's finest dramatic designs —that, if to err is human, to forgive is what raises humanity beyond the earth. Nothing need be said about *The Captives* (not printed till 1883), or *A Mayden-Head well lost* (printed in 1634), or *A Challenge for Beautie* (printed in 1636), or *Loves Maistresse: Or, the Queens Masque*, performed in 1633.

Passing by Heywood's seven pageants (1631–9) written for city festivals, we come in conclusion to two plays in which he collaborated with other writers. Of these, *Fortune by Land and Sea* (acted c. 1607, printed 1655) was the joint production of Heywood and William Rowley. In substance it is a domestic drama in Heywood's most characteristic manner, and it bears witness once more

That it never was any great ambition in me, to bee in this kind Voluminously read."

[illegible]

names of our poets, as for instance:

> Mellifluous *Shakespeare*, whose inchanting Quill
> Commanded Mirth or Passion, was but *Will*,

concluding with himself, "I hold he loves me best that calles me Tom". The *Nine Bookes of Various History, concerninge Women, inscribed by the names of the Nine Muses* (1624), was followed in 1640 by *Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine the Most Worthy Women of the World. Three Jewes. Three Gentiles. Three Christians.* More important are *Englands Elizabeth* (1631), an expression of his patriotism, and *An Apology for Actors* (1612), the simple and modest defence of his own assailed profession, as well as a valuable document.

[illegible]

about 1614, but never finished, and now lost.

The first of Heywood's plays calling for notice is *The Foure Prentises of London. With the Conquest of Jerusalem* (published 1615, acted some years earlier) In this piece chronicle-history and popular romance are combined in a singularly ingenious fashion. That the play was popular is proved by the allusion made to it in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, in which Beaumont and Fletcher ridiculed those very civic tastes which Heywood's play had sought to gratify. A chronicle play, *King Edward IV* in two parts (printed 1599), is attributed to Heywood, though there is no definite evidence of authorship. Its sentiment, humour, and one might even say its "commonness" are all in character. Of Heywood's other chronicle play, *If you know not me, You know no bodie: Or The troubles of Queene Elizabeth*, the first part was surreptitiously printed in 1605 from copy

[illegible]

preserved, was not better worth preserving. To the period 1611–13 belongs a series of plays, *The Golden Age* (1611), *The Silver*

in 1679, a century after Fletcher's birth, appeared *Fifty Comedies and Tragedies. Written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, Gentlemen,* containing all the contents of the 1647 volume together with eighteen other plays which in the course of years had been printed separately. These facts should lend emphasis to what has already been said in these pages about the publication of plays, namely, that the authors had little to do with the matter and that publishers were ready to put on their title-pages any names likely to attract buyers. The Shakespeare Folio of 1623 is unique in being compiled and warranted, not by publishers, but by two editors, both friends of the author and fellow-actors with him. The publishers of the 1647 and 1679 volumes, with their false assertion of joint authorship, bequeathed to subsequent criticism a legacy of disputed assignment which is never likely to be settled with universal acceptance. One recent critic, E. K. Chambers in *The Elizabethan Stage*, cautiously assigns two plays wholly or substantially to Beaumont: *The Woman Hater*, and *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*; six plays wholly or substantially to Fletcher: *The Woman's Prize*, *The Faithful Shepherdess*, *Monsieur Thomas*, *Valentinian*, *Bonduca* and *Wit without Money*; seven plays to the Beaumont-Fletcher collaboration: *Philaster*, *The Maid's Tragedy*, *A King and no King*, *Four Plays in One*, *Cupid's Revenge*, *The Coxcomb* and *The Scornful Lady*; the rest he describes as "of doubtful authorship, and, in some cases, period", most of these doubtful works being the joint composition of Fletcher and various collaborators, mainly Massinger.

An examination of the works named above will show two hardly disputable conclusions: first that Beaumont had greater dramatic and poetic genius than Fletcher—such works as *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, *Philaster* and *The Maid's Tragedy* showing finer construction and a firmer hand than any of Fletcher's later work; and next that Fletcher had a keener sense of popular stage effect and an easier fluency in writing than Beaumont. Beaumont leaned back a little towards the Elizabethan tradition; Fletcher was more "modern", more ready to give a new public what it wanted. Fletcher's liveliness of manner was due in part to a metrical style of easily recognizable idiosyncrasy. Its most obvious characteristic is the use of redundant syllables in all parts of the line, but especially at the end. Extra-metrical syllables—one, two, or even three—abound. Fletcher's aim, apparently, was to give the blank verse line something of a conversational fluency. He was in fact, trying to make the best of both worlds, to write verse and to produce the effect of colloquial prose. There is no "paragraphing"; the passages are built line upon line, and cannot be "mouthed". One has heard of similar attempts, quite recently, as a new and modern improvement in verse.

In the altered Jacobean times the manner of Fletcher grew

to his love of the sea. *The late Lancashire Witches* was printed in 1634 as the joint work of Thomas Heywood and Richard Brome. The story of the play was based on an account of the doings of certain Lancashire women, of whom twelve had suffered death as witches. Recent criticism tends to assign *Appius and Virginia*, published as Webster's in 1664, mainly to Heywood, with perhaps a few alterations or additions by Webster. It was acted about 1608.

Heywood achieved success in the chronicle history, the romantic drama and the comedy of manners. In addition, he wrote at least one masterpiece in domestic drama, the kind of work in which his candid sincerity and simple charity found their most congenial expression. He was not strong in the art of construction, and his plays are almost invariably weakened by their secondary plots. He was devoid of any lyric vein, though his strong national and civic patriotism should have moved him to song. His unaffected simplicity has led to his being underrated by critics who like dramatists of larger pretensions.

V. BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER

[illegible]

plays are discussed. Francis Beaumont was born about 1584 and died in 1616. John Fletcher (cousin of the poets Giles and Phineas) was [illegible]

joint work began about 1608 and covers therefore no more than eight years. Only four of the plays, two anonymous and two attributed to Fletcher, were published in the lifetime of Beaumont; five more, two anonymous and three attributed to Beaumont and Fletcher, were published in the lifetime of Fletcher; and there is no evidence that any one of these issues was authorized by the two writers, separately or jointly: the books were nothing but publishers' ventures. Trade enterprise went even further; for in 1647, twenty-two years after the death of Fletcher and thirty-one years after the death of Beaumont, a publisher produced a folio volume professing to [illegible]

produced at least one important protest, the main points of which [illegible]

Mas [illegible]

Flet [illegible]

c. 1608), Fletcher's pastoral drama, did not succeed on the stage; nevertheless it is an excellent specimen of its class, with true poetic beauty; and Milton paid it the compliment of imitation in *Comus*. *Philaster* (c. 1610), the first play that brought Beaumont and Fletcher into notice, has poetic and dramatic merits, though the story falters. The leading place among the dramas of Beaumont and Fletcher has always been assigned to *The Maides Tragedy* (c. 1611); and the justice of this popular judgment cannot be questioned. *A King and no King* (c. 1611), written by both, was hardly less celebrated than *The Maides Tragedy*; but its imitation Falstaff and its dallying with incest do not recommend it to later times. *Cupids Revenge* (c. 1612), written by both, is mythological, and rather diffuse. *Four Plays in One*, of uncertain date, consists of an Induction and four "*Triumphs*"—"*of Honour*", "*of Love*", "*of Death*" and "*of Time*"—the former two, the better, by Beaumont and the latter two by Fletcher. *The Captaine* (c. 1612), by Fletcher with an uncertain collaborator, perhaps Massinger, is unimportant. *The Honest Mans Fortune* (1613) is mere patchwork by several authors, of whom Fletcher was one. *Bonduca* (c. 1614), mainly by Fletcher, is founded, like *Cymbeline*, upon ancient British history. *Valentinian* (c. 1614), by Fletcher alone, is a typical example of his work in tragedy. The situation is admirably prepared; but the restless introduction of "surprises" is disconcerting and fatiguing. The play is exceptionally rich in lyrics. *The Bloody Brother, or Rollo, Duke of Normandy* (c. 1616) is an effective play by several collaborators. Fletcher, Massinger and a third author took part in the tragedy of *Thierry and Theodoret*, which probably belongs to the year 1617. *The Queene of Corinth* (c. 1617), by Fletcher, Massinger, and probably some third hand, is a poor play, and *The Loyal Subject* (1618), by Fletcher with unidentified collaboration, is merely dramatized romance, with no complication or resolution. *The Knight of Malta* (c. 1618), by Fletcher, Massinger and a third collaborator, has many of the elements of a fine drama. The plot of *The Mad Lover* (c. 1619), by Fletcher with some assistance, is completely absurd. Fletcher's attempt at a Shakespearean Fool in this play is a pitiful failure. *Women pleas'd* (c. 1619), by Fletcher with assistance, is still more faulty in construction. The tragedy of *Sir John van Olden Barnavelt* (1619), by Fletcher and Massinger, has special interest as a dramatization of contemporary history. *The Custome of the Countrey* (c. 1619), by Fletcher and Massinger, founded on the *Persiles y Sigismunda* of Cervantes, is a drama of considerable merit. It is doubtful whether Fletcher had any hand in *The Lawes of Candy* (c. 1620); Massinger probably was the principal author. *The Double Marriage* (c. 1620), by Fletcher and Massinger, is a poor play with a confused plot and no sufficient reason for the catastrophe. On the other hand, *The False One* (c. 1620), by the same authors, i

increasingly popular. Shakespeare was difficult. Shakespeare was a dramatist of the highest order using poetry of the highest order as his medium. The meaner minds of Jacobean days declined to follow the poet's eye as it glanced from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven. Further, the great tragedies of Shakespeare were too lofty for the shallowness, shamelessness and frivolity of the new court. This was no longer the age of the Virgin Queen; it was the age of James I and his minions Carr and Villiers. Even Shakespeare was moved to abandon tragedy for romantic tragi-comedy in his last years. *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale*, though in their best parts far beyond the scope of Beaumont and Fletcher, are nevertheless in the Beaumont and Fletcher manner. The new age demanded shows and entertainments which did not make any serious appeal to the intellect; hence, on the one hand, the increasing passion for court masques of extravagant splendour and, on the other, the eager appetite for plays with plots that provided thrilling excitement and surprises. One is oddly reminded of the recent craze for revues, cabarets, ballets and crime stories. Elizabethan seriousness was out of fashion in Jacobean times, just as Victorian seriousness is out of fashion in present times Further, there was a lowering of moral standards and a setting up of affected notions of "honour"—"honour" being merely a mode of self-consciousness; and in the new comedies the new public found a new style of conversation which amused it without fatiguing it. "Shakespeare to thee was dull", exclaimed the dramatist Cartwright, addressing Fletcher, with the conviction of a young critic assuring a young poet that Tennyson and Browning are abolished; and Dryden, comparing Beaumont and Fletcher with Shakespeare, said that "they understood and imitated the conversation of gentlemen much better".

Beaumont had invention; Fletcher drew his stories from the usual sources, and most happily from Cervantes and other Spanish writers; but although this was the golden age of Spanish drama, no play of Fletcher's appears to have been founded on any known Spanish play. He wrote with great ease and seems to have [illegible] not any particular scenes, but the lyrics, of which there are over seventy, the best known being the invocation to Melancholy, "Hence all you vain delights" in *The Nice Valour*.

The so-called "Beaumont and Fletcher" plays are traditionally classified as tragedies, tragi-comedies and comedies. [illegible] class. We will take a rapid survey of the more serious plays first, giving approximate dates of production. *The Faithfull Shepheardesse* (acted

manner. These are *The Little French Lawyer* (c. 1619) by Fletcher and Massinger, *The Nice Valour*, an apparent revision of Fletcher (c. 1624), and *The Humorous Lieutenant* (c. 1619) by Fletcher, probably with assistance. A combination of romance and comedy is found in *The Spanish Curate* (c. 1622) by Fletcher and Massinger. *Wit At severall Weapons* is a poor play of unknown date and its authorship is very uncertain. *Wit Without Money* (c. 1614), by Fletcher alone, is much better, having at least a tolerably well connected plot and lively dialogue. *The Womans Prize: or, The Tamer Tamed* (date unknown), by Fletcher, is a supposed continuation of the marriage experiences of Petruchio, the tamer of the Shrew. *The Night-Walker, or the Little Theife* (of uncertain date) has more of London local colour than any of the rest, but this is probably due to Shirley, who worked upon the play after Fletcher's death. *Monsieur Thomas* (date uncertain), by Fletcher alone, can hardly be called a good play though it has a good story. On the other hand, *The Chances* (date uncertain) and *The Wild-Goose Chase* (acted 1621), perhaps by Fletcher alone, stand in the first rank among his comedies; in them we see the lively style of dialogue which gained him the reputation of "understanding the conversation of gentlemen". *The Wild-Goose Chase* is the original of Farquhar's *The Inconstant*. Of all Fletcher's comedies *Rule a Wife And have a Wife* (c. 1624) was the most popular and kept the stage longest, and it is certainly a good specimen of its kind. *Loves Cure* (c. 1622) contains little that can be ascribed to Fletcher. *The Noble Gentleman* and *The Elder Brother* were both produced upon the stage after Fletcher's death. The former is a rather poor play, and has no apparent traces of his hand; the latter, one of the best comedies of the collection, is by Fletcher and Massinger. The construction is good and the characterization excellent.

It was said by Dryden in his essay *Of Dramatick Poesy* that in Beaumont and Fletcher's plays the English language perhaps arrived at its highest perfection. What Dryden meant was that the language of the plays had escaped the perils of Elizabethan metaphor and "conceit" and had attained to something like directness and lucidity of statement. To this achievement Fletcher contributed most; but we must not overlook the share of Massinger, whose poetical eloquence contributes much to the grace of style in the later plays. The popularity of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays throughout the seventeenth century had definite influence upon the development of the classical, Augustan style in the eighteenth. But, in the end, we are forced to admit that this large mass of work has left us little that is permanently memorable. Even if we assent to the supposition that Shakespeare "imitated" Beaumont and Fletcher in his last romantic comedies, we shall do well to remember that everybody knows Caliban and Miranda, Autolycus and Perdita, Imogen and the royal outlaws, and

originally by Fletcher, but extensively revised by Massinger. The

author's dramatic romances. *Loves Pilgrimage* (date uncertain) is a romance from Cervantes, apparently rewritten by Shirley with insertions from Jonson's *The New Inn*. *The Faire Maide of the Inne* (1626) was produced after Fletcher's death, and it is doubtful whether he had any hand in it. Another example of a drama wrongly ascribed to Beaumont and Fletcher in the folio of 1679 is *The Coronation*, which is known to be by Shirley. On the other hand, *A Very Woman*, ascribed to Massinger, is in part by Fletcher. *The Faithful*

tioned in another connection—*Henry VIII* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Of the first we may say (borrowing Heywood's phrase) that Fletcher had a hand in it; of the second that Shakespeare may have had a finger in it.

We pass next to the comedies. *The Woman Hater* (c. 1606), generally attributed to Beaumont alone, turns upon the humorous eccentricity of the principal character, a feature also

(c. 1610) we have a romantic comedy with two distinct plots, Beaumont probably contributing the romance and Fletcher the comedy. In the other comedies Beaumont had probably no hand. Fletcher is the predominant partner, though other writers worked with him. Several of the plays may be classed together as exhibiting the Jonsonian concern with "humours", though not the Jonsonian

conventional and their vices monstrous; but he contrives to fit them with appropriate language. There are some passages of fine eloquence in Massinger, genuinely part of the texture, and not tacked on, like his most famous purple patch, the Roman actor's defence of his calling.

The names and the dates of production of Massinger's plays can be simply stated together. *The Duke of Millaine. A Tragaedie* (before 1623); *The Unnaturall Combat. A Tragedie* (before 1623); *The Bond-Man: An Antient Storie* (1623); *The Renegado, A Tragaecomedie* (1624); *The Parliament of Love, A Comedy* (1624, not printed till 1805); *A New Way to Pay Old Debts. A Comoedie* (before 1626); *The Roman Actor. A Tragaedie* (1626); *The Maid of Honour* (1626); *The Great Duke of Florence. A Comicall Historie* (1627); *The Picture. A Trage-comedie* (1629); *The Emperour Of The East. A Tragae-Comedie* (1631); *Believe as you list. A Comedy* (1631, not printed till 1849); *The City Madam, A Comedie* (1632); *The Guardian, A Comical History* (1633); *A Very Woman. A Tragi-Comedy* (1634); *The Bashful Lover. A Tragi-Comedy* (1636). To these must be added the collaborations with Fletcher and Dekker, and *The Fatall Dowry: A Tragedy* (published 1632), written with Nathan Field. The general character of these plays has already been indicated. Brief notes on a few typical examples will suffice. *The Unnatural Combat* is a tragedy of the exaggerated type, with a tremendous villain Malefort, who slaughters his son and burns like Cenci with incestuous passion for his daughter. *The Duke of Milan* is another excessive tragedy, with another great villain, Francisco, who forces a fatal conclusion by painting the lips of dead Marcelia with poison, that Sforza, kissing them, may die. *The Bond-Man* retells the story, as old as Herodotus, of the revolt and subjugation of the slaves. *The Renegado*, with its scene in Tunis, gives us a clash of East and West with a happy ending for Christianity—an ending about as honest as the despoiling of Shylock. *The Parliament of Love* is founded on the southern Courts of Love. *The Roman Actor*, which has Domitian for villain, is a tragedy of imperial lust and cruelty, with a highly dramatic use of play within play. *The Great Duke of Florence* is a courtly comedy of no great value with Cosimo dei Medici as a benevolent tyrant. *The Maid of Honour*, a much stronger play, contains stirring scenes of love and war, with a truly heroic heroine, Camiola, and the inevitable woman wooing a man, this time not lecherously. *The Picture*, an excellent comedy, is based on the old story of a portrait which changes as the subject begins to prove unfaithful. *The Emperor of the East*, with Theodosius the younger, Pulcheria and Eudocia as chief characters, comes to a rather impotent conclusion. Massinger is at his best, not in his unnatural tragedies, but in two comedies. *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* held the stage down to the close of the nineteenth century. Hazlitt's account of Edmund Kean's performance as Sir Giles Overreach is a kind of

that nobody, except a few special readers, can recall any character from Beaumont and Fletcher. To have crowded the stage with [illegible]

VI. PHILIP MASSINGER

The life of Philip Massinger (1583–1640) was, by his own account, not very prosperous; but his works show no sign of defeat and indicate a courageous spirit. He did not hesitate to make political re- [illegible]

(1632) he complains of the harsh treatment of his play, written carefully and harmlessly:

> And yet thus poor work suffer'd by the rage
> And envy of some Catos of the stage.

His intellectual courage was shown in a very striking way. In an age when Jesuit priest was synonymous with detested spy and traitor, when Dekker in *The Whore of Babylon*, Barnes in *The Devil's Charter*, and Middleton in *A Game at Chess* held up to public execration Rome and all its ways and works, Massinger in *The Renegado* makes Francisco, a Jesuit priest, the "true religious friend" of all the characters for whom the sympathy of the audience is engaged.

As we have seen, Massinger began as a collaborator with Fletcher, [illegible] their joint produc- [illegible] -page of *The Virgin* [illegible] ilip Messenger and Thomas Dekker". Massinger began his work when the inevitable "younger generation" thought Shakespeare fair game for their wit and hailed with enthusiasm the superficial excitements of Fletcher. That Massinger was influenced by Fletcher is clear, but his constructive art is more severe and economical. He had literary skill but he had no true literary personality; and when he borrows images from Shakespeare he uses them with no profit to himself A comparative survey of the women of Shakespeare and of Massinger shows how rapidly the moral character of the English stage had changed. The younger generation demanded sexual stimulation, and this Fletcher and Massinger provided. The seduction of a youth by an experienced woman is a device he used more than once. As a stimulant of another kind Massinger gives scenes of prolonged and repeated physical torture. The virtues of Massinger's characters are

than to literature. We may note that though no single character emerges with any conviction of verisimilitude, the two plays are as homogeneous as, say, Verdi's "revenge" opera, *Il Trovatore*; but what is more profitable to remark is that the author is a poet whose imagination is poisoned by the sense of universal vanity and corruption, but who lights up his festering material with flashes of genius, and who is capable of rising to visions of grace, beauty and truth.

We know nothing certain about the life of John Webster (1580?–1625?). His literary activity falls into three periods: the first, that of collaboration and apprenticeship (1602–7); the second, that of the two great tragedies (1610–14); the third, that of the tragi-comedies beginning about 1620. Of these the first is unimportant. He contributed to *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (printed 1607); he made some additions to Marston's *The Malcontent*; with Dekker he collaborated in the pleasant citizen comedies, *Westward Ho* and *Northward Ho*, already mentioned. The real Webster begins at the period of his two great tragedies. The first of these, printed in 1612, is called in full *The White Divel: Or the Tragedy of Paulo Giordano Ursini, Duke of Brachiano, With the Life and Death of Vittoria Corombona the famous Venetian Curtizan*. The second, printed in 1623, but written probably ten years before, is *The Tragedy of the Dutchesse of Malfy*. Among people of his own day Webster had not the vogue of Beaumont and Fletcher; but later criticism has pronounced his genius to be of a higher and rarer kind. His debt to Shakespeare has often been pointed out. It appears in many turns of thought, phrase and character. But more important than any resemblance is the originality of his contribution to the development of the Elizabethan drama; and, in particular, his place among the dramatists of revenge. Here, he falls into line with the long succession of writers, beginning with Kyd, who took up the tale of Seneca's *Thyestes* and *Agamemnon* and, during more than twenty years, rang all the changes upon the theme of vengeance. The development of the revenge motive in drama is an interesting subject for study. The "ghost", which survives as late as Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, disappears, and the avenging "hero" tends to become a villain, with revenge as his excuse. As a last refinement there may be forgiveness and atonement. In a sense *The Tempest* is the noblest of revenge plays. There is no ghost in *The Revenger's Tragedy* and, at the very moment of victory, the cup of triumph is dashed from the lips of the "revenger". In *The Atheist's Tragedy* vengeance is thrust down from the rank of duties, and forgiveness is exalted in its stead. *The White Devil* shows a further variation. Revenge for innocent blood is once more the main theme of the dramatist; but it appears, not as a duty, but as a passion, the vindictive rancour of wounded pride; and our sympathies are no longer with the avengers, but with

monument to Massinger as well. *The City Madam* is an excellent [illegible]

Rowe as *The Fair Penitent* and was more successful than any play of [illegible]

[illegible] creations and hold the memory when the characters of Beaumont and Fletcher are forgotten.

VII. TOURNEUR AND WEBSTER

Tourneur and Webster form a pair of dramatists remarkable for [illegible] us personally. [illegible] *e Transformed* [illegible] Vere in 1609, and *A Griefe on the Death of Prince Henrie* in 1613. None of them deserves notice. Tourneur interests us solely as the reputed author of two plays: *The Revengers Tragaedie* (anon. 1607) and *The Atheist's Tragedie... Written by Cyril Tourneur* (1611) The earlier, anonymous play was regularly attributed to Tourneur during the seventeenth century. These two works raise several problems with which we must here deal summarily. Were they both anonymous, should we attribute them to the same author? Scholars differ in their answers to this question, and mention, rather timidly, some possible authors for the better and earlier play. But their arguments for separate authorship are, in the main, insecurely based on the superiority of the earlier play to the later We assume, of course, that dates of publication represent dates of composition Reasoning of this kind belongs to the text book, not to criticism. Lateness does not always imply superiority to earliness. A writer may attempt to repeat an early success and produce nothing but an inferior imitation. A more particular question about Tourneur's work is this: Are the two works sufficiently alike in matter, style and tone to be attributed to the same author? The answer must be that they are more like each other than either is like anything else of the time, and the balance of probability is that the same hand wrote both. Another question is this: if both plays were anonymous, could they be clearly assigned, separately or jointly, to any known authors? The answer must be that though both plays are "revenge" tragedies, of which we have numerous [illegible]

twenty he is writing prose and verse romantic in spirit, and showing a tolerant attitude towards unconventional conduct. *The Monarches Meeting*, appended to this pamphlet, is an early instance of the stanza of Gray's *Elegy*. Ford's non-dramatic work closes with *A Line of Life* (1620), a didactic tract on conduct, apparently influenced by Bacon's *Essays*.

Ford's earliest attempts at dramatic writing were made in collaboration with Dekker. The masque called *The Sun's Darling* can be dismissed as unimportant. His share in *The Witch of Edmonton*, written with Dekker and Rowley, is difficult to identify. The first printed drama of his own was *The Lovers Melancholy*, acted in 1628 and published in the following year. This slow-moving romance of a melancholy prince was clearly influenced by Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* and by the "reunion" or "recognition" plays of Shakespeare's latter days, *The Winter's Tale*, *Cymbeline* and *Pericles*. Its good qualities revealed a poet who only needed discipline in stagecraft to achieve distinction. Ford acquired this technical skill with wonderful rapidity, if we are correct in supposing *The Broken Hear* (printed in 1633) to have been his next play. The plot shows muc originality, though Lamb has over-praised both the conduct of the drama and the heroism of Calantha, its heroine. We do not, really, believe in any of it. In Ford's next tragedy, *Loves Sacrifice* (printed 1633), illicit passion is the main subject. *Tis Pitty Shees a Whore* (printed 1633) is the tragedy most frequently cited as evidence of Ford's "decadent" tendencies. Actually the play gives no such evidence. Incest between brother and sister is toyed with as a theatrical titillation in Beaumont and Fletcher's *A King and no King*, and is there disgusting; in *Tis Pity She's a Whore* the theme is used tragically, and is not disgusting, but is something almost as disconcerting: it is unconvincing. Ford has not the power to make us believe in the overmastering urgency of a passion that must inevitably be fatal to both lovers. To Ford, as to other contemporary dramatists, incest was a theme for a play; we are not to suppose that there was any intended challenge to accepted morality.

The air clears in *Perkin Warbeck* (printed 1634), a successful return o the chronicle-history, which had scarcely been touched for a generation. Obviously inspired by Shakespeare, the play really ucceeds with a singularly difficult subject. The comedy of *The ancies, Chast and Noble* (printed 1638) is much less important, and eals (like some other plays) with supposed male impotence. The list Ford's extant plays closes with the romantic and unimportant medy, *The Ladies Triall* (acted 1638).

t is customary to adduce Ford as a special case of "decadence" in Elizabethan drama. But there is plenty of "decadence" (to use stronger word) in Ford's contemporaries, especially in Fletcher

their victim. This change is even clearer in *The Duchess of Malfi*, for the victim of the avengers now appears as the heroine; and, as if to mark the change most unmistakably, the whole of the last act is devoted to the nemesis which falls upon the avengers. The old motive of revenge as a sacred duty—the motive of *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Hamlet*—is thus weakened almost to extinction.

Three more plays of [illegible] Webster—*The Devils La*[illegible] perhaps with W. Rowl[illegible]

[illegible] thought and phrase that suggest the author's spiritual affinity with Donne.

Webster lives as the author of two tragedies which are great even though they tend to lapse into a chaos of melodramatic horror. Vittoria and the Duchess are among the great creations of the Elizabethan drama, surpassed by none outside Shakespeare. Further, [illegible] the strongest contrast with the wild waste of the other dramatists of blood. His work has noticeable pictorial quality and suggests kinship [illegible]

VIII. FORD AND SHIRLEY

The publication of the First Folio of Shakespeare in 1623 had a twofold influence. Dramatists now possessed numerous printed examples for study and had precedent for producing dramas to be read as well as seen. Ford and Shirley are notable examples of this literary stage of development.

John Ford (1586–1639?) was a man of independent mind and capable of espousing unpopular causes. Thus, his first publication, *Fames Memoriall* (1606), is an elegy on Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, who had lived under a cloud and died out of favour. Ford's romantic tendencies were further displayed in his *Honor Triumphant; or the Peeres Challenge, by Armes Defensible etc.* (1606). In this there is nothing important beyond the fact that at the age of

Changes: Or, Love in a Maze (1632), *Hide Park* (1632), which presents a realistic picture of fashionable life, *The Ball* (1632), written with Chapman, *The Gamester* (1633), *The Example* (1634) and *The Lady of Pleasure* (1635), which is usually regarded as Shirley's best example in its kind. *The Constant Maid* belongs to the Irish period and is not remarkable. Unless otherwise described, the dates are dates of production.

Fourteen plays can be included in the class of romantic comedy. The scenes are laid in Mediterranean countries and the action usually takes place at court. *The Brothers* (1626), with a scene in Madrid, is however, not a court comedy. In *The Gratefull Servant* (1629) the type of romantic comedy is thoroughly established. *The Bird in a Cage* (printed 1633) contains a sarcastic attack on Prynne, then in prison. *The Young Admirall* (1633) was admired as being in the "beneficial and cleanly way of poetry". *The Opportunitie* (1640) and *The Coronation* (1635) call for no comment—except that the latter was absurdly included in the 1679 folio of "Beaumont and Fletcher". *The Royall Master* (1638), *The Doubtfull Heir* (1640) and *The Gentleman of Venice* (1639) belong to the Dublin period. *The Arcadia* (1640) boldly attempts to dramatize Sidney's romance. *The Humorous Courtier* (printed 1640) is not remarkable, but *The Imposture* (1640) is a cleverly manipulated piece of complicated invention. *The Sisters* (1642) was the last play by Shirley performed before the theatres were closed. *The Court Secret*, the latest of Shirley's regular dramas, was not acted till after the Restoration.

Other miscellaneous pieces remain to be mentioned. The most curious of these is an extraordinary medley, something between a chronicle play and a miracle play, written for the Dublin theatre, and called *St. Patrick for Ireland* (printed 1640). Interesting in a different way is the allegorical drama, *Honoria and Mammon* (pub. 1659), an elaboration of a morality, *A Contention for Honour and Riches*, which Shirley had printed in 1633. *The Tragedie of Chabot Admirall of France* (printed 1639) is ascribed on the title-page of the quarto to Chapman and Shirley. Besides the masques introduced into nine or ten of his plays, Shirley has left three separate productions of this class: *The Triumph of Peace* (printed 1633), *The Triumph of Beauty* (printed 1646) and *Cupid and Death* (performed 1653). *The Contention of Ajax and Ulisses for the Armor of Achilles* (printed 1659), often described as a masque, is a short dramatic piece, intended for private production.

Shirley was not a great dramatist, and he suffers by comparison with his predecessors. But he has merits. He is sometimes tedious, but he is not often gratuitously immoral or sensational. Shirley, unlike Ford, displays genuine comic invention, both in character and in situation. His verse is sound but undistinguished, the one immortal lyric being exceptional.

and Massinger. The difference between Ford and the rest is that he writes with sympathy for the tempted soul and the others write with a desire to exploit the temptation. Ford's sympathy is given [illegible]

Rome. Henrietta Maria was one of his patrons and he was chosen to write the masque, *The Triumph of Peace*, which the four Inns of Court [illegible]

Fire of 1666.

In 1646 Shirley collected and published a number of his non-dramatic poems. Many of them appeared originally as songs in the dramas, or as prologues and epilogues; others are conventional pieces, [illegible] among the [illegible] and state" [illegible] which closes *The Contention of Ajax and Ulisses for the Armor of* [illegible] dramas had [illegible] print, and [illegible] we might think more of him. To describe all his pieces cannot be regarded as necessary or desirable in a brief summary. Of the plays that are tragic or semi-tragic, the earliest is *The Maides Revenge* (1626) *The Traytor*, one of his strongest, appeared in 1631, which was also the year of *Loves Crueltie*. *The Dukes Mistris* (1636) and *The Polititian* [illegible] entirely unworthy.

The comedy of Shirley falls into two main classes, the comedy of manners and romantic comedy. The scenes of the comedies of manners are, for the most part, laid in London [illegible] dramatic attempt, *Love Tricks: or, the Schoole of Complement* (1625). This was followed by *The Wedding* (1626), *The Wittie Faire One* (1628), which is bright in dialogue and ingenious in construction,

lost his Pearle (printed 1614) is another single play, by an unknown Robert Tailor. It is less good than *Greenes Tu Quoque*, though, like that, full of interest for the student of Jacobean London.

With Nathan Field (1587?–1633?) we reach, not a belated Elizabethan, but a true Jacobean, a follower of Ben Jonson, and an actor in his plays. Like Armin he is immortalized among the actors named in the First Folio of Shakespeare. Jonson called Field "his scholar". His first play, *A Woman is a Weather-cocke*, was produced in 1610. His second play, *Amends for Ladies*, followed soon after, and was intended to atone for the anti-feminism of its predecessor. Field's wit is considerable and is not a mere copy of Jonson. Besides writing these two comedies, Field collaborated with Fletcher in *The Fatal Dowry*. Richard Brome (pronounced Broom), like Field, was a literary son of Ben Jonson, and was traditionally supposed to have been educated by him. Fifteen of Brome's plays have come down to us. Four of these were published in quarto in Brome's lifetime; five were printed together in 1653, shortly after his death (1652); five in 1659; and one other, in quarto, in 1657. The plays can be conveniently classed as comedies of manners, romantic comedies and romantic dramas of intrigue. These divisions exhibit Brome's debt to Jonson, for the first class is much the largest, and includes nine plays, *The Northern Lasse, The Antipodes, The Sparagus Garden, Covent Garden Weeded, The New Academy, or The New Exchange, The Damoiselle, The Court Beggar, The Madd Couple well matcht, The City Witt*. The brightest and best of Brome's comedies of manners is *The City Witt, or The Woman wears the Breeches*, and it is the best because it most successfully keeps in one key. Brome's masterpiece, *A Joviall Crew, or the Merry Beggars*, was his latest play. It was produced in 1641 and kept the stage till it came to be the very last play acted before Parliament closed the theatres in 1642. *A Jovial Crew*, with three others, *The Love-sick Court*, *The Novella* and *The English Moor*, form Brome's plays of romantic intrigue. *The Queen and Concubine* and *The Queenes Exchange* are typical of Brome's pure romantic manner. The first is better than the second and shows capacity in its kind. Brome's art is simple and fresh, and his work reveals a genuine courageous character.

Among Jonson's most eager admirers was Thomas Randolph (1605–1635), a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. By the time he made Jonson's acquaintance he had written his two earliest "shews"—*Aristippus* and *The Conceited Pedler*, which were printed in 1630. The marvellous agility of the rhyming in *Aristippus* recalls Browning's feats in that kind. In March 1632, King Charles visited Cambridge, and the Trinity men acted before him *The Jealous Lovers*, written for the occasion. It is Randolph's only failure. After the king's visit, Randolph left Cambridge for London. His best play *The Muses Looking-Glasse* was presented about 1632. His fine

IX. LESSER JACOBEAN AND CAROLINE DRAMATISTS

[illegible]

can receive but short notice.

John Day (c. 1574–c. 1640), mentioned on p. 289, was one of Henslowe's men. His comedy *The Ile of Guls* (printed 1606), has a plot taken from Sidney's *Arcadia*. *Law-Trickes, or Who would have Thought it* and *Humour out of Breath* (both printed 1608), exhibit the neatness and compactness of Day's dialogue. *The Parliament of Bees*—this being but the beginning of an extensive title—is a set of twelve short dialogues in verse or a series of pastoral eclogues. It was not published till 1641. The music of Day's verse is sweet and unostentatious. One who seems a wanderer into the realm of Jacobean drama is the [illegible]

an actor, who succeeded Kemp as Dogberry. His single play, printed 1609, is entitled *The History of the two Maids of More-clacke; With the life and simple manner of John in the Hospitall*. Armin probably did no more than provide his own fool's part, and had the rest written by other hands. The play has genuine dramatic power, forcible eloquence and fine poetry. His other compositions, not plays, are *Foole upon Foole, or, Six Sortes of Sottes* (1605), a prose tract, amplified, in 1608, into *A Nest of Ninnies*, and *The Italian Taylor and his Boy* (1609), a verse translation from the Italian, written with considerable dexterity. Armin had earlier notoriety as a pamphleteer, [illegible]

early in 1606, and *Cupids Whirligig*, produced about a year later. Both plays were frequently reprinted, and were evidently popular farces. Much better than these is the single play *Ram-Alley or Merrie* [illegible]

a peculiarly disreputable region and the play abounds in coarseness. Many echoes from Shakespeare's plays are introduced, by way of parody and of imitation. *Greenes Tu Quoque or The Cittie Gallant*, a successful farcical comedy, was printed in 1614 as by "Jo Cooke, Gent." of whom nothing whatever is known. The "Greene" of the title is Thomas Greene the actor who made it popular. *The Hogge hath*

One striking figure stands out among the mediocrities. In 1642, the year of the closing of the theatres, Sir John Suckling (b. 1609) poisoned himself in Paris. All his plays are not worth his handful of incomparable lyrics; but they have some salt of genius in them. *Aglaura* (1638), a tragedy of court intrigue, contains the famous, "Why so pale and wan, fond lover?" *The Goblins* was probably written next; it was acted in 1638, and is Suckling's best play. Sheridan knew this and used it. "Here's to the maiden" was suggested by a catch in *The Goblins.* The tragedy *Brennoralt* is a work of higher level. It did not appear till 1646; but it had been printed in a shorter form in 1640 as *The Discontented Colonell.* Suckling's style perceptibly strengthens in the play. It has a general note of Byronic melancholy which Suckling's own suicide makes more significant. A friend and companion in arms of Suckling, who died before him, was Shackerley Marmion (1603-39), author of the considerable poem *Cupid and Psyche.* He produced three comedies before his poem, not, as we should expect, in the romantic vein, but all of them rather thin imitations of Jonson. They are *Hollands Leaguer* (1632), *A Fine Companion* (1633), and *The Antiquary* (1634), the last being the best.

Some of the later Jacobean dramatists initiated the type of play which, in its full development at the Restoration, came to be known as the "heroic drama". In this connection the tragi-comedies of Lodowick Carlell have importance. Carlell (said to be of the stock which produced Carlyle) was a Scot. His plays are *The Deserving Favourite* (1629), *Arviragus and Philicia* (1639), *The Passionate Lovers* (1655), and *Two New Playes, Viz* 1. *The Fool would be a Favourit.* (2) *Osmond, the Great Turk* (1657). The degeneration of the great blank verse instrument of drama is specially to be remarked. Dryden's use of rhyme was certainly needed to bring back some form into this chaos. The plays of Henry Glapthorne are examples of decay in style. His comedies, *The Hollander* (1640) and *Wit in a Constable* (1640), at their worst sink as low as Cartwright and, at their best, touch the level of Mayne or Nabbes; but his more serious works, *The Ladies Priviledge* (1640), *Argalus and Parthenia* (1639) and *Albertus Wallenstein* (1639), are at least no worse than the parallel efforts of Carlell, Mayne, Cartwright, or Thomas Killigrew, the last of whom wrote a folio of unimportant plays. But it is William D'Avenant whose work best enables us to observe the transition to the heroic drama of Dryden. His first two plays were tragedies in Fletcher's grimmest style, and these were followed by two able comedies which enjoyed considerable popularity. After 1630, illness incapacitated him for several years. When he resumed work his style had altered, and four plays, *Love and Honour, The Platonick Lovers, The Fair Favourite,* and *The Unfortunate Lovers,* acted 1634-8, show him in the "heroic" vein, and as the leading ex-

pastoral *Amyntas* (c. 1633) has merits, but it challenges comparison with finer work by Jonson and Fletcher, whereas *The Muses Looking-Glasse* is unique of its kind. Randolph died at the age of twenty-nine; and his achievement, considerable as it is, is an earnest only of what his matured powers might have given us.

The lesser dramatists who occupied the stage from the later years of James to the closing of the theatres exhibit either mediocrity or pretentious extr[illegible]

[illegible] tragi-comedy, [illegible], written about 1620. *The* [illegible] a play of Jonsonian intrigue and manners. After producing these plays, May turned to the work by which he is best known—his translations of the *Georgics* and of Lucan's *Pharsalia*. Jonson's influence and that of the classics turned May to classical drama, and he produced three tragedies, *Antigone, The Theban Princess* (c. 1626), *Cleopatra* (1626) and *Julia Agrippina* (1628). It has been suggested that he is the author of the anonymous *Nero* (ptd. 1624). May's tragedies are a pale reflection of *Sejanus* and *Catiline*. The meritorious activity of Robert Davenport begins in 1623. Three of his plays survive [illegible] and a tragedy. The traged[illegible]

[illegible] before or after 1610 [illegible] comedies. They all belong to the [illegible] *Divell* are *and Saint*[illegible] produced his *Hannibal* [illegible] his *Microcosmus* (printed [illegible] work is to be found in his [illegible]*-Garden, Totenham-Court* and *The Bride*, acted 1632, 1633 and 1638. Nabbes breaks away from the prevailing coarse type of comedy intended to hit the taste of the man about town.

Two writers who were among the "sons of Ben" and of great repute in their day need not detain us long. William Cartwright (1611–43) rose to be the most noted man in his university of Oxford as a strenuous scholar, an admired dramatist and a "seraphical" preacher. His first play, probably, was his comedy *The Ordinary*, produced about 1635. This was followed by three tragi-comedies, *The Lady Errant, The Royall Slave* and *The Siedge or Love's Convert*. After taking holy orders in 1638, he did not write any more plays. Jasper Mayne (1604–1672), dramatist, translator and archdeacon, was, like his friend Cartwright, an admired preacher. He produced a tragi-comedy, *The Amorous Warre*, and a comedy, *The Citye Match*, acted at Whitehall by the king's command in 1639. Mayne's most useful contribution to the literature of his country was his *Part of Lucian Made English* (1644).

Round the yard were the buildings of the inn, with galleries off which the rooms opened. Mr Weller had already been conversing from his ground level with a chambermaid leaning over one of the galleries. The essential difference between such an inn-yard and a theatre is small. All that is lacking is a stage, which a platform could soon provide; the sheds and pent-houses were available as retiring and attiring rooms, and it was easy to arrange that characters could, when necessary for the action, be seen "above", or be "discovered". The "Bell", the "Bull", the "Cross Keys" and the "Bell Savage", all within the City of London, were the scenes of theatrical performances in Elizabethan times; and that fact brings us to another point of importance. The authorities of the City of London were unsympathetic to theatrical performances. There were good reasons in Elizabethan times. Theatrical performances attracted crowds of undesirables. They tempted people from their proper work, especially apprentices, who were as turbulent as the "students" in those parts of Europe where political revolutions used to be habitual. Moreover the close pack of groundlings communicated all the infectious diseases. And so we have the curious spectacle of the royal court desiring theatrical performances and the municipality determined to have neither play-houses nor play-going. The opposition of the City [illegible]". In th[illegible]was countered by the erection of a theatre just [illegible]ll have import[illegible]urisdiction. So in 1576 Elizabethan London [illegible] Carlyle) was [illegible]ed The Theater, in Shoreditch, outside the B[illegible] *Arvirargus* [illegible]o the City. It is associated with the Burbage fa[illegible] *New Playe*[illegible]his sons Richard and Cuthbert. The Theater, like [illegible] *Great Turk* [illegible]mediate successors, was a round open building—the i[illegible]ment [illegible]fact, rounded for the convenience of the spectators. The [illegible]theatre, The Curtain, was a kind of chapel-of-ease to The Theater, near which it was built, but on the Moorfields side. It was built about 1577 and was used till 1592. Apparently it was reconditioned in 1596. For London's next theatre we have to cross the river at London Bridge and go through Southwark to Newington Butts. The Newington Theatre is first mentioned in 1580; but it did not las[illegible]ng; it was too far away from London. The fourth London theatre (1587–92) was one of the most celebrated, The Rose, belonging to Philip Henslowe, an acute man of business, whose various undertakings would have earned him in later days the title of captain of industry. The Rose Theatre was, for Henslowe, not an artistic hobby but a business speculation. Here appeared Edward Alleyn, greatest actor of his time as Tamburlaine and Faustus; and here Henslowe kept his account book or diary of expenses which, tangled and almost incomprehensible as it is, is a document of the highest importance in the history of Elizabethan drama. The Swan, another Bankside theatre, was probably ready for use in 1595.

ponent of the cult of platonic love, of which Henrietta Maria herself was the patron. D'Avenant lived to revive the theatre shortly before the Restoration and to contribute to its literature after that date. He will, therefore, receive some further notice in a later chapter.

X. THE ELIZABETHAN THEATRE

When Elizabeth came to the throne, she found attached to the court not only musicians and minstrels, but eight players of interludes. Companies of such players had long been attached to the households of men of rank, whose "livery" or badge they wore on their sleeves. A few months after her accession, Elizabeth issued a proclamation ordering that no interlude should be played without being announced beforehand and licensed by appropriate authorities; and in 1572 the status of unattached companies was finally settled by a law pro- [illegible]

bonds. The early part of Elizabeth's reign saw not only the triumph [illegible]

this volume. In earlier chapters we have seen the development of [illegible]

in later, and was very properly suspected. The earliest professional performers, descendants of the fallen minstrels, were literally mountebanks. They stood up in the market-place with the jugglers and the vendors of medicines. If we think of entertainers at popular seaside resorts we shall understand the development of the theatre in pre- [illegible]

personal shows.

When performers became a troupe, the market-place was less suitable than the kind of inn-yard which survived as late as the cele- [illegible] Wardle [illegible] found [illegible]

tinued in use till 1642. The office of *The Times* newspaper now stands on its site.

The Red Bull in Clerkenwell is almost entirely post-Elizabethan, so is The Cockpit, a private theatre in Drury Lane, used from 1615 to 1642. Near Blackfriars was the old priory of the Carmelites or Whitefriars, the hall of which was used from about 1608 to 1609 for dramatic performances. Later on (1629) a play-house was built close by known as The Salisbury Court. Salisbury Square, in "Newspaper land" off Fleet Street, indicates its position.

The theatres were closed by order when London had its regular visitation of "the plague", and sometimes a theatre was closed for a period for disciplinary reasons, when a play had given offence to the court. During long closures the actors went on tour, usually in a company below the London strength, and gave adaptations of their London successes. Thus, Leicester's company played at Stratford-on-Avon in 1587. There was little difficulty in fitting an Elizabethan play to any building, because the Elizabethan theatre had no stage in the modern sense. The Elizabethan theatre had a platform-stage projecting into the auditorium; the modern theatre has a picture-stage framed by the proscenium. The difference is vital. On the picture-stage the characters converse; on the platform-stage the characters declaim. On the picture-stage there is visual illusion, and the illusion makes possible dramatic pauses in the action; on the platform-stage there is no visual illusion, and there can be no pauses —the action must be incessant, and there must be an ever-flowing stream of words. A stream of speech was as imperative in an Elizabethan play as a stream of song in a Rossini opera. There was good and bad speech as there was good and bad singing. That declamation sometimes became ranting we know from *Hamlet*; and the clowns often upset the balance of a play. There were no unities of time or place on the Elizabethan stage, because there was no need for them. Anything can be supposed to happen on a vast empty platform. But it must not be supposed that the Elizabethan stage had any theories of austerity. It loved trappings and costumes and effects and would have had scenery had scenery been possible. But speech—speech swift, unbroken, rhythmical, musical—that was the life of an Elizabethan play.

The dramatic companies developed naturally from the entertainers who formed part of royal and noble households. Court pageants and revels need performers. Philostrate, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, managed the dramatic entertainments at the court of Theseus, Duke of Athens, as Goethe managed the dramatic entertainments at the court of the Grand Duke of Weimar. The history of the Elizabethan dramatic companies does not concern us. In the most flourishing days the two main companies were "the Admiral's

Dram[illegible] cele[illegible] The [illegible] would hold three th[illegible] number is not so surp[illegible] it represents about 1½ per cent of the total population of London and Westminster—a population greatly addicted to public amusements, from bear-baiting to executions.

The most famous of all Elizabethan play-houses, The Globe in Bankside, Southwark, literally rose out of The Theater, for when [illegible] with Shakespeare as one of the company, and here were produced the greatest glories of our literature It was a syndicate business, and [illegible] in 1613. It rose from its ashes and remained in use till 1642. The Globe, like the other major theatres, was large An audi[illegible] is mentioned by a foreign visito[illegible] Theatre is kn[illegible] Th[illegible] suc[illegible] the [illegible] was built The Fortune pla[illegible] instead of round It was opened in 1600 and burned down in 1621, and with it perished many unprinted manuscript plays. Another Bankside venture of Henslowe's was The Hope, newly built as a theatre in 1613. It had no important history. Across the river, however, at Blackfriars, was the old Dominican monastery building, part of which had been used by the Master of the Revels, and was leased to Richard Farrant in 1576, Master of the Windsor Chapel Children, ostensibly for practice, but actually for public performances This theatrical occupation by various companies of boy actors lasted from 1576 to 1590 and forms the first period of The Blackfriars Theatre A new chapter begins in 1596 [illegible] James was succeeded in the enterprise by his famous son Richard. It will be seen that The Blackfriars Theatre was almost contemporary with The Globe. The Corporation of the City of London, not approving of a theatre within its borders, tried to close it in 1619; but the Privy Council interfered, and The Blackfriars Theatre con-

London, was empowered to "take up" children for the chapel. Edwards was succeeded by William Hunnis, who in his turn was succeeded by Nathaniel Giles in 1597. The most famous master of the children of the Windsor Chapel was Richard Farrant, who ruled from 1564 to 1580, and, as we have already seen, arranged dramatic performances at Blackfriars. Distinct from the royal chapel children were boys from the choir school at St Paul's. Under various masters the "Children of Paules" distinguished themselves in dramatic entertainments, first at the school itself and then at the Blackfriars, where they seem to have combined temporarily with the Children of the Chapel. The Children of Paul's were served as dramatist and director by the famous John Lyly; but he began with the Children of the Chapel, and he had no official connection with the school. The combination did not endure, and the Children of Paul's and the Children of the Chapel resumed an independent existence. Soon after the accession of James I the Children of the Revels were dissociated from the Chapel choristers, and in time the craze for boy actors died down. The one boy actor whose name endures is Salomon Pavy, whose untimely death was mourned by Ben Jonson in a beautiful little epigram.

Almost every dramatist of importance had his work played by the children. All the plays of Lyly were acted before the Queen by the "Children of Paules" either alone or with the "Children of her Maiesties Chappel". The children of one or other company produced important plays by Peele, Marlowe, Beaumont and Fletcher, Chapman, Day, Dekker, Ben Jonson, Marston and Middleton. Shakespeare's hostile allusion in *Hamlet*—almost his only direct discussion of contemporary affairs—is specially interesting, as no play of his was given to the public by the children, whose activities he plainly resented.

XII. UNIVERSITY PLAYS: TUDOR AND EARLY STUART PERIODS

An interesting factor in the development of English drama is found in the plays written and performed by members of the two universities on certain occasions. These activities were at first purely educational, but amusement would keep breaking in. Seneca, not Sophocles, was the pattern of the English humanist when he endeavoured to write tragedy, and the earliest extant university plays are Biblical tragedies framed on the Senecan model. Their author was the Nicholas Grimald, whom we have already met as a poet. The first of these, *Christus Redivivus*, printed at Cologne in 1543, combines a Senecan treatment of the Gospel story of the Resurrection, with a comic underplot centring in the four Roman soldiers who

men" and "the Chamberlain's men". Alleyn was the greatest actor among the Admiral's men, Richard Burbage was the greatest actor among the Chamberlain's men. There were no women in the companies, female parts being taken by attractive boys before their voices broke. The Elizabethan boys may not have produced a Siddons or a Terry, but they can scarcely have been worse than many actresses. Actors were, of course, not fixed members of a company, but could be transferred as readily as Association footballers. Plays were [illegible]

[illegible] in a mangled form through various crooked ways. Theatrical finance was mainly conducted on the share system. One share or more [illegible]

[illegible] companies was assured by the issue of licences which brought them directly under royal patronage, and by the statute of March 1604 the Chamberlain's, the Admiral's and Worcester's men became respectively the King's, Prince Henry's and the Queen's. All public theatricals remained directly under royal patronage during the reigns of James I and Charles I, until the ordinance of the Lords and Commons of September 1642 closed the theatres and terminated all performances.

XI. THE CHILDREN OF THE CHAPEL ROYAL AND THEIR MASTERS

An important part in Elizabethan drama was played by boy actors from the royal chapels and the public schools. Children, as we know, can be trained to do almost anything, and their manner in performance is engaging. The chief duty of the boys engaged for the Elizabethan royal chapels in London and Windsor was, of course, to sing at divine service; but they also sang at secular court entertainments, and played in masques and pageants, and then played in more important pieces, until at last, as we know from a famous passage in *Hamlet*, they became a craze, and drew public patronage away from the adult companies. Into the early history of the Children of the Chapel we need not enter, nor need we discuss performances of Latin plays at schools. We may conveniently begin at 1561, when Richard Edwards, master of the royal choristers in

tions from the Italian the only one that need be mentioned is the anonymous *Laelia*, founded upon *Gl' Ingannati*, so near in plot to *Twelfth Night* that some critics have claimed it as the direct source.

The plays so far considered are academic in character. We have now to pass to plays that present studies and incidents of university life. One diverting example is the anti-Harvey *Pedantius*, written c. 1581. For attacks on the Harveys, Latin was the suitable instrument; but when the college playwrights took a hand in the eternal antagonism of "town and gown", they naturally used English. The most famous of such plays is the anonymous *Club Law*, acted about 1599 at Clare, and only recently re-discovered. Broadly contemporary with *Club Law* is the *Parnassus* trilogy, which takes first rank among the productions of the university stage. Only one part was published at the time (1606); the others remained in manuscript till 1886. Whoever he was, this playwright of St John's, Cambridge, was a writer of great gifts. In *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus* and the two parts of *The Return* the author describes the difficulties, the temptations and the hardships of a scholar's life. There are many references to contemporary writers. The several allusions to Shakespeare, obviously meant as sarcastic jests directed at the most popular writer of the day, have been taken solemnly and seriously by some later critics as tributes to the master. The three parts of *Parnassus* should be known to all students of the drama. Another successful Cambridge drama is *Lingua, or The Combat of the Tongue and the five Senses for Superiority* (1607), by Thomas Tomkis. The plot is concerned with the attempt of *Lingua*, the tongue, to vindicate her claim to be a sixth sense. Tomkis also wrote *Albumazar* (1615), revived by Garrick.

Oxford was less fruitful in plays than Cambridge and seems to have required the stimulus of royal visits. King James I and his son Prince Henry visited Oxford in 1605 and special preparations were made to entertain them. But the royal pedant, unlike his predecessor, was not amused. He was inclined to leave half-way through one play and fell asleep at another. But a play produced on the fourth evening made amends. It was *The Queenes Arcadia* by Samuel Daniel, memorable as the first English pastoral drama written for the academic stage—Cambridge having broken the ground first with *Pastor Fidus*, a Latin version of Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*. A curious point in Daniel's charmingly written play is an allusion to the prophecy made by the witches to Banquo, when, as far as we know, *Macbeth* was not yet written. In 1615 King James and Prince Charles went to Cambridge and saw an unsuccessful Latin play, *Aemila*, by Edward Cecil; but ample amends were made on the following evening when, in the hall of Trinity, *Ignoramus*, by George Ruggle, was launched on its triumphant career. James liked *Ignoramus* so much that he returned to Cambridge to see it again.

guard the sepulchre. Grimald's second tragedy, *Archipropheta*, printed at Cologne in 1548, dealt with the career of John the Baptist. A leading spirit at Cambridge was William Stevenson, who is perhaps the author of *Gammer Gurtons Nedle*, though Martin Marprelate persists (perhaps jocularly) in attributing it to Doctor John Bridges. [illegible] rustic speech on the Elizabethan stage.

The golden period of academic drama dates from the visit of Queen Elizabeth to Cambridge in 1564. Here she was entertained [illegible] Shakespearean piece was written. What is remarkable about these entertainments offered to Royalty is their seriousness and the variety of their intellectual appeal. Into the academic society which could produce such pieces presently entered Marlowe, Peele, Greene, and Nashe, and from it they carried lessons destined to exercise a momentous influence on the native drama.

To 1580, but to no special occasion, belongs a famous play acted at St John's College, Cambridge, *Richardus Tertius*, by Thomas Legge (1535–1607), Master of Caius, a writer praised by Meres. It departs from the Senecan model in its disregard of the unities, but it is Senecan in metre, in language, and in excess of declamation. Greene was at Cambridge when the play was produced and Marlowe entered in the following year. Legge's play must have been known to both. A fact worthy of notice is that the two wooing scenes in [illegible] in 1584 in the presence of Sidney, who no doubt rejoiced in its correctness. In his *Dido* George Peele took part. *Oedipus*, of uncertain date, is only partly extant in manuscript; but *Ulysses Redux*, a vigorous dramatization of the end of *The Odyssey*, was printed (1592) soon after its production, and provoked a controversy with John Rainolds [illegible]

was as important to the masque as the imaginative invention of Ben Jonson. The words alone are merely the libretto with the setting left out.

We have already dwelt upon the function and importance of medieval processions. The great spectacle in Westminster Hall in the year 1502 when Prince Arthur was married to Princess Katherine of Aragon was a procession that had become very like an elaborate ballet. Edward Hall the chronicler describes with enthusiasm the pageantry of Henry VIII's reign; and it is Hall who uses the word "mask" in a description of a court festival at the Epiphany in 1512, but the word obviously implies no more than some covering of the faces during the pageant.

A masque in its matter is general rather than particular. It is not intense or individual. It gives us not Hamlet, but Melancholy, not Othello, but Jealousy, not Shylock, but Avarice: and so, in presenting qualities, it can moralize an occasion allegorically instead of exploiting a situation realistically. A masque, therefore, is capable of insertion as an interlude in a play, and we find in Shakespeare, for instance, masques as widely different as the "ostentation, show, pageant or antick" of the Nine Worthies in *Love's Labour's Lost* and the significant "revels" in *The Tempest*. The English poet whose genius is most akin to that of the masque is Spenser. *The Faerie Queene* is an immense undramatic masque. "Entertainments" given by noble persons to a visiting sovereign usually took the form of a masque. One, by Sir Philip Sidney, of considerable merit, has survived, *The May Lady*, presented in 1578, when the Queen visited his uncle, the Earl of Leicester, at Wanstead. Some of Lyly's plays have affinities with the masque. The influence of Lyly upon Jonson is clearly seen in *Cynthia's Revels*, wherein we can discern how a great realist came to succeed as a writer of masques. One famous piece which is neither masque, nor pastoral, nor drama, but something of all three is Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*.

The first court masque after King James's accession was Daniel's *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* (1604); but the greatest of all masques were those of Ben Jonson, who found in that form a release for the poetic activities of his multifarious genius. Ben approached the masque by way of "entertainments". Among these are *The Satyr*, or *Althorp Entertainment* (1603), *The Coronation Entertainment* (1604) and *The Penates*, or *Highgate Entertainment* (1604). Jonson's first court masques were *The Masque of Blackness* (1605) and *The Masque of Beauty* (1608). Between these came *Hymenaei* (1606) to celebrate the marriage of the Earl of Essex and Lady Frances Howard. *Lord Haddington's Masque*, usually called *The Hue and Cry after Cupid*, was produced at court in 1608. Jonson's next royal masque, *The Masque of Queens* (1609), is notable for its use of an "anti-masque", in which

When Charles I and Henrietta Maria visited Cambridge in 1632 they saw *The Rival Friends* by Peter Hausted, and *The Jealous Lovers* by Thomas Randolph. The same royal pair visited Oxford in 1636 when they saw *The Floating Island* by William Strode, with music by Henry Lawes. Equally successful were *Loves Hospitall* by George Wilde and *The Royall Slave* by William Cartwright. The scenic effects by Inigo Jones and the music of Lawes gave great satisfaction. The ... cruit ... was ... d in ... *The Guardian*, remodelled, after the Restoration, into *Cutter of Coleman Street*. But the royal visit to Oxford in 1636 marks the close of these elaborate university displays which had begun with Elizabeth's coming to Cambridge in 1564. When Oxford, some seven years later, again opened its gates to Charles, it was not to entertain him with "masques and triumphs" but to afford him shelter against the forces of the Parliament.

The lesser Elizabethan dramatists were not rediscovered till the nineteenth century: the university dramatists have scarcely been discovered at all, and much of their work remains unprinted. Yet to the academic stage we owe a great variety of compositions, very few of which we have been able to mention. Royal patronage of university drama lent it a special glory and linked the culture of the two universities with the throne in a way that later times have lamentably missed.

XIII. MASQUE AND PASTORAL

That the period of the Renascence was a period of appeal to the eye the history of pictorial art ... c ... d ... b ... th ... the abode of spectacle. From the time of Henry VIII to the closing of the theatres in 1642, masque and pageantry held their place as the most important and magnificent of the arts. The leading dramatists were called in to devise spectacles; but their words, however splendid, were not the masque. The masque in its glory was an appeal to the eye as well as to the ear, a blaze of colour and light, a succession of rapidly changing scenes and tableaux, crowded with wonderful and beautiful figures. The Diaghilev ballet, supposing it to be partly spoken and sung as well as danced, with the royal court as its scene and noble lords and ladies as the performers, will suggest what the masque in its splendour must have been. The practical imagination of Inigo Jones (1573–1652)

ment. The latest ballets have shown the same tendency. As a masque-writer Jonson had no successor. Of Shirley's *Triumph of Peace* (1633) and Carew's *Coelum Britannicum* (1633) it has been said that the first is chaos active and the second chaos inert. D'Avenant's *Salmacida Spolia*, in which the King and Queen took part in 1640, has so large a number of successive "entries" in the anti-masque as to make it very like modern pantomime.

Akin to the masque in its generalizations and its remoteness from reality is the pastoral play, of which the two most famous examples both belong to Italy, Tasso's *Aminta* (1581) and Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* (1590). Abraham Fraunce translated *Aminta* in 1587; and, as we have seen, a Latin version of *Il Pastor Fido* was acted at Cambridge before 1605. Daniel's *The Queenes Arcadia* of 1605, partly derived from *Aminta*, was the first English "Pastorall Trage-comedie". In 1614 was performed his second, *Hymens Triumph*. The Elizabethan and Jacobean period has left us three other masterpieces of the kind, *The Faithful Shepherdess* of Fletcher, *The Sad Shepherd* of Jonson, and the *Amyntas* of Thomas Randolph. Fletcher's pastoral is little more than a lyric poem in semi-dramatic shape; but it is an exquisite composition. Jonson's *The Sad Shepherd*, left unfinished at his death, is another example of the poet's versatility. Randolph's *Amyntas or the Impossible Dowry* (printed 1638) follows the conventions of Tasso and Guarini, and its plot is deliberately artificial, removed from any contact with life's realities.

XIV. THE PURITAN ATTACK UPON THE STAGE

The theatre has always offended the purists. Even when the miracle plays were accepted as a proper means of making known sacred story there were zealots who denounced them. The Reformation, as such, was not hostile to the stage. Indeed, the more enlightened reformers, themselves influenced by a renewed interest in classical drama, saw in the religious play a weapon of controversy. But the English stage was destined to become secular. The religious changes in England were eminently affairs of state, and stage criticism of public affairs was not permitted. Elizabeth's proclamation of 1559 expressly forbade the stage to meddle with such matters.

When Geneva replaced Wittenberg as the capital city of the Reformation and Protestants became Puritans, it was discovered that the drama had no authority in Holy Writ and could not be allowed in a Christian commonwealth. In England, the Elizabethan drama was the heir of the miracle play, and as this was partly liturgical and partly traditional it was doubly damned, since, like the maypole, it was heathen, and, like the mass, popish. A growing spirit of Sabbatarianism found special offence in the acting of plays on Sundays;

[illegible] *from Ignorance and Folly* were played in 1611. *Love Restored* (1612) [illegible] *Delight* (1617) [illegible] *Pleasure Recon-* [illegible] omus the god of cheer or the Belly". An interval follows. Then came *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon* (1621), *A Masque of the Metamorphosed Gipsies* (1621), *The Masque of Augurs* (1622), *Time Vindi-* [illegible] *Triumph* (1623), *The* [illegible] 526), *Love's Triumph* [illegible], the last revived in 1935. To discuss these numerous compositions severally is not possible here; but we may say generally that a knowledge of them [illegible] invention runs freely, not in the plays, but in the masques. That the poetical invention is never at the Shakespearean height may be admitted, but it is there, and it is shown in astonishing variety. However, when we admire, we must not be the victims of our admiration. The attempt, now sometimes made, to exalt Jonson's masques as a means of depreciating *Comus* is completely uncritical, for *Comus* is [illegible] during three centuries, has made up its mind about *Comus*, and efforts to belittle its unique beauty are therefore themselves little more than "shews".

The marriage of James I's daughter Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine in 1613 was the occasion of magnificent festivity. The first great show was *The Lords Masque* by Thomas Campion; the second, *The Masque of the Middle Temple and Lyncolnes Inn* by George Chapman, and the third, *The Masque of Grayes-Inne and the Inner Temple* by Francis Beaumont. Chapman makes an "ante-masque" of the "anti-masque" and calls his prose dialogue "a low induction". Campion's masque is pure poetry of which his songs are not the least good part. Beaumont's masque is remarkable for the high quality of its blank verse. His innovations in the anti-masque, however, tended to break up the masque into a kind of variety entertain-

second and third blast of retrait from plaies and Theaters, and, lest there should be any mistake as to the source of its inspiration, it bore the arms of the Corporation of London upon the reverse of its title-page. The inference is that the civic authorities had called in an auxiliary force; and it has been suggested that the writer was Anthony Munday. In 1582 the actors retorted by producing at The Theater *The Playe of Playes and Pastimes*, a new piece in the manner of the old moralities, exhibiting the foolishness of Puritans. The play is not extant; but we know of it from Gosson himself, who in 1582 published *Playes confuted in five Actions*, directed against Lodge and *The Playe of Playes*. Gosson soon disappeared from theatrical controversy, took orders and became rector of St Botolph, Bishopsgate. A fatal accident during a bearbaiting at Paris Garden produced one notable pamphlet, *A godly exhortation, by occasion of the late judgement of God shewed at Parris-garden*, by John Field, a famous Puritan. It appeared in 1583, the year in which was published a much more famous work, *The Anatomie of Abuses* (the full title forms a long descriptive paragraph) by Philip Stubbes, whose special line of activity was the collection of admonitory horrors. It was quickly followed by a second part, both "made dialogue-wise". Stubbes intended denunciation and destruction, but, by the singular fate that attends books, his work survives as an invaluable account of Elizabethan popular amusements. In 1588 the attention of the Puritans was diverted by Martin Marprelate; the attacks ceased, and defences of the stage appeared in Greene's *Francescoes Fortunes* (*Greenes Never too late*, 1590) and in Nashe's *The Anatomie of Absurditie* (1589) and *Pierce Penilesse* (1592).

With the accession of James, the great acting companies were, as we have seen, placed under the direct patronage of the crown. This was not entirely to the advantage of the theatre. In the eyes of the militant Puritans crown and stage now formed an unholy alliance. Moved no doubt by some special attack, Thomas Heywood the dramatist published in 1612 *An Apology for Actors*, a modest and pleasing prose work, with useful contemporary allusions.

In 1625, the year of King Charles's accession, a more sinister attack was made in the anonymous *A Short Treatise against Stage Playes*, which is addressed to Parliament, round which the hopes of the Puritan reformers were beginning to gather. And then in 1633 appeared the most violent of all the accusers, the indomitable, intolerant, moral fanatic William Prynne (1600–1669), whose *Histriomastix* contains eleven hundred pages with a title longer than most prefaces. He gave no quarter to his opponents, and he received none; for being accused of applying an opprobrious epithet to Queen Henrietta Maria he was sentenced to lose his ears, to stand in the pillory, to pay a fine of £5000 and to be perpetually imprisoned.

moreover, the dressing of boys as women was an abomination. Further, play-houses were the means of disseminating disease and their general ungodliness invited particular disasters, such as falling galleries and even earthquakes

In 1559 an early voice was heard in defence, namely *A woorke of Joannes Ferrarius Montanus, touchynge the good orderynge of a common weale....Englished by William Bwande*, wherein it was declared that the drama "doth minister unto us good ensamples"; but Sir Geoffrey Fenton, famous translator of *Certain tragicall discourses*, anticipates, in *A forme of Christian pollicie* (1574), nearly all the later Puritan arguments against the stage. Roger Ascham was no Puritan in the narrow religious sense, yet no ... ore

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... humanists who

... of an unworthy kind and the inhumanists who hated pleasure of any kind. It was the latter kind of Puritan who was the real menace, and who triumphed in the end not only over drama, but over art, and with Moslem fanaticism consumed ...

a cathedral ...

... many violent

... William Crashaw, father of the poet.

A frontal attack by treatise was begun in 1577 by John Northbrooke, a Puritan divine, whose volume bears a lengthy title which is the best account of its tendency: *Spiritus est vicarius Christi in terra. A Treatise wherein Dicing, Dancing, Vaine playes or Enterludes ... idle pastimes &c ... Authority of t...*

The book see...

appeared in 1...

the pamphlet ... *Abuse, Conteining a pleasaunt invective against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Jesters, and such like caterpillers of a Commonwelth; setting up the Flagge of Defiance to their mischievous exercise....By Stephen Gosson Stud Oxon.* Now Gosson had been a player and had written plays, without much success; and it has been doubted whether his very lively attack is anything more than a piece of cleverness. However, *The Schoole of Abuse* was successful with the public. It drew a reply called *Honest Excuses* (1579) written by Thomas Lodge—probably his first publication—almost immediately suppressed by the licensers; but the players retorted more effectively by reviving Gosson's plays ...

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CHAPTER VII

CAVALIER AND PURITAN

I. CAVALIER LYRISTS

The reign of Charles I was made illustrious by an outburst of gallant and devoted song. Lyric poetry was indeed no new thing in our literature. But though the Caroline lyric continued in form the national habit of song which had long been practised and which had passed from privacy to publicity in *Tottel's Miscellany*, the note of Cavalier poetry is new. The fantastic idealism of Petrarch vanishes, and there is a return to the franker emotions of Anacreon, Catullus and Horace. The sonnet, in particular, disappears. Elizabethan conventionalism had killed it, and it had to be born again in a new age with a new inspiration. Donne fashioned a kind of song for himself; Jonson sought inspiration in classical models—going to the heart of classical poetry, and not bothering, as some of his misguided predecessors had done, about the quantitative skeleton and the sin of rhyming. The influence of Jonson on the younger generation of poets was powerful.

First and greatest of the Caroline poets is Robert Herrick (1591–1674). Little is known of his life until 1627, when he took orders. Two years later, he received from the King the living of Dean Prior, Dartmoor, and exchanged the Jonsonian gatherings in City taverns and the revels of Whitehall for the sober duties of a parish priest. This revolution in his career inspired one of his best poems, his *Farewell unto Poetry*. Having refused to subscribe to the Solemn League and Covenant, he was ejected in 1647 by the Long Parliament. We know little about his life for the next dozen years. Soon after the Restoration he went back to his living at Dean Prior, where he died a bachelor, in spite of his Julias, Antheas and Corinnas. His poems were circulated in manuscript and a few came separately into print in various publications; but the main collection did not appear till 1648. With a reference to his home in the West it was beautifully called *Hesperides: or, the Works, both Humane and Divine of Robert Herrick, Esq.* Herrick is often spoken of as a Cavalier lyrist; but he is much more than this: he can write the old, simple songs which the typical Cavalier lyrists—Carew and Suckling—would have found rustic, but which the contemporaries of Spenser and Shakespeare would have loved. He never lost the spirit of the Elizabethan miscellanies and he never forgot the folk-song of the cornfield and the chimney corner. Herrick refused to bow the knee to the metaphysic wit and perverse ingenuity of Donne. He remained faithful

The life sentence was cancelled at the Puritan triumph, and Prynne had no £5000 to pay; but the rest of his sentence was carried out. The Puritans triumphed; but for political rather than for moral reasons. Players were minions of royalty. Disquiet had fallen upon the theatre, as we learn from *The Stage Players Complaint*, a little tract printed in 1641. Few contemporary documents give a better picture of the gloom and sense of impending catastrophe that had come over the nation. On the 2nd of September 1642, the Long Parliament, which had released Prynne, imprisoned Laud and executed Strafford, passed an ordinance abolishing all play-houses, and further ordinances were made in 1647 and 1648 ordering players to be whipped and hearers to be fined. The curtain had fallen for ever upon the English drama of Shakespeare, his predecessors and his immediate successors A long dramatic tradition was broken When the theatres reopened, they found a teased and acrimonious world from which the great universal spirit of Shakespeare was gone, never to return. If sometimes we regret that Shakespeare is so far away, that his life is a mystery, his words difficult and his texts a puzzle, let us be glad that he lived and died before the frozen hands of Zeal-of-the-Land Busy had been laid upon his natural warmth and immeasurable charity.

charm. One of his best sustained efforts can be found in the twenty-two stanzas of his mock epithalamium.

Richard Lovelace (1618–58) took part in the Scottish campaigns of 1639 and 1640. He was in the Long Parliament, but his Royalist sympathies sent him to the Gatehouse, Westminster, where he wrote his most famous lyric, *To Althea from Prison*. He was freed and went to France. On his return in 1648 he was again committed to prison, where he prepared his *Lucasta: Epodes, Odes, Sonnets, Songs, etc. to which is added Amarantha, a Pastorall, by Richard Lovelace, Esq.* (1649). Set at liberty after the execution of the King, he seems to have lived a poor and wretched life, and in 1658 the once gay and handsome Richard Lovelace died in poverty. A year later appeared *Lucasta: Posthume Poems of Richard Lovlace, Esq*. The place of Lovelace in English poetry is curious. He would have been more famous had he written less. His two or three perfect lyrics are buried in a mass of frigid, extravagant and artificial versification which is best forgotten. But *Althea* and the *Lucasta* songs are immortal.

II. THE SACRED POETS

The religious poets of the seventeenth century hold a unique place in the history of English sacred verse. They were not in any sense a school—their very individuality testifies to a general intensity of personal religious emotion not confined in that age, as some suppose, to the Puritans. First of these writers in general appeal is George Herbert (1593–1633). The fascination of George Herbert is due as much to his character as to his writings. Walton's *Life* made him almost one of the saints of the Anglican church; but nine editions of *The Temple* had appeared before Walton wrote. George Herbert came of the famous and noble family of his name, and he was born, let us note, on the Welsh border, at Montgomery. One of his brothers was the celebrated Lord Herbert of Cherbury; another was Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels. George Herbert caught very early the infection of verse from his mother's friend, Donne, whom he resembled in cherishing hopes of worldly advancement. He sought with unabashed eagerness the office of Public Orator at Cambridge and used his opportunities in that post almost shamelessly. But for some cause unexplained he failed to gain any high place in the world, and the death of James I in 1625 put an end to his hopes. He then turned his mind to the church. By 1626 he was so far on his way as to be installed as a prebendary of Lincoln. His ills of mind and body are traceable in poems of the period. In 1630, through the solicitation of his kinsman the Earl of Pembroke, he was instituted to the rectory of Fulston St Peter's with Bemerton, Wiltshire; on

to Jonson, and, through him, to the great lyrists of classical antiquity. Every lyric he wrote reveals his inspired command of metre and rhyme. Scarcely any poet has used short lines so exquisitely. Herrick's sacred verses, or *Noble Numbers* (with a title-page dated 1647, but contained in *Hesperides*, 1648) enlarge our view of his unique personality, but scarcely add to his fame as a poet. He followed the example of Donne in dedicating his powers to religion, [illegible] century before he took his rightful place as the greatest of English lyric poets. From that place there has been none to depose him.

Thomas Carew (1598?–1638) belonged to "the tribe of Ben", and numbered Suckling, D'Avenant and George Sandys among his friends. He provided the court masque *Coelum Britannicum* and wrote other poems. None had been collected before his death, and the volume, *Poems. By Thomas Carew, Esquire*, issued in 1640, was both incomplete and incorrect. Carew is usually ranked second to [illegible] wisely, but too well. But he has a fine sense of structure in poetry. His lyrics of two stanzas have a mutual balance and relation that suggest the Petrarchian sonnet. Probably his best poem is the finely and frankly sensuous *The Rapture*. Carew's spiritual home is the city and the court, not the country and the parsonage.

"Easy, natural Suckling" has won for himself, since the days of the Restoration, an assured place in the line of English poets as the typical Cavalier lyrist, the arch-representative of Pope's "mob of gentlemen who write with ease". Yet his literary work, fairly considerable in bulk, was the product of such leisure as he could find in a life of town pleasures or in the activities of a soldier's career. John Suckling (1609–42) abandoned the law for the camp. In 1637 appeared the string of witty, but carelessly written, verses, entitled *A Session of the Poets*. Of his plays we have already spoken. Suckling sat in the Long Parliament; but his efforts for the King failed, and he fled to France and died by his own hand in 1642. His works appeared as *Fragmenta Aurea. A Collection of all the Incomparable Pieces, written by Sir John Suckling And published by a Friend to perpetuate his memory* (1646) Though he wrote a few serious pieces, Suckling's fame depends upon his lyrics, some of which first found a place in his dramas. Unlike Herrick and Carew he owed little to Ben Jonson, whose restraint, classical colour and fastidious workmanship made no appeal to him. He was in spirit a poet of improvisation. He would not, and could not, take pains. An audacious wit and an impetuous ease of movement give Suckling his special

late, consists of translations, many of which have compelling interest. His most famous secular lyric, *Wishes: to his (supposed) Mistress*, is memorable because it is altogether his own. Crashaw's special place in literature has been won by such religious outpourings as *To the Name above every Name, Hymn to the Name and Honour of the Admirable Saint Teresa*, and *The Flaming Heart, upon the Book and Picture of the Seraphical Saint Teresa*. Crashaw has little of Herbert's sedulous art. He is very unequal and sometimes excessive, but he is never tepid, and his best is superb. His two chief volumes are *Steps to the Temple. Sacred Poems with other Delights of the Muses* (1646) and the posthumous *Carmen Deo Nostro, Te Decet Hymnus, Sacred Poems collected, corrected, augmented*, published in Paris, 1652.

Within a few months of Crashaw's death appeared *Silex Scintillans: or Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations. By Henry Vaughan Silurist* (1650). The author Henry Vaughan (1622–95), elder of twin-brothers, was born, like Herbert, on the border of Wales and his chosen name, "Silurist", expresses his intimate love of the land with which his life was associated. He was one of the tribe of Ben, and would have us believe that he sought inspiration for his verses in churchwarden pipes and "royal witty sack, the poet's soul". The record of these London days is the small volume of *Poems, with the tenth Satyr of Juvenal Englished* (1646) in which there is little that is memorable. Some vital experience of which we know nothing changed the current of his life, and of that change the enduring memorial is *Silex Scintillans*, containing his most remarkable poems. He ascribes his conversion to "the blessed man, Mr George Herbert". Vaughan found himself in *Silex Scintillans*. Another volume, *Olor Iscanus* (named from his native river, the Usk), begun earlier than *Silex Scintillans*, but not published till 1651, does not add anything of importance either in its prose or its verse to his greater achievement. Unlike Herbert, Vaughan rarely knows when to stop. His enduring contributions to literature are those poems in which, with words of complete simplicity, he seems to establish immediate communion with realms beyond the normal life of man. Such poems as *The World, They are all gone into the world of light, Corruption, Childhood*, and *The Retreat* are like nothing else in English poetry, though Wordsworth found the germ of his great *Ode* in the last. From the author of such poems one expects more than he actually gives us. A later volume, *Thalia Rediviva* (1678), contains also poems by his twin brother Thomas; but it is not important. Vaughan is a man of one book—or rather a man of a few poems and a few lines that have an unexampled power of making us conscious of eternity.

The religious and mystical literature of the seventeenth century was suddenly enriched in the twentieth by the discovery of Thomas Traherne (c. 1620–74), whose chief work till then had been un-

[illegible] later (1633) he was [illegible] cult to believe that [illegible] duration; but that period, short though it was, gained him a reputation of unusual sanctity. His collection of verses *The Temple, Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations*, sent to his friend Nicholas Ferrar from his death bed, was published later in the same year. It was, as he described it in his last message, a picture of his many spiritual conflicts and his final peace. *The Temple* is a unique collection of Anglican poetry, and is so accepted. It is less often read as the story of a spiritual conflict. That Herbert was a most conscientious artist, carefully polishing and re-setting his poems is clear from the manuscript versions. At times, his ingenuity misleads him into what can only be called tricks, like the representation of the echo in *Heaven*. The verses shaped like an altar and the "Easter wings" came under Addison's condemnation of "false wit"; but many of Herbert's [illegible]

[illegible] abrupt suggestion, is wonderful. *Love* is one of the most deeply moving religious lyrics in the language. Herbert's other works do not call for notice here. The Latin orations and poems have small intrinsic value, and the posthumous prose work, *A Priest to the Temple, or, The Countrey Parson, his Character, and Rule of Holy Life* (1652), does not belong to his poetry, and will be noticed later.

It is hardly possible for two religious poets to be more unlike than George Herbert and Richard Crashaw (1612–49) Herbert suggests the quiet devotion of the Collects in the English Prayer Book; Crashaw suggests the ecstasy of a devotee before the relics of a saint. Yet Crashaw was the son of an anti-Papal preacher whose fulminations from the pulpit led the Puritan attack on the stage. Richard began to write verses at Cambridge and gained the repute of being [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] of him in 1646, in Paris, and already a Roman Catholic. He was in sore straits, and was helped to Rome. He died soon after. Although [illegible]

III. WRITERS OF THE COUPLET

To Edmund Waller Dryden assigned the credit of bringing about that revolution in the writing of English verse which gave it "smoothness" and "numbers", that is, the power of expressing itself tersely in self-contained rhyming distichs requiring no prolonged effort from the reader. Yet the decasyllabic couplet had been employed with complete success by Chaucer and by Elizabethan writers. Drayton, especially, had given an example of couplet-writing in which there is as little overrunning of the sense from couplet to couplet as in any of Waller's most admired poems. But verse had relapsed into untidiness. The go-as-you-please lines of the later dramatists and the "not keeping of accent" for which Ben Jonson declared that Donne should be hanged both indicated a need for the re-imposition of regularity. Sir John Beaumont (1583–1627), brother of Francis, had remarked of contemporary poetry, first, that

> On halting feet the ragged poem goes
> With accents, neither fitting verse nor prose;

and next "that in every language now in Europe spoke",

> The relish of the Muse consists in rime,
> One verse must meet another like a chime.
> (*To His Late Majesty, Concerning the True Form of English Poetry*)

Already we have the couplet style in being.

Beaumont doubtless learned much from Drayton; so did Sandys, another practitioner in the same form. George Sandys (1578–1644) travelled much in the East and in America and wrote a *Relation* of his oriental journeys. He began working at a translation of the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid in couplets and published the whole in 1626. To a later edition (1632) he added a translation of the first book of the *Aeneid* in the same form. His command of the couplet is adequate, and he expresses the Ovidian matter with point and terseness. But that this was not his only measure is proved in *A Paraphrase upon the Psalms of David* (1636), and similar transcriptions. Sandys has little importance as a poet; but his verse achieves regularity, if not perfect smoothness; and therefore to the younger generation he seemed a model of clear compact form. His influence was great.

But the new age really dawned with Edmund Waller (1606–87). His earliest known attempt in verse appears to be the poem *Of the Danger His Majesty (Being Prince) Escaped in the Road at St Andero*, in which he shows very considerable mastery of the self-contained couplet, though he runs it on in certain places; but in such later works as the miniature epic called *The Battle of the Summer-Islands* and in a

printed. Like Herbert and Vaughan, he came from the Welsh borders, and like Herbert he became a priest. His *Roman Forgeries* (1673) and *Christian Ethicks* (1675) are unimportant. *A serious and patheticall Contemplation of the Mercies of God* published posthumously and anonymously in 1699 brings us nearer to the real man, who was, however, not fully disclosed till the publication of his *Poems* in 1903, his prose *Centuries of Meditations* in 1908, and *Poems of Felicity* in 1910. These reveal an original mind, dominated by certain characteristic thoughts, [illegible] and a ferv[illegible] the deeper [illegible] consoling [illegible] His poems are often diffuse and full of repetitions. When his poetry informs his prose we seem to be listening to an inspired anticipation of Blake.

To the right and left of Herbert stand William Habington and Francis Quarles. William Habington (1605–54), after being educated at St Omer and Paris with a view to his becoming a priest, returned to England and married Lucy Herbert, whom he celebrated in *Castara*, published anonymously in 1634. Successive editions enlarged it and revealed the author's name. His own modest estimate of his verses will not be challenged, that they are "not so high as to be wondred at, nor so low as to be contemned".

Francis Quarles (1592–1644), like Habington, was uninfluenced by Donne. His chief literary idol was Phineas Fletcher, "the Spenser of [illegible] struck with a thunderbolt, and began with a poem, *Authoris de se Emblema*. Quarles, a more sedulous and less original emblemist, had something of his own to say. His liveliness and good sense, his homely words and rough humour are enough to account for, and to justify, his popularity.

Of all these writers it may be said that they and the secular lyrists trod the same paths They never walked the smooth and facile way of later hymn-writing. They were sacred poets, not from fashion or [illegible] penetrating simplicity.

appeared in 1647, and was reprinted in 1656 as part of a four-fold collection of poems, I, *Miscellanies*, II, *The Mistress*, III, *Pindarique Odes* and IV, *Davideis*. The *Miscellanies* and *The Mistress* are composed of lyrics written in a variety of irregular metres. Of the *Miscellanies*, Cowley thought little; yet this collection contains most of the poems by which the anthologists would now represent him. One, *The Chronicle*, a great contrast to the tortuous fancies of his love-poems, is among the best English examples of gay trifling in verse. From Donne Cowley took a trick of exasperating cleverness and caught his master's mannerisms rather than his inspiration. When Cowley chose to be natural he was far more tolerable than when he aspired to the cloudy magnificence of Donne. His *Pindarique Odes* may be odes, but they are not Pindaric. Their voluble licence of metre bears no resemblance to the elaborately ordered measures of Pindar. Cowley, either ignorant or oblivious of Pindar's metrical design, sought to reproduce the "Enthusiastical manner" of Pindar with its digressions and bold similes. What he actually accomplished was to make himself unreadable. The four books of *The Davideis, a Sacred Poem of the Troubles of David*, are written in decasyllabic couplets. As the name implies, the *Aeneid* was its model. Cowley has some narrative art and the poem is not dull; but it is almost worse than dull, it is clever and superfluous. The couplet is entirely without character and lacks the style even of a minor poem like *Cooper's Hill*. Cowley failed in metre as he failed in style through his weakness for too much of everything. After 1656 his poetical work is small in quantity. The *Ode upon the Blessed Restoration* (1660) greeted the return of Charles II and *A Discourse by way of Vision concerning the government of Oliver Cromwell* (1661), in prose and verse, loyally vilified the departed Protector. The volume of *Verses lately written upon several occasions* (1663) contains an ode to the Royal Society, and this may serve to remind us that in 1661 Cowley published a brief prose *Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy*. The folio edition of his works issued in 1668 contained, in addition to the poems of 1656 and 1663, the *Several Discourses by way of Essays, in Verse and Prose*, a delightful little collection, almost the only part of Cowley's work now readable. His reputation, great in his own day, rapidly declined. Johnson said what he could for Cowley; but later readers find it difficult to share even the modified enthusiasm of the great man.

Sir William D'Avenant (1606–68) endeavoured to exhibit the right restraint of poetic fluency, not in the couplet, but in a four-lined decasyllabic stanza rhyming alternately—the stanza of *Annus Mirabilis* and Gray's *Elegy*. This is the form used for his incomplete "epic" poem *Gondibert*, of which the first two books were published in 1650 with a long preface addressed "To his most honour'd friend

translation from the fourth book of the *Aeneid* he proves that he has mastered the form. But of course it is absurd and unjust to think of Wall[illegible] life. [illegible] much [illegible] Sacharissa (Dorothy Sidney) as the cruel fair one, together with other [illegible] songs as *Go, lovely* [illegible] *nd of beauty tost* [illegible] He showed no [illegible] work has to be sought in various volumes issued between 1645 and 1685. His virtues appear to be mainly negative. He found a want of "smooth-[illegible]

Sir John Denham (1615–69), whose one celebrated piece *Cooper's Hill* was published in 1642, though its most famous lines beginning "O could I flow like thee" did not appear in that first form. Denham made classical translations or adaptations from Virgil and Homer, wrote a tragedy, *The Sophy*, and attempted occasional verse in various metres; but nothing genuinely survives except the one pleasing piece which is the first of its rather artificial kind in English poetry. Denham makes no consistent use of the stopped or self-contained couplet, and in *Cooper's Hill* there is ample proof that its occurrence in the poetry of this age is the result, not of a fixed metrical design, but of an effort to be direct and intelligible in expression. Denham did not invent the habit of looking on scenery as composed of certain conventional elements, with conventional equivalents in poetic diction; but *Cooper's Hill* strongly encouraged that habit. Various satires ascribed to Denham are almost certainly not his.

Abraham Cowley (1618–67), the greatest poet of his day, saluted [illegible] of his works. He began writing while still at school, and at Cam-[illegible] lacking in character. A full bibliography is not needed here. *The Mistress: or Several Copies of Love Verses* [illegible]

original English romance. The story is laid in Wales and Ireland but has no connection with any known romance of either region. In mere poetical value *Leoline and Sydanis* is the inferior of *Thealma and Clearchus*, and very far the inferior of *Pharonnida*; but as a story it is infinitely superior to both, and it sometimes ventures to be not merely heroic, but heroi-comic.

Other romance writers of the period must be accorded no more than bare mention—Patrick Hannay (d. 1629), author of *Sheretine and Mariana* (Jacobean, not Caroline), Shackerley Marmion, author of *Cupid and Psyche* (1637), William Bosworth or Boxworth, author of *The Chaste and Lost Lovers* or *Arcadius and Sepha* (1651), Nathaniel Whiting, author of *Albino and Bellama* (1637), and Leonard Lawrence, author of *Arnalte and Lucenda* (1639). The point to notice about all the Caroline writers of poetic romance is that they are really groping after romantic fiction. If Chaucer had written *Troilus and Criseyde* in prose as good as its verse he would have given us our first romantic novel. The Caroline romance writers all try to tell a story, and they insist on telling it in verse, because the "notions" of romance and poetry appeared to be inseparable. We may notice further how the Chaucer-Spenser tradition persists even in the age of "correctness" supposed to have been inaugurated by Waller and his forerunners.

Some of the romance-writers produced lyrics after the fashion of Jonson and Donne. Among them is Kynaston, whose *Cynthiades or Amorous Sonnets* (1642) contains verses combining quaintness of thought and expression with mellifluous variety of accompanying sound. Of lyrists proper the best known is Henry King, Bishop of Chichester (1592–1669), whose poems, *The Legacy*, *The Exequy*, *The Dirge* and other elegiac pieces have caught something of the spirit of Donne without his fierce intensity. The lines in *The Exequy* to his dead wife,

> Stay for me there; I will not fail
> To meet thee in that hollow vale,

are unforgettable. King's secular lyrics have often an appealing, exquisite quality. One piece, persistently attributed to King, and claimed for Francis Beaumont and several others, is the familiar *Sic Vita*, "Like to the falling of a star". Poems passed about in manuscript were frequently transcribed by admirers, sometimes with wrong or fanciful attributions. Hence the confusion. With King should be mentioned another bishop, Richard Corbet (1582–1635) of Oxford and Norwich, whose *Certain Elegant Poems* (1647) includes the delightful *Farewell Rewards and Fairies*.

Another remarkable lyrist is Thomas Stanley (1625–78), who holds a respectable place in the history of English literature as editor of

Mr Hobs", together with "The Answer of Mr Hobbes to Sr Will. D'Avenant's Preface before *Gondibert*". The interest of these prose essays exceeds that of the poem, which has no real life or charm, and does little more than prove that it is possible to be diffuse in the most compact of stanzas. D'Avenant's other poems do not call for notice; his dramatic works are matter for separate treatment.

IV. LESSER CAROLINE POETS

The writers whom we may group as the lesser Caroline poets have been subjected more to disparagement than to criticism. But [illegible] its lowest Chamberlayne and Kynaston. Revulsion from the extra- [illegible] but they can be more profitably discussed according to poetic kind; and we can begin at once with the heroic or romantic narrative.

The heroic romance is adequately represented by the Pharonnida (1659) of William Chamberlayne (1619–89), whose other works call for no discussion here. *Pharonnida* may be described as an attempt at an unhistorical novel in verse. It is a blend of Ariosto, Tasso, and the kind of romances beloved by Don Quixote. Its fourteen thousand [illegible] which the *Quarterly* reviewer of Keats (who knew *Pharonnida*) was to dislike still more.

Thealma and Clearchus, attributed to "John Chalkhill" by Izaak [illegible] lives" with the added note *And here the author died, and I hope the reader will be sorry.*

A very curious example of the heroic poem is the *Leoline and Sydanis* (1642) of Sir Francis Kynaston (1587–1642), who founded a kind of literary academy called *Museum Minervae*, and who made known his enthusiasm for Chaucer by translating *Troilus and Criseyde* into Latin rhyme royal, the measure he also adopted for his

chose, first, to use an extraordinary form—successive triplets of ten, eight and twelve syllables; next, to pour out his difficult matter without plan or order; and, lastly, to use extraordinary coinages of word and phrase. Some of it sounds like an elaborately unsuccessful parody of Browning, especially as Benlowes "loves to dock the smaller parts-o'-speech":

Does Troy-bane Helen (friend) with angels share?
All lawless passions idols are:
Frequent are fuco'd cheeks; the virtuosa's rare:
A truth authentic. Let not skin-deep white
And red, perplex the nobler light
O' th' intellect; nor mask the soul's clear piercing sight.

And when he begins one of his three-lined stanzas with

War hath our lukewarm claret broach'd with spears

he is surely the very first to anticipate the "fancy" use of "tapping the claret". Yet Benlowes is not a madman or a mountebank. He seems, at times, almost to attain the devotional ideal for which he strove; he seems, also, to have a dim and confused notion of that mixture of passion and humour and grotesqueness which makes the triumph of Carlyle and Browning; but he never quite succeeds, mainly because he was not self-critical enough to know where to stop. Benlowes is a curiosity of literature; but he is a poetical curiosity.

John Cleveland or Cleiveland (1613–58) was a Royalist wh suffered imprisonment. He was at Christ's College, Cambridg when Milton was still in residence. He was quite a celebrated po and had published as early as 1640. A volume, *Several Select Poe* appeared in 1647. His appeal was strong and wide, and endured l after his death. A large proportion of his work was "straight-fr the-shoulder" political satire, couched in the very extravagan the metaphysical fashion, yet managing to achieve clearness employing not only the stopped antithetic couplet, but trisy measures that had frightened most of the Elizabethans and Jaco He has no long and no specially noteworthy poems. The l political pieces, like *The Rebel Scot*, *The King's Disguise*, *Th Assembly* and *Rupertismus*. Some of the earlier romances m in preceding pages were anticipations of the popular novel: Cleveland's poems were anticipations of the popular newsp would now require a wealth of elucidation which they w receive and which they do not deserve.

The unimportant writers here presented have a kind of i for they are the voice of a period. Their merits and their from a striving after that daring and headstrong vein whi

[illegible] *English History of Philosophy* [illegible] curiously combined with a butterfly [illegible] His [illegible] *Horae Vacivae* (1646), a book of essays, was followed by *Poems* (1647). Hall, too, was an ardent translator. He is also a "divine" poet, and [illegible] lyric [illegible] n. [illegible], is Katherine Fowler (1631–64), married to a Welshman named James Philips. She translated Corneille's *Pompée*, and part of his *Horace*; but she is more interesting as the writer of miscellaneous poems (1664), the best of which are addressed to her women friends There is no great power in any of them, but there are touches of magic, here and there, that entitle her to consideration as a poet.

Among the numerous poets of the period two acquired notoriety if not renown, Richard Flecknoe (d. 1678?), in whose work it is easy to discover some justification for Dryden's posthumous maltreatment of him, and the poet-painter Thomas Flatman (1637–88), whose unlucky name earned him the contempt he by no means deserved. [illegible] in the shape of an unforgettable stanza like this.

> We're all in Atalanta's case,
>   We run apace,
> Untill our wandring eyes behold
>   The glitt'ring gold·
> And then we lose in vanity
> Our race, and our virginity.

But there are two writers who must have more particular treatment—Edward Benlowes and John Cleveland. Benlowes (*c.* 1605–76) was a strong Royalist, and was for a time a Roman Catholic. Samuel Butler, Pope and Warburton all ridicule him as a figure of [illegible] and the titles of the several cantos—"Praelibation", "Inamoration", "Disincantation", and so on, will at once suggest the note of theological mysticism which runs through it. Unfortunately Benlowes

rk at Horton succeeded the tour which took him to Italy in the ing of 1638 and plunged him literally and figuratively into the vid life and sunshine of an Italian summer. A projected extension f his tour to Sicily and Greece was abandoned when the state o ublic affairs made him feel the impropriety of dalliance abroa when his countrymen were striking for freedom at home. H turned northwards, and in Florence met the almost legendary Galileo, blind and aged. He reached England in August 1639, being then in his thirty-first year.

Whatever else Milton may have brought from Italy, he certainly brought with him a resolve to resist any approximation of church government in England to church government in Italy. And so the next twenty years were to be devoted to work which his soul considered necessary, but which for posterity has but casual and accidental profit. He became what we call a publicist; and his written work was journalism of a kind—an attempt to give the largest number of persons certain convictions about public affairs. But journalism is literally matter for a day; and the journalism of Milton is not exempt from that objection. Inevitably a man of Milton's temper was anti-Royalist and anti-Episcopalian. A phrase from *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* sums up all that Milton fought against throughout his life: "The restraint of some lawful liberty which ought to be given to men, and is denied them." Liberty to think and to speak on matters of the deepest concern to the spirit of man seemed to Milton denied by King and Bishop. The Parliament side appeared to stand for liberty of the spirit, and Milton gave himself fully to that cause. He was presently to learn that liberty, as the Puritans understood it, meant no more than liberty to restrain the liberty of their opponents.

Immediately, however, Milton, home from his tour, had to fac the ordinary duties of life. He set up house in London and too pupils, first his nephews and then others. Two important eve followed: in 1641 he fired his first shot in the great conflict of time, *Of Reformation touching Church Discipline in England*; and so time in or before 1643 he married Mary Powell, a girl of seventeen, his own age, belonging to a family of Oxford Royalists. We k almost nothing about this marriage and must beware of en fictitious inventions. Like other great men before and since, M appears to have made an unsuitable choice and, with his tende expect from human beings more than human frailty coul probably did not make the best of a bad business. Mary ve returned to her family in Oxford and did not come bac Milton, feeling strongly about the marital relation, wa moved is certain; it is also certain that he recovered his calm that he bore no resentment; for after two years (during

the fortune of the great Elizabethans. They had no help from criticism, for criticism there was none, even if they had desired it. They fell between two ages. They were past Spenser and had not reached Dryden. There was, as *yet*, no tradition of prose romance, [illegible]

physical" style; they were to blame for neglecting to observe that when this style is not sublime it is certain to be ridiculous.

V. MILTON

The life and the works of Milton are interrelated with a closeness that makes some biographical detail a necessary prelude to an account of his writings. He lived his books and wrote himself into them. His own life was not eventful, but the times were; and of those times Milton made himself intensely a part His parentage is interesting. John Milton (1608–74) was born in London, the son of [illegible]

of John and Edward Phillips, both of whom are our prime sources of information about their uncle. The elder John Milton was a man of broad culture and a musician whose compositions entitle him to respectful mention in musical history. The boy John was unusually studious and passed from St Paul's School to Christ's College, Cambridge. It soon became evident that "the lady of Christ's", so called from his personal beauty and his refusal to be a "man" (in the wilder undergraduate sense), possessed a character of adamant He was soon at war with the authorities, though he lived down the hostility; but the young Milton at Cambridge is the essential Milton, studious, unique and unsubmissive to arbitrary authority, expecting more from humanity than common humanity could ever give, yet ardent, emotional, impressionable After leaving Cambridge he lived at Horton, near Windsor, whither the elder John had retired with a moderate fortune. *He had at least* twelve years, counting the Cambridge and Horton periods together, of dedicated study and literary concentration, and in this he was both fortunate and unfortunate. He had much contact with men's minds in books, he had no contact with men's minds in the world; and to the end of his days Milton tended to think of man as spirit and never of man as mere clay. To the period of solitary study and preparation for life-

was never ascetic—and he had numerous friends and visito English and foreign, not the least important being Andrew Marvell and John Dryden. Legends about his harshness to his daughters (who were not his amanuenses) should be disregarded. Milton lived on amicable terms with his wife's Royalist relations, with his own Royalist nephews, and with his Catholic brother and family. He suffered in his later years from gout and died of it. He lies buried in an unidentified spot in St Giles's, Cripplegate.

Such was the life of this celebrated man. Milton's inflexible personal righteousness and his singular majesty of utterance have made him the least popular of the great English poets. Indeed it is still possible to feel for passages in Milton's writings as well as in his life the aversion which made the incurably romantic Royalist Samuel Johnson disparage him in the *Lives of the Poets*. What the serious reader of English literature must avoid, here as elsewhere, however, is not the natural inclination of feeling, but tame submission to the dictates of any coterie of the moment which demands that a famous poet shall be dethroned in favour of some current and transient fashion in verse. An age which repudiates obligation and which believes that liberty and libertinism in art and life are one and the same thing is sure to be an age in which Milton will be disparaged. Impudence of assertion and affectation of singularity find in the oceanic magnitude of Milton an opportunity for exhibitionism. We should remain undisturbed. The prose and verse of Milton have "the might, majesty, dominion and power" of the prose and vers of Dante, though readers may feel, for different reasons, uncomfort able with both.

As the writings of Milton are arranged in most collected editio in a way that gives little help to the reader, we shall find it useful consider them in strict chronological order. In such a considerat the first fact that appears is that Milton is a bilingual writer, qu large part of his *omnia opera* being written in Latin, which to him almost a second native language. The common separation o foreign from his English writings is convenient, but misleadi it leaves puzzling gaps at certain periods of great activity apparent contrast between the precocity of Cowley and th paratively slow development of Milton is less strong than i Milton's paraphrases of Psalms 114 and 136 were "don Author at fifteen yeers old". *On the Death of a fair Infant Cough* is marked *Anno aetatis* 17. To the period between si twenty-one belong numerous Latin poems of great person and naïve poetical charm—*Elegia Prima*, to his frien Diodati, *Elegia Secunda*, on the death of the Cambrid Bedell, *Elegia Tertia*, on the death of the Bishop of Wi *Obitum Procancellarii Medici* (on the death of the vice-

that connection. The abolition of the Star Chamber in 1641 left the press free, and there was an immediate outpouring of vehemently controversial literature. The Long Parliament, as hostile as any king or church to liberty of opinion, re-imposed in 1643 the restraints upon printing. Milton published both the first (1643) and the second (1644) editions of *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* without licence, and the Stationers' Company petitioned Parliament to deal with him. Then it was that Milton issued the noblest of his tracts, the

under the rigorous restraint of whatsoever person or persons ruled this free country. Not till 1695 did the state relinquish its hold on the press.

Before the death of Mary in 1652 much had happened. The King was executed in 1649 and Milton was engaged in the war of pamphlets that ensued. He abandoned teaching, and in 1649 was made Latin secretary to the newly-formed Council of State. Pro-

second wife, Catherine Woodcock, who died in childbirth in 1658 and is the "late espoused saint" of a beautiful sonnet. With unshakeable tenacity Milton continued his controversial writing up to the eve of the Restoration, though every cause he had worked for was lost. When the King came into his own, and discreditable vengeance was taken on the regicides, dead and alive, Milton underwent some ill-treatment, but not much—he was spared, not in the least because he was a great man, but because he was unimportant;

ght beauties, as an early Italian picture of the Nativity is full of ing, engaging detail, and as full, too, of the same moving appeal. command of metrical and verbal music is wonderful. It is unique English poetry and unique in Milton; for when he essayed a ompanion poem of the same kind, *The Passion*, he failed; and, being he most self-critical of poets, knew he had failed, and said so. To this period belongs also an important group of early poems, the little *Song: On May Morning* with its "warm desire", the sonnet *O Nightingale*, and five sonnets and a "canzone" in Italian, all translated by the invaluable Cowper. These were long assumed to be related to the Italian tour (Cowper's translation of one actually introduces the phrase "on foreign soil"); they predate it by man years, and they prove first, that Milton at twenty-one was eagerly studying the Italian poets, and next, that his ardent nature, always responsive to female beauty, had been fired by an Italian lady in England whose name was that of the Italian province, Emilia. Milton's imposed chastity and his youthful inflammability are evidence of a strong creative urgency, and refute the silly legend of the poet as a bloodless, marrowless, sexless, remote and emaciated Puritan. On the purely literary side these poems are important as marking the return to English literature of the sonnet—but the sonnet of a kind vastly different from the exhausted exercise of the Elizabethans, the sonnet reinspired from the Italian original, the sonnet into which a poet was to pack more matter than any sonnets before or since contained. Dated 1630 are the lines to Shakespeare printed in the Second Folio (1632). They are excellent, and their contrast between Shakespeare's "easie numbers" and another's "slow-endeavouring art" is significant. Very little later were written the two Hobson poems, half-humorous, half-pathetic, and entirely successful of their kind, though some critics have regarded them with singular ferocity. *An Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester* is bot a good example of seventeenth-century funerary art and a notab study for the verse of *L'Allegro*. The familiar sonnet on attaining t age of three-and-twenty reveals Milton's high expectation fr himself, but seems to non-Miltons unnecessarily accusatory. Al had failed to do was to shape definitely his course in life.

The beautiful miniature masque *Arcades*, called precisely by M "part of an entertainment presented to the Countess Dowag *Darby at Harefield*, by som Noble persons of her Family", is misunderstood to be a fragment of Milton, when it is simp whole of Milton's "part of an entertainment". The songs, esp "O're the smooth enameld green", are perfection; and the labic couplets of the Genius's speech have deep interest a Milton's most considerable serious attempt in this form. shows us the Milton of *Comus* already arrived; but betw

doctor), *In Obitum Praesulis Elienses* (on the death of the bishop of Ely), *In Quintum Novembris* (on the Fifth of November), *Elegia Quarta*, to Thomas Young, *Elegia Quinta*, on the coming of spring, a poem with urgent youthful passion in it, *Elegia Sexta*, to Charles Diodati, with a reference to the *Nativity Ode*, *Elegia Septima*, de- [illegible] *Naturam non pati Senium* [illegible] those who protested its [illegible] which may be read in the excellent English versions of William Cowper, form no mean achievement for a young man.

But in addition to these poems there are the *Prolusiones Quaedam Oratoriae* of his Cambridge undergraduate days, first published in a volume of 1674. These prose academic exercises were not translated till recent years, and are not as well known as they should be. They contain interesting autobiographical touches, and they show Milton, still in his youth, as rebel and controversialist. The first, *Utrum Dies an Nox praestantior sit?* mentions the hostility his audience probably feel towards him; the second, *De Sphaerum Concentu*, contains his first reference to the Platonic doctrine of the music of the spheres; the third, *Contra Philosophiam Scholasticam*, boldly attacks the arid Cambridge educational discipline to which he was being subjected and contains a reference to his eyesight; the fourth and fifth are scientific. The sixth, of special interest, is *In Feriis aestivis Collegii, sed concurrente, ut solet, tota fere academiae juventute*—the famous *Vacation Exercise* of which only the short passage in English verse is usually printed It shows that Milton was now a scholar of importance at the university, as he was chosen to deliver this discourse; it exhibits him in a gay and jocular vacation mood; it refers to the pleasing change in opinion about him since he delivered his first oration; and it contains a defensive allusion to his nickname "the lady". Having delivered the *Oratio* and the *Prolusio* he passes to the third part and begins "Hail native Language", and continues with the significant lines that show him already [illegible] necessities in the life of man. These numerous early works in prose and verse are important, first because they dispel a suspicion of youthful sterility and next because they show the mature Milton already implicit in the young. Those who wish to know Milton from the beginning must begin by knowing these, the least known of his works.

But contemporary with the sixth Latin elegy is the ode *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, as full of youthful "conceits" and far-

t Milton write his own poems in his own way. Johnson's onslaught pon it is one of the major ineptitudes of literature. The poem has een condemned as "artificial"—a strange charge to bring against any work of art. For the use of the pastoral convention in an elegy Milton had ample precedent. What is most generally forgotten, however, is that the poem was exactly of the kind, tone, and literary ancestry that would have appealed to the dead subject of it. The general scheme is that of a classical pastoral elegy, and the verse form is a very singular and rewarding arrangement of free and strict composition. That the poem tells us more about Milton than King is clearly our gain. In one of its passages we hear for the first time a note "prophesying war". St Peter, coming among other symbolical figures to bewail the dead, is made to deliver a tremendous denunciation of the corrupt clergy of the time. The year of *Lycidas* is the year of the attempt to force the Laudian prayer-book on Scotland. The strict propriety of this digression has been questioned; but a test is simple: who would wish that strain of the higher mood away? Certainly not the least affecting part of the poem is the "return" to the pastoral note.

In 1638 Milton left England for Italy, and there was necessarily some slackening of written production. Nevertheless to the Italian period belongs one excellent composition, the epistle to Giovanni Battista Manso, the aged and noble Marquis of Villa. The verses to Salzilli and to Leonora, the Roman singer whose voice touched his heart, need only the barest mention. On his way home, however, Milton heard of the death of his friend Charles Diodati, and at Horton in 1639 wrote his elegiac tribute, *Epitaphium Damonis*, which is a Latin and lesser *Lycidas*. It was the last long poem he wrote fo many years. The Arthurian epic he proposed to write did not peris for it could not come to birth.

We now pass to what most people consider Milton's lost ye the twenty years given to prose controversy, broken all too ra by the few sonnets—themselves sometimes notes in controv Milton settled in London in 1640, the year of the Short Parliar the year of the first meeting of the Long Parliament, the year o impeachment of Strafford and Laud. A man of Milton's cha could not keep out of the conflict; and it is characteristic of his lack of self-seeking that almost every one of his controversial was issued anonymously. In 1641 appeared *Of Reformation* *Church Discipline in England*. *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* followe same year. It has less interest. The dismaying title of *Anim* *upon the Remonstrant's defence against Smectymnuus* needs ex The "Remonstrant" was Bishop Joseph Hall and "Smec was a "portmanteau" name composed of the initials of fi Puritan divines: S M (arshall) E C (alamy) T Y (oung)

[illegible]

Musick. They show that Milton had abandoned the unhappy manner of *The Passion* and that he had found his own "Solemn Musick". All three, short as they are, exhibit two aspects of the great Miltonic style, power of lofty and sustained flight and skill in building rhythmical verse paragraphs. The last of the three, the most sublime short poem in English, has naturally attracted musicians from Handel to Parry.

Closely following these three come the ever lovely pair *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, pure poetical essays in autobiography, showing us the studious Milton at Horton first in his lighter and next in his graver mood. Though poets before and since have used the octosyllabic couplet, these two poems stand as the type of perfection in that form. We called them "essays", and they are indeed diversions; for Milton returned almost at once to his graver course with the poem which we call *Comus* and which he, knowing that its theme is chastity, not lubricity, does not call by that name. It is, simply, *A Maske presented at Ludlow Castle 1634. on Michaelmasse night etc.* For this Lawes wrote the music and played in it the Attendant Spirit. The story probably owes something to the "old wife's tale" in Peele's play (see p. 249). The actual dramatic effect of the piece is not great; but it was meant to be a family entertainment, not a drama. Nor need we follow Johnson and other critics in discussing whether it is truly a "masque" or not. Considerations of that kind are quite irrelevant. The only real question is whether it is a good poem; and to that question successive generations have given an emphatic answer. One special point of interest is that Milton here discards for his dialogue the couplet which he had used in *Arcades*, and adopts blank verse, the rest of the piece being in octosyllabic couplets or lyrical measures. It [illegible] and delight are mo[illegible] mously in 1637, is [illegible]

To that year belongs his next great poem; and perhaps in the interval there may have been paternal solicitude for his future, as the important Latin poem *Ad Patrem*, though full of pleasing gratitude, is a little defensive. It is a grave omission not to read this poem as part of the regular Miltonic canon. Two Latin letters of the same year to Charles Diodati declare expressly that he is meditating a great flight and letting his wings grow. Then, as a specimen of what he hoped to do, we have *Lycidas* printed in 1638 among other tributes to Edward [illegible]

abroad was delivered against the regicide government. Salmasius, the great French scholar, successor of Joseph Scaliger at Leyden, was engaged by Charles II to indict the regicides, and he appealed to Europe with his *Defensio Regia pro Carolo I.* To this Milton replied with the fierce *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* in 1651, followed by *Defensio Secunda* in 1654, and *Authoris pro se Defensio* in 1655. They were almost tragically useless. It was the genius of Cromwell, not the genius of Milton, that made the Commonwealth respected in Europe. The *Defensio* and the *Defensio Secunda* are translated in the usual collection of prose works; the *Pro se Defensio* is not. All three contain the coarser scurrilities of controversy; all three contain personal passages of deep interest. In the end, nothing could save the government. The meaner side of Puritanism continued to flourish. Cromwell, the hope of England, died in 1658. Nevertheless, Milton wrote on as if in desperation, and we have in quick succession *A Treatise on Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes* (1659), *Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the Church* (1659), *A Letter to a Friend concerning the Ruptures of the Commonwealth* (1659), and finally, with Charles II almost at the gates, *The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth* (1660), addressed to General Monck, who was already preparing to bring the King back. The great struggle was over. Milton had lost everything but his creative spirit and his faith in God.

The prose writings of Milton are overshadowed by his verse and are usually misjudged. They are thought to be improper employment for a poet. They are considered to be extremist or fanatical documents. They are held to be of no practical value, as they deal with causes long since lost or won. They are said to have failed of their purpose because *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* did not give us the divorce laws, because *Areopagitica* did not give us a free press, and because *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* did not give us a constitutional monarchy. Not one of these judgments has any critical validity. Milton must be taken as the man he was, patriot and publicist as well as poet. It is within no critic's competence to say that a Langland, a Milton, or a Shelley must stick to poetry and not meddle with the social order. Poets are entitled to the liberty of ordinary men; but no poet is the better or the worse poet for political reasons. The test is not the currency of opinions, but the literary result. Milton was fully entitled to write in prose upon any subject that appealed to him; but his prose must abide the question we ask of his verse, Does it succeed? To argue that *Areopagitica* is a failure because it did not give us a free press shows an extraordinary confusion of ideas. *Areopagitica* did not turn votes, but it remains the noblest tract in English. Its theme is of perpetual interest and it could not, even at this day, be published in most European countries.

comen) U U (i.e. W) S (purstow), who had vigorously attacked episcopacy. Cleveland has some good lines on "Smectymnuus". [illegible] autobiographical interest. As a pleasing *intermezzo* between this pamphlet war and the next, we have the delightful sonnet "Captain or Colonel".

In 1642 or 1643 came the provocation of his wife's disloyalty; and there followed in quick succession *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* (1643), *The Judgement of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce* (1644), *Tetrachordon* (1644) dealing, as the name implies, with four relevant passages on marriage in Scripture, and *Colasterion* (1645), a reply to a critic of the first. Of these only the first and third are important. The *Doctrine and Discipline* states a personal view, *Tetra-* [illegible] prompt the age". Even finer interludes are the tractate *On Education* [illegible] the important year [illegible] work as *Poems of Mr John Milton, both English and Latin, Compos'd at several times*... (1645). And so, after the storms of prose controversy came the lovely peace of his early poetry. An odd and pleasing addendum to the volume is the Latin Ode *Ad Joannem Rousium* sent with a second copy of the *Poems* to John Rouse, Bodley's librarian, when the first failed to reach him. There is an interlude of quiet. The triumph of religious intolerance in Parliament drew from Milton nothing more than the sonnet (with a "tail") called *On the new forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament.* He proceeded with his own work, sketching a History of Britain and continuing the collection of notes on his religious opinions which were to take shape as *De Doctrina Christiana.* The noble sonnet to Fairfax belongs to 1648.

The interval of peace was short. In 1649 Charles was executed, and immediately afterwards appeared *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* written while the trial was being arranged. The fatal blunder of the execution turned public opinion in the King's favour, and the publication of *Eikon Basilike*, supposed to have been written by him in prison, deepened the popular feeling. *Eikonoklastes*, written by order of Parliament, endeavoured to undo the effect of the royal volume. It is an unpleasing work. Vilification of the dead is not a good man's task. The killing of the King was a nasty business, and not even Milton could make it otherwise. An attac

natch the *Aeneid* or the *Iliad* we do not know, but the times being
nat they were, it is not difficult to understand why the Fall of Man
ould seem an appropriate subject for a great tragedy or a great epic.
Ve do not know when *Paradise Lost* was begun; but we know that it
vas printed and ready for sale in August 1667. It appeared as a small
quarto, with the poem in ten books, price three shillings. A revised
and augmented edition with the ten books divided into twelve
appeared in 1674. The usual amount of silly sentiment has been shed
upon the smallness of the financial reward it brought—£18 is the
total. It is difficult to make people understand that commercial
authorship is a late invention. The really surprising fact about
Paradise Lost, when the unparadisal times are considered, is its success.
Indeed, it never failed to sell. The superstition that Addison's essays
first gave it popularity is absurd. The plain facts are that 1300 copies
were sold in eighteen months; that at least 3000 were sold in ten
years; that six editions appeared before the close of the century, and
nine before Addison wrote. Dryden, the greatest of the younger
generation of men of letters, did it the heartiest justice from the
first and always. Roscommon, who died in 1685, had praised and
imitated it. Before Addison took up the matter at all there was a
style in verse recognized as "the manner of Milton". Equally
ridiculous are the suggestions that Milton "took" his poem from
the Hebrew or the Italian or the Dutch or the Anglo-Saxon or some
other tongue. A great writer may have a source, as a great painter or
a great sculptor may have a model. All Shakespeare's sources are
open to any writers; but there has been no general outpouring of
Hamlets and *Lears*.

A detailed criticism of Milton's greatest poem is not possible here.
A few general remarks may be offered. Some readers, including
those who should have known better, have troubled themselves
variously about the subject, the hero and the theology of the poem.
A poem does not become unreadable when its theology is no longer
accepted. The theology of *Paradise Lost* is machinery, as the mytho-
logy of the *Iliad* is machinery. The "hero" of the poem is Man; th
"villain" of the poem is Satan. The subject of the poem is the Fall o
Man and the promise of his redemption. Those who maintain th
Satan the rebel is the real hero fail to understand that the adversary
God and Man must be presented in majesty and magnitude if he is
be worthy of his place in the story—that he must have, in fact, all
fascination of evil. In the story, Milton's Satan is a failure;
Milton draws him as a failure, treats him, indeed, with the conte
due to colossal folly. And though few of us may believe in a ma
Hell and a personal Devil, the essential doctrine of the po
eternal. The temptations of man, his conflicts with evil, his a
tions, his failures, and his repentances—these abide, whatev

The other pamphlets may be grouped into three classes: (1) The episcopacy controversy, (2) the divorce controversy, and (3) the monarchy controversy. Of (3) we can say at once that the literary results are not very profitable, first, because much of the matter is in Latin, and next, because some of it, in any language, is mere journalistic violence. But there is a valuable *residuum* of general doctrine [illegible] *s and* [illegible] the [illegible] unpractical politics. Of (1) we can say that though the question of episcopacy no longer fires the emotions of most modern readers of [illegible] must remember that a semi-sacramental view of marriage still prevailed in the minds of non-Catholics, even though they denied it the name of a sacrament. Milton's arguments are therefore almost entirely religious, or ecclesiastical. But he makes out his case; he is never excessive; and he touches, incidentally, on vital matters. The first of the divorce pamphlets is successful both as prose argument and as prose eloquence. Two general considerations should not be overlooked. The first is that very little of any pamphlet literature genuinely survives, and that Milton's pamphlets can hardly be less read than the tracts of Swift or the speeches of Burke. The next is that the prose of Milton is difficult because much of it is deliberately forensic in the classical manner. Milton was in spirit a Renascence scholar. His mere vocatives, as in the opening of *Areopagitica*, have genuinely puzzled some adventurers. No fit reader can open *Of Reformation* without feeling the presence of a master of prose, though of prose clinging so tenaciously to an ancient mode of expression that an effort of mind must be made to adjust it to this present. Some of Milton's difficult oratorical flights are simpler when spoken aloud than when read rapidly by the eye. Finally let us say that from the prose of Milton, whatever the subject or occasion, can be drawn a collection of great utterances forming an incomparable testament of noble ideals nobly expressed. We may properly regret his outbursts of violence. But controversy then was not squeamish, and he felt great provocation. As dear as life to him was liberty: liberty of the conscience to believe and liberty of the mind to think, without restraint by authority; and to oppose restraint upon liberty he did not disdain to fling away his singing robe and step down into the very mire of conflict. He should be living at this hour

We now return to the poet. At what period Milton decided to abandon the Arthurian or some similar national theme for a -

Paradise Lost is fluid and not consistent, and shows a later variation in *Paradise Regained*.

In the matter of prosody Milton is almost the central figure in the history of our verse. Brought into definite form as that verse had been, after two centuries of experiment, by Chaucer; restored and reformed, after nearly two more of disarray, by Spenser; enormously varied and advanced by Shakespeare and the later Elizabethans: Milton found it liable to fresh disorders. These disorders he did not directly attack; he sought instead to elaborate, for non-dramatic poetry, a medium which would permit all the order found in classical verse and all the freedom possible in English verse. In *Paradise Lost* he disparaged rhyme; but in *Samson* he returned to rhyme in choruses, though not universally or regularly, but rather with an extension of the occasional use which he had tried in *Lycidas*. The literary idiom of Milton is entirely his own, and it fails when used by imitators. The idiom of Milton may be disliked as the idiom of Beethoven is disliked; but dislike is not an artistic phenomenon.

The Miltonic vastness of suggestion as contrasted with Dantean exactness of precision has been a theme for comment since Macaulay's famous essay. It is part of his peculiar majesty. Great variety he has not: neither has he the Shakespearean suppleness. Although he is never unnatural, nature is never the first thing that suggests itself in him; and, though he is never ungraceful, yet grace is too delicate a thing to be attributed to his work, at least after *Comus*. His subjects may attract or repel; his temper may be repellent and can hardly be very attractive, though it may have its admirers; but in sublimity of thought and majesty of expression, both sustained at almost superhuman pitch, he has no superior and no rival in English.

VI. CAROLINE DIVINES

The earlier years of Charles I show the English Church in a warmly attractive light. A happy middle way between Pope and Puritan seemed to have been found. The thoughts and style of the great poets and prose writers of the preceding generation still enriched the utterance of the Caroline preachers. The Church of England was in settled possession, with a king who was her devoted son. Roman Catholic divines did not seriously affect the national literature. They had to remain obscure to escape persecution. When the Catholic writers had influence at all it was indirect. Crashaw drew inspiration from Spanish, not from English Catholic mystics. But apart though this influence stands, it has not a little interest and charm, as may be seen in *Sancta Sophia, or Holy Wisdom...extracted out of more than forty Treatises written by the Venerable Father Augustin Baker* by Father Hugh Paulin Cressy, first published in 1657. Though Baker's

current fashion in theology may be. The life of every man is the story of Paradise lost and sought. Reasonable existence is only possible as long as man aspires beyond himself and believes in the validity of the great ideals we call justice, goodness and mercy.

Paradise Regained, alleged by the ingenuous Quaker Ellwood to have been written at his suggestion in order to show "Paradise Found", is not a sequel to *Paradise Lost* and does not show "Paradise Found". It tells a different kind of story in a different kind of blank verse. It shows us a perceptibly older Milton even more unorthodox than before. The main objection to the story, that the conclusion is inevitable and foreseen, loses part of its force when we remember that Milton, always unorthodox, had become a complete Arian, and that the Temptation was thus a second conflict between Man and the temptations of the world, the flesh and the devil. In purely poetic value, *Paradise Regained* is little inferior to its predecessor. There may be nothing in the poem that can touch the first two [illegible] as separate, independent compositions, in manner as well as in matter.

With *Paradise Regained* in 1671 was published Milton's last work [illegible] bility to female charms and distrustful revolt against them which is thoroughly Miltonic. And surely we see, in the altercation with Harapha, what Milton would have liked to say—and perhaps did say—to some "overcrowing malignant". But quite independently of this, *Samson Agonistes*, from the purely literary point of view, is a poem of the highest interest and of the greatest beauty.

For a moment we must return to prose in order to mention the oddly attractive *History of Britain* and *History of Moscovia*, but specially to call attention to the lengthy *De Doctrina Christiana*, lost and not discovered till the nineteenth century. For readers of Milton the importance of this work (suggested, no doubt, by the book of an earlier Christ's man, William Ames), lies not merely in its assembly of unorthodox doctrine, [illegible]

Charles I's days, and her *Life*, called *The Returns of Spiritual* *mfort, etc.* (1648), written by her chaplain John Duncon, is a most scinating biography. Chillingworth was one of the Great Tew academy". Another was John Earle, author of *Microcosmographie.* Yet another was "the ever-memorable" John Hales of Eton (1584–1656), Canon of Windsor and chaplain to Laud, who was for his time the "broadest" of churchmen and cherished the hope of unity among all English Christians. His *Golden Remains* were issued posthumously in 1659; *Sermons preached at Eton* appeared in 1660, and a collection of tracts in 1677.

There were others besides Hales who sought for peace. The name of Nicholas Ferrar (1592–1637) of Little Gidding calls up at once a picture of an English household that was also a house of religion. For twenty-one years, his "Protestant Nunnery", composed of the family of his brother and his brother-in-law, carried on its life there, respected by all, and visited with affectionate regard by Charles I. The Little Gidding establishment was made familiar to many readers by Shorthouse's novel *John Inglesant*. Ferrar translated or adapted *The Hundred and Ten Divine Considerations* (1638) from Juan de Valdes, with notes by George Herbert. Herbert's own prose work, *A Priest to the Temple, or, The Countrey Parson, his Character, and Rule of Holy Life*, seems to have been finished in 1632, but did not appear in print till 1652. It is not without verbal reminiscences of the writer's poetry; yet the prose is good prose, not poetry spoilt.

The dominating figure in the Caroline church was William Laud (1573–1645), who had been the disciple of Andrewes, had preached Donne's funeral sermon, had ordained Nicholas Ferrar and was the patron of Sanderson, Hales and Chillingworth. The tragedy of a devout and sincere life may be found in his attempt to do in the seventeenth century what was hardly possible in the sixteenth, namely, to make one national, loyal church with one liturgy, in the whole realm of Great Britain. His failure in England was serious; his failure in Scotland was disastrous. It was inevitable that Laud came to represent spiritual dictatorship as Charles came to represen political dictatorship. In an account of the Caroline divines it impossible to avoid the inclusion of Laud; but nothing that h wrote genuinely survives as literature.

The more sober side of controversy is well represented by Jose Hall (1574–1656), bishop, satirist, poet, preacher, as well as cont versialist. In 1640 he issued, with Laud's approbation and assista his *Episcopacy by Divine Right, Asserted by J. H.*, and thus made h self the target for Milton's attack. Hall's *Meditations and Vows* (160 three books, each containing a "Century" of meditations (lik *Centuries* of Traherne), has passed into the canon of An devotional literature.

treatises are cumbrous in style, there are felicities of thought wh
give *Sancta Sophia* a definite place in the literature of devotion. T
nearest parallel, in the English literature of the time, to the *Sancta*
Sophia of Baker is the *Centuries of Meditations* of Thomas Traherne,
yet Traherne, above all things, is an Anglican. His style is that of a
poet who is also a master of prose; and there is in him, as we noted
before, something of the richness of Sir Thomas Browne and some-
thing of the inspired simplicity of Blake.

It is impossible to give a brief summary of the impressive mass of
writing produced by Richard Baxter (1615–91), nor is it necessary;
for *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (1696), his own "narrative of the most
memorable passages of his life and times", posthumously published,
bears witness to his energetic and masterful mind, and his one
enduring treatise, *The Saints Everlasting Rest* (1649–50), shows a fine
Puritan spirit shaping his utterance into classic simplicity. Baxter
disapproved of much in church doctrine and practice, and found his
right sphere of work as chaplain in the Parliamentary forces. But he
came to deplore the growth of sectarianism, and spent much time in
retirement, writing the book which made him famous.

There was a scholarly side to Caroline divinity. Henry Hammond
(1605–60) has been called "the father of English Biblical criticism";
and certainly his *Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament*
(1653) was an achievement in theological scholarship. But the most
valuable of all his extensive works are his sermons, models of the
best Caroline prose in restraint, clarity and distinction, and eloquent
for a virtue then almost unknown, Christian toleration.

Robert Sanderson (1587–1663), who lived to become a bishop at
the Restoration, and is embalmed in the exquisite prose of Izaak
Walton, was another of the Caroline Anglicans who made the
Church of England notable for its preaching power. He was at his
best in the revision of *The Book of Common Prayer*, for which he wrote
the admirable preface which begins "It hath been the wisdom of the
Church".

William Chillingworth (1602–44), the most conspicuous contro-
versialist of the age of Charles I, began by attacking Roman
Catholicism, then became a Catholic himself in 1630, and in 1634
abjured that faith and returned to the Church of England. Out of these
changes and controversies emerged his most famous book, *The Religion
of Protestants a safe way to Salvation* (1638). The "safe way" is to be
found in free inquiry; and Romanists and Puritans agreed in denoun-
cing Chillingworth's demand for liberty of thinking as blasphemous.

In a famous passage Clarendon has described the wits and theo-
logians who were intimate with the fascinating Lucius Cary, Viscount
Falkland. At his Oxfordshire house, Great Tew, he loved to consort
with scholars. Lettice, his wife, was a typical devotee of the Church

of a kind of "hold-up" of natural growth during that hiatus. Would Milton have been the same Milton had there been no ecclesiastical upheaval, no Civil War, no execution, no Commonwealth? What would he have done between 1640 and 1660? The question cannot be answered, but to ask it is not entirely useless.

In the period following the gap, we come upon writers who seem born into a new country of literature, writers who have no literary ancestry. The most striking example is John Bunyan (1628–88). He had the barest rudiments of learning, and at the age of sixteen he was drafted into the Parliamentary army, where he served under Sir Samuel Luke, the Puritan knight whom Butler lampooned as Sir Hudibras. It is one of the curiosities of literature that John Bunyan the Puritan enthusiast and Samuel Butler the satirist of Puritan enthusiasts were both in the service of this worthy knight, the one as a soldier and the other as secretary. After his release from army service in 1647 Bunyan began to study the Bible closely, and upon the Bible the whole of his literary life, as well as his religious life, was founded. He joined the fellowship of a sectarian body and in 1653 was asked to preach in Bedford and the villages around. Here he was attacked in open congregation (after the rough fashion of the times) by the disciples of George Fox, especially by a Quaker sister. The most interesting result of the encounter was that Bunyan endeavoured to express his views in a book, *Some Gospel Truths Opened* (1656), and when the Quaker replied, rapidly produced a second. A third piece of controversy, *A Few Sighs from Hell*, was published in 1658. With the Restoration came both persecution and the really vital part of Bunyan's history. In 1660 he was committed to Bedford gaol for the crime of preaching, and there he remained for twelve years, that is, until the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672. During the first six years of his confinement he published no fewer than nine books, the last of which, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* (1666), first of the four outstanding creations of his genius, has long been recognized as one of the great books of religious experience.

On his release in 1672 Bunyan was elected pastor of the congregation in Bedford of which he had been a private member; but when the Declaration of Indulgence was revoked in 1675, Bunyan was again imprisoned, this time in the small town gaol on Bedford bridge. Here and then it was that he wrote the first part of *The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to That which is to Come*. It appeared early in 1678, but received characteristic additions in a later edition of the same year, and, again, in the third edition (1679). The diligence of those who explore sources and prolong parallels would persuade us that a poor tinker who spent twelve years of his prime in prison had contrived to possess and to peruse the whole literature of allegory

One oddly notable Caroline divine is John Gauden (1605–62), Bishop of Worcester, whose chief title to fame is that he either wrote *Eikon Basilike: the Portraicture of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes* [illegible]

obliterate the impression it had created. The other works of Gauden have no place in the history of literature.

Jeremy Taylor (1613–67), Bishop of Down and Connor, may be [illegible]

minously; and few men who have written so much have left more books that still retain their value: the sermons, ingenious, fertile, convincing; *A Discourse of the Liberty of Prophesying* (1647), a noble plea for toleration; *Ductor Dubitantium* (1660), still the only English treatise of any importance on casuistry; *The Golden Grove* (1655), with its piety; the *Discourse of the Nature, Offices and Measures of Friendship* (1657), with its charm; *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living* (1650), *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying* (1651), *The Worthy Communicant* (1660), with their sagacious, corrective, kindling instruction—all these have continued to hold a place in the affections of a great variety of readers. It is possible to dislike intensely Jeremy Taylor's manner of writing; it is hardly possible to deny that he succeeds in his own way. Though he was the contemporary of Milton, his prose is popular and modern: it can be read easily, when Milton's must be studied.

The divines of the Caroline period are conspicuously English, even if some influence from foreign mystics be allowed. They are [illegible]

VII. JOHN BUNYAN, ANDREW MARVELL

The Civil War made a breach in the historical continuity of English literature. In other words, the period of conflict and controversy between the reigns of Charles I and Charles II forms a kind of hiatus between Elizabethan and Restoration literature. Milton, the greatest [illegible]

says in one age what belongs in spirit to another. We are conscious

tribute to the royal dignity of Charles I. There is no finer poem of its kind in English literature. Horatian, too, in another sense, is Marvell's delight in gardens, fields and woods, so that, in a special sense, he is the poet of the open air. Marvell's power to mingle beauty with seriousness is exemplified very notably in the *Bermudas*, the song of the Laudian exiles. Indeed, one has only to name his most familiar poems to recall some of the best of our lyrics—pieces that combine English charm and Latin gravity. Few English poets excel Marvell in their success of style. He has scarcely a failure. *The Nymph, To His Coy Mistress, The Picture of T. C., The Garden*, all the "Mower" pieces and the pastoral dialogues, are worthy of a place in any anthology of the best. The deeply-felt patriotism of Marvell is to be heard in his satires, which, circulated clandestinely, remained unpublished till 1689 when they appeared in *A Collection of Poems on Affairs of State*. *A Dialogue between two Horses* is a scathingly successful comment on affairs of the day. The longest of his satires, probably issued in 1667 as a broadsheet, and dealing with the Dutch wars, is called *Instructions to a Painter*, in imitation of Waller's panegyric with the same title, which had set a fashion in such "Instructions" and "Advices". Marvell's poem is a bitter indictment of the lax and lazy court which had brought upon England a painful humiliation by the Dutch. Marvell made no collection of his works. The incomplete *Miscellaneous Poems by Andrew Marvel* appeared in 1681.

Marvell's surviving prose works include private correspondence, a long series of letters which he wrote to the civic authorities of Hull, his constituency, on the doings of Parliament, and certain controversial works. The longest of all is *The Rehearsal Transpros'd* (1672–3), an elaborate and successful essay in satirical controversy. In Buckingham's farce, *The Rehearsal*, Bayes (i.e. Dryden) is made to speak of the rule of "transversion" by which he turns prose into verse and verse into prose, and is told that the latter process should be called "transprosing". Marvell caught up this word, using it as part of the title of his book, in which he held up to ridicule the writings of Samuel Parker (whom he calls "Mr Bayes"), one of the worst specimens of the ecclesiastics of Charles II's reign. Though over-long for readers who are not at home in the times, it is a crushingly successful satire which really subdued its victim. *Mr Smirke; or, the Divine in Mode* (1676) is in the same vein. Marvell gives us not only wit and banter, but, also, powerful advocacy of great truths and defence of public rights wantonly violated. There was a Miltonic strain in him, a spirit which resented and resisted unrighteousness. The eighteenth century took little account of Marvell. He may be said to have been rediscovered by Wordsworth and Lamb and appreciation has been steadily growing. His power as a prose writer is insufficiently acknowledged. His lyrics have their place in all the

in order to imitate it or to borrow from it. But the idea that the life of man is a toilsome pilgrimage is not really recondite and is as likely

need look no further than the strait gate and the broad and the narrow ways of the Gospel. The superabundance of scriptural references in *The Pilgrim's Progress* should surely satisfy those who hunger and thirst after sources. There is no need to say anything about the book by way of criticism; for its characters, its scenes and

Of course in every

the kind of superior

ught. *The Pilgrim's Progress* goes on for ever. Creeds may change and faiths may be wrecked; but the life of man is still a pilgrimage, and in its painful

last, Bunyan sent forth no fewer than sixty different publications. There are, however, but four which genuinely survive, *Grace Abounding*, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, *The Life and Death of Mr Badman*

have been our greatest English allegory.

In passing from Bunyan to Marvell we pass from the Puritan

wrote some of his best poems. He became Milton's assistant as Latin

whom he was the outspoken defender; but he had something that Milton was the poorer for not possessing, the "buxomness" (in the old sense) that enabled him to adjust himself to the facts of life and yet to maintain his principles unimpaired. And so, in his greatest poem, the *Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland*, he could pay his homage to the Protector and yet include an imperishable

those suggestions of individual conviction which give to a letter its true charm and its real force. Cromwell was a born letter-writer. His speeches are, in the main, reported and do not exist in any text of his own. Carlyle's familiar volumes have given wide popularity to Cromwell's utterances.

The value of ambassadorial despatches as materials of history was recognized at an early date. Few publications of this kind had greater importance than a posthumous work by Sir Dudley Digges, Master of the Rolls (1583–1639), entitled *The Compleat Ambassador: or Two Treaties of the Intended Marriage of Qu. Elizabeth of Glorious Memory* (1654), containing a history of the negotiations as to the Anjou and Alençon matches.

Sir Henry Wotton (1568–1639) was one of the most accomplished, as he was one of the most voluminous, letter-writers of his age. Many of his letters are printed in successive editions of *Reliquiae Wottonianae*; but others have been published in recent times. Wotton was a master of table-talk as well as of high politics. His two famous poems, *The Character of a Happy Life* and *On his Mistress, the Queen of Bohemia*, have achieved a permanence that would probably have astonished him.

Another kind of correspondent was the "intelligencer", the ancestor of the journalistic "special correspondent", employed by an ambassador abroad or a family at home to furnish budgets of news. Of such "intelligence" is composed *The Court and Times of James I* (1848) transcribed by Thomas Birch. The most prolific "intelligencer" in this collection is John Chamberlain. Chamberlain's letters possess all the freedom of later journalism, without its "sensationalism".

The letters of Francis Bacon are of prime importance. Bacon himself was in so many respects greater than his age that the chief significance of his own priceless letters lies in their biographical value. But the many-sidedness of his great mind is shown in them as clearly as his personal character.

Among collections representing persons or families who played a part in affairs of the day may be named *The Fairfax Correspondence* and the *Memorials of the Civil War*, not published till the nineteenth century. Of unfailing interest and importance are the *Letters and Papers of the Verney Family* and the *Memorials of the Verney Family* (published during the nineteenth century) presenting the story of an English gentleman's family of the higher class from the reign of King John to the fall of King James. The *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton* (1601–1704), though it cannot compare in breadth of interest with the Verney papers, is one of the most amusing of the collections dating from this period. The volumes appeared in 1878.

But the most widely representative of all correspondents and

antiquities; but he has yet to be seen in his true magnitude as one of the finest characters and noblest writers of his age. We may add that Marvell, like Dryden, knew Milton, admired the man and loved the poet, and that we may safely take the word of Marvell and Dryden against that of any modern malcontent.

VIII. HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL WRITINGS

1. *State Papers and Letters*

We need not seek to define the limits within which history becomes literature, because no definition is possible. The miracle sometimes happens, and we do not know why. All we need do at the moment is to give a brief account of certain historical works relating to our period. For full information the reader must consult the extensive bibliography in Vol. VII of the original *History*.

The first great collection of English state-papers is that of John Rushworth, who was appointed clerk-assistant to the House of Commons in 1640, and secretary to the Council of War in 1645. His *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State, Weighty Matters in Law, and Remarkable Proceedings in Five Parliaments* appeared in eight volumes from 1659 to 1701 and covers events from 1618 to the end of Strafford in 1641. Rushworth was the first to offer a presentation of cause and effect, with some regard for historical truth, in an age of strong partisans and distorted evidence.

The most important body of authentic materials for the history of both the domestic and the foreign policy of Oliver Cromwell is the *Collection of the State Papers of Secretary John Thurloe* (1616–68), which extends from the year 1638 to the Restoration, with the addition of some papers belonging to the last eleven years of Charles I. The volumes were published in 1742. Against Thurloe an "antidote" was posthumously supplied in the important collection known as the *Clarendon State Papers* preserved in the Bodleian and calendared in four volumes, published at various dates between 1872 and 1932.

The early Stuarts are not removed from the Elizabethans: a prose diction intent upon the display of two qualities not always mutually compatible—simplicity and grace. Queen Henrietta Maria, as the daughter of Henri IV, was a kind of French Elizabeth. Her letters have a style of their own, which, in the earlier among them, is accentuated by her pretty broken English. As the toils close round the King and she is perpetually urging him to burst through them, the letters to her "dear heart" gain in interest what they lose in charm. The collection was published in 1857.

Cromwell's letters, which, when necessity obliged, were matter-of-fact and business-like, are full of those touches of intimacy and

its historical value is slight. *The Life of Henry the Eighth* is a later work, and exhibits dignified ease of style and power to use original sources effectively.

Thomas May (1595–1650), secretary to the Long Parliament, and already noticed as a dramatist, contributed notably to the matter of national history by the publication in 1647 of his *History of the Parliament in England: which began November the Third, 1640, with a short and necessary view of some precedent yeares.* The work holds the balance very fairly and contains important speeches and documents.

A curious place is occupied by the *Secret Observations on the Life and Death of Charles King of England* by William Lilly (1602–81), which is the second part of a larger tract, *Monarchy, or no Monarchy, in England* (1651). In the first part various prophecies are treated as fulfilled; in the second there is an account, very fair, though rather anti-episcopalian and anti-royalist, of Charles I from childhood to death. Lilly's occult works call for no notice here.

Peter Heylyn (1600–62), joining to the instincts of a historian the eagerness of a publicist, suffered under the Parliament as a Laudian and the antagonist of Prynne. In 1659 he published *Examen Historicum*, somewhat critical of Fuller's *Church History*, and later entered into controversy with Baxter. After the Restoration he brought-ne his chief work *Ecclesia Restaurata*, or *The History of the Reformati*an *the Church of England* (1661). *Cyprianus Anglicus, or The Histor*ys. *the Life and Death of Archbishop Laud* (1668), which defended L *I* against Prynne's invective, and *Aerius Redivivus, or The Histor*i- *Presbyterianism* (1670), which traces back to Calvin the origin's England's troubles, were published posthumously. This remarka ts man was no bigot, but controversy was irresistible to him.

In Scotland, religious history was more eagerly written dn national history. The earliest record of the Scottish reformed chur f is *The Booke of the Universal Kirk of Scotland*. This was partly destroy l by fire in 1834. What remains is an invaluable document for much of the national history. Archbishop John Spottiswoode's *History of the Church of Scotland*, first printed in 1665, is prelatical, but singularly free from bitterness. On the other hand, David Calderwood's *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, beginning at Patrik Hamilton and ending at the death of James the Sixt* (printed 1842–9), is the work of an indefatigable adversary of prelacy.

In the history of Elizabethan Ireland a special place is taken by Edmund Spenser's *Veue of the Present State of Ireland* (written 1596). Spenser had not the temper of a historian, and his tract hardly survives examination. Spenser represents the policy which has been fatal to both countries, namely a conviction that Ireland must be colonized into a lesser kind of England under English government. The style of Spenser's essay is business-like, and the dialogue form is

form of personal letters. Howell's adventures ranged from Parlia-

Dodona's Grove, or the Vocall Forest (1640) is a political-botanical allegory of much ingenuity. Bare mention only can be accorded to his roughly humorous and satirical *A Brief Character of the Low Countries under the States* (1660) and *A Perfect Description of the Country of Scotland* (1649). His *Instructions for Forreine Travell* (1642) anticipates the elaborate prefatory matter to which Baedeker has accustomed travellers of later date. But he was a traveller at home, too, for *Londinopolis; An Historical Discourse or Perlustration of the City of London* (1657), is a careful guide book, with a survey of the City's several wards, and special mention of its law-courts.

Of Coryate and his *Crudities* (1610), as well as of other English travellers, something has been said earlier. Midway between Coryate and Howell come the selections published of Fynes Moryson's

The whole work is

by Fynes Moryson

IX. HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL WRITINGS

2. *Histories and Memoirs*

We pass now to a consideration of works in which the writers sought not only to present an account of past events, but to interest the political thinker.

The style of this work possesses the deep attractiveness absent from few of Bacon's writings.

Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *Life and Reign of King Henry the Eighth* (1649) marks an advance in historical composition. His celebrated *Autobiography* has the interest of a personal revelation but

historical writer in our literature is, at the same time, a great writer of English prose. His minor works, including *Contemplations and Reflections upon the Psalms of David* and various *Essays Divine and Moral*, were first published in *The Miscellaneous Works...a Collection of Several Valuable Tracts* (1727).

The memoir literature of the period is so extensive that only a few typical productions can be mentioned. *The Memoirs of Robert Carey written by himself* (printed 1759) gives an account of Elizabeth's last days. It is short, and is sometimes appended to the very interesting *Fragmenta Regalia, or Observations on the late Queen Elizabeth her Times and Favourites* (1641) by Sir Robert Naunton (1563–1634), of whom Bacon said that he forgot nothing. Edmund Ludlow's *Memoirs* (1698), written in exile after the Restoration, presents the view of a famous republican general who was, as well, a persistent adversary of Cromwell's dictatorship.

The most famous of all biographical stories of a Parliamentary soldier is *The Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson* written by his widow Lucy, together with a fragment of her own autobiography, first published in 1806 and ever since recognized as a classic of its kind. The inseparable companion and contrast to this book is *The Life of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle* (1667), by Margaret, his wife, presenting an equally fascinating portrait of a Cavalier. Pepys ridiculed it, Lamb eulogized it. Were it less extravagant it would be less convincing; for the Duchess wrote as she must. She also wrote other works; but this is her one real achievement.

Bulstrode Whitelocke (1605–75), republican statesman, tells the story of his own times in *Memorials of the English Affairs* (1682), and occasionally deviates into subjects of less severity. His *Journal of the Swedish Embassy...of* 1633 *and* 1654 gives us a picture at first hand of Queen Christina.

X. ANTIQUARIES: SIR THOMAS BROWNE, THOMAS FULLER, IZAAK WALTON, SIR THOMAS URQUHART

To the writers named above, the term "antiquary" can be applied more as a tribute of affection than as a strict definition. They all had a strong sense of the past, and they possessed an extraordinary gift of prose writing which, alike in large eloquence and in mere quaintness, suggests the backward rather than the forward glance.

Thomas Browne (1605–82), born in London, established himself at Norwich, the city with which his life is peculiarly associated. The Civil War disturbed the years of his maturity, but Browne, though Royalist and anti-Puritan by instinct and conviction, was so much a man of science as to feel that the struggle was no active concern of

used with ease. The important historical narrative *Pacata Hibernia* (1633) was written by someone associated with Sir George Carew, president of Munster. Carew himself translated from the French Morice Regan's twelfth-century *History of Ireland*. Sir John Davies the poet, author of *Nosce Teipsum*, who became Speaker in the Irish House of Commons in 1613 and later Chief Justice of Ireland, was concerned in the great plantation of Ulster. His *Discoverie of the True Causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued...until the beginning of his Majestie's happie Raigne* (1612, reprinted 1613) marks out the lines on which the system of government consistently pursued by him was conducted. The authorship of the *History of the Irish Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland, with the true State and Condition of that Kingdom before the Year 1640* has been disputed; but there seems to be no doubt that it was the work of Clarendon, with whose name it was brought out in 1720, and in whose *History* it was afterwards incorporated.

We are thus brought to the great name of Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon (1609–74), whose literary powers laid the foundation of his political greatness and remain his foremost title to enduring fame. He abhorred the unconstitutional title of Prime Minister, but he would not have rejected the title of first great English historian. His political career is not our concern; but it may be briefly summed up in the statement that he was a constitutional supporter of royalty when his convictions cost him the favour of the Long Parliament, and a constitutional critic of royalty when his convictions cost him the favour of Charles II. Clarendon had no gift of popularity; but it was his virtues rather than his faults that gave offence. That Clarendon was allowed to die in exile and disgrace is a measure of the worth of the king for whom he had done almost everything. He began his historical work during the period 1646–8 when the royal fortunes were darkest About twenty years later, when in exile, he began writing his own *Life*, which naturally told much the same story as the unfinished *History*. Soon after 1671 Clarendon made up his mind to a process of "contami-

[illegible]

Clarendon was influenced by classical models and later by his compulsory habituation to the French language and literature, but he was original enough to form his own style; and the first great

Mystically Considered with Sundry Observations. Both were occasions for the outpouring of their author's remarkable learning, of his strange quietist reflections on the mysteries of the universe, of his profound though unobtrusive melancholy, and of the intensely poetical feeling which denied itself poetical expression and took the form of marvellous prose. They were the last things that he himself published. In 1684 appeared *Certain Miscellany Tracts*; in 1690 *A Letter to a Friend, Upon occasion of the Death of his Intimate Friend*; and long after, in 1716, *Christian Morals.* There were other posthumous notes and some letters. *Urn Burial* is the rich deliverance of a mind that had long kept watch o'er man's mortality. The last chapter, beginning "Now since these dead bones", is the most triumphant and sustained piece of sublime rhetoric to be found in prose literature. The posthumous pieces have not been taken so lovingly to the hearts of readers; but they must not be overlooked. *A Letter to a Friend* is slight, and has paragraphs used again in *Christian Morals.* Recent generations, not conspicuously Christian or moral, have tended to depreciate *Christian Morals.* But readers who have the intellectual privilege of ability to live in ages not their own will find profit and pleasure in the treatise. Sir Thomas Browne wrote consistently the kind of prose that Milton wrote fitfully. Both, by the way, are almost the only writers of their time to show acquaintance with Dante. In his letters, Browne is easy and pleasingly familiar. The much praised "style" of Sir Thomas Browne is, of course, inseparable from his matter. His unique gift is that he was able to give rich expression to deep convictions, and perhaps even deeper doubts.

Compared with Browne, Thomas Fuller (1608–61), a curious contemporary, complement and contrast, is merely quaint. That he has not been so taken into the hearts of readers is established by the lack of modern reprints. Fuller began his career with verse that is entirely negligible. His first important book, *The Historie of the Holy Warre* (1639–40), tells the story of the Crusades. *Good Thoughts in Bad Times* (1645), *Good Thoughts in Worse Times* (1647) and *The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience* (1647) are, as the dates imply, "tracts for the times". *The Holy State and The Profane State* (1642) is, on the whole, his most popular work. This curious book is a sort of blend of the abstract "character" popular at the time, and of examples which are practically short stories with real heroes and heroines. *A Pisgah-sight of Palestine* (1650) gives us in its very title one of Fuller's characteristic phrases. *The Church History of Britain; from the Birth of Christ till* 1648 (1655) was attacked by Heylyn for its merits of wit and impartiality rather than for its defects as connected history. *The History of the Worthies of England*, a delightful compilation never finished, was published posthumously in 1662. The so-called "wit" of Fuller has been liked by the witty and disliked by the dull. He

his. He pursued his quiet beneficent life of study and healing and waited for better times. Charles II knighted him in 1671. An ideally happy and useful life ended on his birthday, 19 October, and he lies buried in the church of St Peter Mancroft, Norwich. With one exception Sir Thomas Browne's works are small tracts. The first of them, *Religio Medici*, was written about 1635. With a glance at a [illegible]

[illegible] *Medici* was evidently shown to people, and it began, like other famous books, to have a manuscript circulation; and one copy, getting into the hands of a printer, was published in 1642. The egregious Sir Kenelm Digby, author of vainglorious personal [illegible]

[illegible] to give *Religio Medici* great popularity with generations of readers. There is generally comfort in another's certitude

Sir Thomas Browne's next and largest work (1646) is of a much less esoteric character. Its Greek and English titles *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* and *Vulgar Errors* are not translations of each other. "Pseudodoxy" is opposed, in the abstract, to "orthodoxy"; but the treatise, after a few chapters on the general subject, divagates, with most obvious gusto, into an enormous collection of particular "tenets" which Browne subjects to treatment with the mild but potent acid of his peculiar scepticism. To the careful reader, its curious [illegible]

[illegible] quintessence of his thought and expression, *Hydriotaphia, Urne-Buriall...Together with the Garden of Cyrus, or the Quincunciall, Lozenge, or Network Plantation of the Ancients, Artificially, Naturally,*

he did. The quality that never fails in Walton's portraits is charm. He makes the reader in love with his characters, and (a point of importance) in love with the best qualities of his characters, and (a point of even greater importance) in love with the religion of his characters. It is by their convictions that characters live.

Thomas Urquhart or Urchard of Cromarty (1611?–1660?) was as aggressively Scottish as Browne, Fuller and Walton were quietly English. After a wildly adventurous career at home and abroad, he returned to Scotland and, in 1653, published his great translation of the earlier part of Rabelais. The Third Book (1693) was the last he attempted. Urquhart was a strange compound of swaggerer and pedant—a Pistol-Holofernes. He called himself *Christianus Presbyteromastix*, a bold title for a Scot. His elaborately Greek-named treatises are mere curiosities of literature. *The Trissotetras...or, A Most Exquisite Table for Resolving all manner of Triangles* (1645) is for those who are "Mathematically affected". *Pantochronocanon* (1652) with nearly a page of title deduces the pedigree of all the Urquharts from Adam. From this, and from its successors, *Ekskubalauron* (1652) and *Logopandecteision or an Introduction to the Universal language* (1653), it will be seen that Urquhart had an inspired gift of jargon which made him the foreordained translator of Rabelais. His glaring faults and foibles served him as well as his gifts and graces in this task, but they have produced a fixed impression in England that Rabelais is as wild as his translator. Motteux, Urquhart's successor, did his work very well, but something has gone out of it; and Sir Thomas Urquhart remains the last of the great translators with the Elizabethan spirit of adventure.

XI. JACOBEAN AND CAROLINE CRITICISM

On the very threshold of the seventeenth century we are confronted by the great figure of Bacon, who first defined the relation of poetry to the imagination, and attempted a classification of the arts and sciences based on the divisions of the mind. Further, he envisaged literature as having certain external relations with the age in which it is produced, not as a thing *in vacuo*, but something expressive of the "Time Spirit", of which he was the first to have a fairly adequate conception. In addition to his general doctrine, Bacon has given us a few memorable concrete judgments. His statement that art becomes more delightful when "strangeness is added to beauty" foreshadows Pater's definition of romanticism, and his assertion that art works "by felicity not by rule" places him in opposition to the whole tendency of criticism in the century that was to follow.

The great apostle of "rule" was his contemporary Ben Jonson. "Laws" and "principles which could not err" first entered English

has many shrewd and homely touches, and likes to "grow to a point". To expect many readers to read all Fuller's books would be unreasonable; but nobody should think that he understands Fuller or Fuller's age until he has read at least one of them completely.

[illegible] ntiquaries needs [illegible] with a love of [illegible] k of Walton as [illegible] clergy", one wife being related to Cranmer and the other to Ken. It is not surprising that with him biography became a kind of hagiography. Like Sir Thomas Browne, he was temperamentally incapable of being anything but a Royalist and an Anglican. That [illegible] nothing ugly, vulgar or jarring.

The *Lives* have a curious history They are all casual and occasional. Sir Henry Wotton having died without writing a promised biographical preface for Donne's sermons, the task devolved upon Walton, who knew both Donne and Wotton. *The Life of Donne* first appeared in the 1640 edition of Donne's sermons It followed naturally that Walton should also write the biographical preface to *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (1651). Another failure was the cause of his writing *The Life of Mr Rich. Hooker* (1665), whom of course Walton was too young to know, and whom he perhaps misrepresented, through partial and prejudiced information. *The Life of Mr George Herbert*, for Walton the type of saintly Anglicanism, followed in 1670. *The Life of Dr Sanderson* (1678) was another prefatory memoir. Walton's *Lives*, much more varied in biographical technique than the [illegible] Hooker whom he did not know than in the account of Donne whom

begets Memory; Memory begets Judgement and Fancy; Judgement begets the strength and structure, and Fancy begets the ornaments of a Poem." His distinction between "Judgement and Fancy" became a commonplace of criticism in the period of classicism: "Fancy" or "Wit" sees resemblances between disparate objects; "Judgement" or "Reason" finds difference in objects apparently similar; and so "wit" and "judgement" were placed in a sort of conventional opposition and became critical catchwords. Further, Hobbes, finding a parallel to the philosophical division of the universe into three regions, celestial, aerial and terrestrial in the poetical division of mankind into three regions, court, city and country, appropriates to the latter three sorts of poetry, "heroique, scommatique (i.e. scoffing) and pastoral". The "heroique poem narrative is *epique*, the heroique poem dramatique is tragedy"; the "scommatique narrative is satyre, dramatique is comedy"; the pastoral is simply pastoral narrative or pastoral comedy. As, apparently, he could not fit lyric poetry into his scheme of correspondences, he dismissed it as trifling.

D'Avenant's long preface to *Gondibert* (1650) is a dilution of the aesthetic theory of Hobbes. From France he derived support for his antipathy to the metaphysical "conceits", and his attack on that manner of writing was pioneer work in English criticism. He distinguished clearly between what was "unusual" and what was "affected". Cowley, the junior of D'Avenant by a dozen years, occupies a similar position; but he influenced his time more by his practice in poetry than by formal criticism. Occasionally in his essays we meet a striking observation, as when he remarks of a "warlike, various and a tragical age" that it is "best to write of, but the worst to write in". Cowley does not accept the moralistic theory of verse; he seeks to *communicate delight*. The progress of seventeenth-century criticism can be roughly indicated by saying that Hobbes deeply influenced D'Avenant and Cowley, and that Dryden began where they left off.

Most of the critics concern themselves with literary principles and refrain from critical judgments. When they face the individual poet or individual poem their method is that of the "roll-call", a catalogue of poets, in which one name follows another, each with its tag of critical comment. The first extended critique in English seems to be that which Sidney, in his *Defence of Poesie*, devotes to the tragedy of *Gorboduc*. Puttenham's "censure" of the English poets is typical roll-call criticism. Critical judgment begins most notably with Jonson. His famous lines to Shakespeare form the first real critical tribute to a great English poet. Verse rather than prose was the first vehicle of the literary critical portrait, and commendatory poems such as those in *Jonsonus Virbius* (see p. 297) and those prefixed to the 1647 folio of Beaumont and Fletcher and to other collections contain

criticism through the agency of Jonson. It is true that Sidney, in his *Defence of Poesie*, had espoused the "three unities", and it was [illegible]

expound the message of order in literature, of the tempered spirit as opposed to boisterous energy and emphasis. The prose collection, *Timber*, bears witness to the sincerity of his convictions. Jonson's doctrines had a profound influence on the younger men about him.

But despite changes of taste, a number of Elizabethan survivals may be found in the very heart of this period. The chapter on poetry in Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman* (1622) forms a kind of text book borrowed from Puttenham. To 1637 belongs Suckling's *Session of the Poets*, with its casual and ironical judgments of some of his contemporaries.

In the next decade or two the influence of France is paramount both in the theory of translation and in the critical trend towards simplicity in style. Translation was not to be slavish imitation, but a new creation on the basis of the original Cowley apparently believed that he was improving on Pindar in his *Pindarique Odes*. Denham was another advocate of the "new" translation, which however was as old as the Elizabethans.

The critical fight for simplicity in style found justification in *Mythomystes* (1632) by Henry Reynolds, which did in criticism what [illegible]

becomes clearer after a reference to *Mythomystes*

The critical position of Milton is defined by himself. In the *Tractate of Education* (1644) he commits himself expressly to the tradition of Aristotle, Horace and their Renascence followers; and to [illegible]

Bacon gave poetry a definite place in his scheme of the arts and sciences; but he did not analyse the process by which imagination transforms the materials of life into creative art. This was the peculiar work of Thomas Hobbes. Hobbes left an impress on critical terminology, and his psychology became the groundwork of Restoration criticism. [illegible]
his philosophy of min[illegible]
answer to D'Avenant [illegible]

disapproval. In 1628 he translated Thucydides. Shortly afterwards he fell in love with geometry, being attracted specially by the fascination of Euclid I, 47, and throughout his long life regarded philosophy as something with demonstrable certainty, like mathematics.

During his travels between 1634 and 1637 he met various philosophers in Paris, including Descartes and Gassendi; and in Florence he talked with Galileo, as did Milton a year later. Through the influence of Galileo Hobbes arrived at the view that motion is the fundamental conception for explaining not only the physical world, but the reactions of man and society. His *Elements of Law, Natural and Politic*, not published as a whole till the nineteenth century, reduces the doctrine of justice and policy to "the rules and infallibility of reason" after the fashion of mathematics. Part of the book was issued in 1650 as *Human Nature: or the Fundamental Elements of Policy*. The rest of it appeared as *De Corpore Politico: or the Elements of Law, Moral and Politick* (1650). Hobbes's political philosophy being definitely monarchical, he went to France in 1640 to escape the Long Parliament, and remained there eleven years among the royalist *émigrés*. While in Paris he planned a great philosophical work in three parts dealing respectively with matter, human nature and society. But as society and its governance appeared to be the special question of the day, he dealt at once with that in a treatise first called *Elementorum Philosophiae Sectio tertia De Cive*, in 1642. This came to be known briefly as *De Cive*, and it appeared in English (1651) with the title *Philosophical Rudiments Concerning Government and Society*. The much more famous *Leviathan Or the Matter, Form, and Power of A Commonwealth Ecclesiastical and Civil* was published in the same year (1651) when Hobbes returned to England. As he maintained, without qualification, the complete subordination of church government to the civil power, he had all the religious parties united against him. He published the first part of his system as *Elementorum Philosophiae Sectio prima De Corpore* in 1655 and the second as *Elementorum Philosophiae Sectio secunda De Homine* in 1658.

It is an ironical fact that the philosopher who formed himself upon mathematics because it was "free from controversies and dispute" should have been the most hated writer of his time. Indeed, the author of *Leviathan* could hardly have expected to escape controversy, and he did nothing to avoid it. His political absolutism offended the politicians. His reduction of the church to something like a spiritual police force infuriated the clergy. His *Questions concerning Liberty, Necessity and Chance* (1656) drew upon him a fire of episcopal pamphlets. His denunciation of the universities as the home of "Aristotelity" and the bulwark of papal power armed the dons against him. His mathematical disquisitions on the squaring of the

some of the most acute criticism of the first half of the seventeenth century. One famous criticism in verse is Drayton's *To My Dearly Loved Friend, Henry Reynolds, Esq., of Poets and Poesy* (1627), which contains, among other excellent things, the justly celebrated lines on Marlowe. But Drayton's note is that of the "roll-call".

Criticism in the first part of the seventeenth century failed in the application of the principles it elaborated. It notably failed to explain or appraise the works of the great poets and playwrights of the Elizabethan age. Not till the age of Dryden was the "roll-call" really displaced by the critical study of a poet and his work. The great essay *Of Dramatick Poesie* (1668), with its appraisal of *The Silent Woman* and its sketches of Shakespeare, Jonson and Fletcher, marks the beginning of a new era in English criticism.

XII. HOBBES AND CONTEMPORARY PHILOSOPHY

The philosophical writings which belong to the period following Bacon's death show but slight traces of that great man's influence. His genius was recognized, and he was quoted on special points; but his leading doctrines were generally ignored. Logic remained medieval, though books had already begun to appear in English. Of these we need take no account here, beyond mentioning the first, Thomas Wilson's *The Rule of Reason*, published as early as 1552. Religion rather than science was the chief stimulus to philosophical thought Nathanael Culverwel tells us in his work *Of the Light of*

philosophical writers who dwelt upon moral obligations It can be found in William Ames who wrote *Conscience* (1639) and *Medulla Theologica* (probably printed 1628), the latter of which influenced Miltc

Hall

Diver

the kind in English, and perhaps the greatest treatise on casuistry ever written by a Protestant theologian, is the *Ductor Dubitantium* of Jeremy Taylor (1660), a comprehensive study of Christian ethics

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But the great name in seventeenth-century philosophy is that of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury (1588–1679), who was the centre of controversy in his time and is still regarded with resentment and

almost equally unpalatable, yet he was never in danger. The figure of the Leviathan dominates his most famous book, and he argues over and over again that there is no alternative between absolute rule and social anarchy. But *Leviathan* is more than a tract for its troubled times. It is a work of great and enduring importance just because it is not a mere political pamphlet. It states an extreme case; but it is a case that needs to be stated even if its precepts are rejected. Hobbes has been often "refuted"; his contention that the answer to social anarchy is absolutism has not only not been refuted, it is to-day the prevailing principle in all "totalitarian" states.

The most powerful criticism of Hobbes's political theory which appeared in his lifetime was contained in the *Oceana* of James Harrington, published in 1656. *Oceana* is an account of an imaginary commonwealth, but it has none of the social charm of More's *Utopia* and none of the scientific interest of Bacon's *New Atlantis.* Much of it reads like a state paper or the schedules of a budget, united to a *roman à clef* with everything easily identifiable. Harrington advocates artificial equality and the limitation of private possessions. Nevertheless he recognizes the importance of the outstanding man. Like so many "paper constitutions", *Oceana* loses sight of the ordinary world of ordinary people. The final objection is that it is rather dull reading.

Some criticism of the political philosophy of Hobbes is contained in Sir Robert Filmer's *Original of Government* (1652) and *Patriarcha* (1680), though, like Hobbes, Filmer has no belief in the equality of man and inclines to absolutism of a kind. Bishop John Bramhall and Archbishop Thomas Tenison also published refutations of Hobbes. More fundamental criticism was forthcoming from certain of the Cambridge Platonists, especially Cudworth and More, to whom further reference is made in later pages.

Associated with some members of the Cambridge school was Joseph Glanvill, an Oxford man. His first and most famous book was *The Vanity of Dogmatizing* (1661), the book to which a memorable reference is made in *The Scholar-Gipsy.* Glanvill taught that the right direction of inquiry is to seek truth in the great book of nature, and not to keep poring upon the writings and opinions of philosophers. And so he found promise and hope in the activities of the Royal Society. Investigation into natural phenomena was no longer regarded, as it had been in the days of Roger Bacon, as a kind of black magic or Satanism. Francis Bacon had pointed out the way along which the study of science must move. He had set science free from the dominion of medieval theology, and taught men to study the book of nature with the solicitude and exactness of contemplation due to a divine revelation. The Royal Society, praised in verse by Cowley and in prose by Glanvill, was a manifest sign of intellectual freedom at last secured.

circle and the quadrating of the sphere were pulverized by two Savilian professors at Oxford, John Wallis and Seth Ward, and his scientific speculations engaged the keen mind of Robert Boyle. He was publicly denounced as a heretic, and *Leviathan* was mentioned in Parliament as a blasphemous book; but Hobbes could not or would not refrain from writing. *Behemoth: The History of the Civil Wars of England* (1679, better edition, 1681) and *A Dialogue between a Philosopher and a Student of the Common Laws of England* (1681) belong to this time though published posthumously. In his old age—if such a man can ever be called old—he began translating Homer and published *The Iliads and Odysses of Homer* in 1675. His *Historia* [illegible] *Physiologicum; or Ten Dialogues of Natural Philosophy* (1678). He died at ninety-one.

Hobbes is one of the most remarkable of English philosophers both for his matter and his style. His prose, never seeking for richness of utterance, has that virtue of virtues in a philosopher, perspicuity. His strong, clear, serviceable writing makes it difficult for a reader to believe that he was born in the year of the Armada, twenty years before Milton, whose prose seems in comparison archaic. His fame as a writer rests mainly upon three books: *Elements of Law*, [illegible] accept the view that religious truth is what the civil government [illegible] deceased Roman Empire, sitting crowned upon the grave thereof." The reader who encounters modern denunciations of Hobbes will [illegible] ers: [illegible] To [illegible] ood [illegible] ure, evil is what gives pain. Hobbes may be said to have influenced negatively the course of speculation in England for many years. The main pre-occupation of philosophical and religious writers was to refute Hobbes. It is significant of the temper of seventeenth-century England that Giordano Bruno, author of *Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante*, was burnt alive in Rome in 1600, and that the author of *Leviathan* was allowed to publish, unmolested, his root-and-branch treatises against accepted theology. His doctrine of political absolutism was

who died a prebendary of Canterbury. The influence of Casaubon stimulated specially the Anglican divines who, in the seventeenth century, began to challenge the Puritan dominance. Patristic learning and knowledge of church history became an essential part of scholarship. Sir Henry Savile (1549–1622), Provost of Eton and the founder of famous chairs at Oxford, was not only a scholar in history but the chief labourer in the production of a great edition of St Chrysostom (1610–13). Familiarity with the Fathers became the aim of serious theologians. Writers like Robert Burton and Sir Thomas Browne refer familiarly to the ancient divines, and the Puritan William Prynne, in *Histriomastix*, quotes from seventy-one Fathers and refers to fifty-five Synods.

The seventeenth century entered into a noble heritage of accumulated knowledge of the classics. Latin was, naturally, what people are always trying to devise artificially, a universal language. It was the most practical of acquirements, and until French became the patois of diplomacy Latin was used in speech as well as in writing as a medium of international discussion.

The seventeenth century saw a great advance in the study of Greek, which was a prime necessity for any student of the Bible. The aim of school and university, in their Greek studies, was mainly theological. Serious theological study required, in addition to Latin and Greek, a knowledge of Hebrew. The scholars who prepared the Authorized Version included some who had "Hebrew at their fingers' ends" and to whom Syriac, Chaldee and Arabic were familiar tongues. John Selden (1584–1654) was not only renowned as a jurist, but was famous as the scholar who collected oriental manuscripts and wrote *De Dis Syris* (1617), a history of the idol deities of the Old Testament. An odd combination is found in Abraham Wheelock (1593–1653) who was an authority on Persian, Arabic and Anglo-Saxon. He produced an edition of Bede and began the compilation of an Anglo-Saxon dictionary. Meric Casaubon (1599–1671), learned son of a more learned father, published classical commentaries on Marcus Aurelius and on Epictetus, and wrote on the Hebrew and Anglo-Saxon languages. The combination of Anglo-Saxon with oriental languages is not so odd as it seems. Theological literature, as students have sometimes noticed, is plentiful in Anglo-Saxon. Immense scriptural commentaries like the five folio volumes of Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum...S. Scripturae* (1669–76) were produced, together with epitomes—"marrows", "sums" and "bodies" of divinity representing every shade of belief. On the subject of church government numerous treatises were written, and in doctrinal interpretation Bishop John Pearson's *Exposition of the Creed* (1659) took rank as a masterpiece of the period.

The medieval conception of the authority of Aristotle and

XIII. SCHOLARS AND SCHOLARSHIP, 1600–60

In the seventeenth century English humanism concerned itself as [illegible] narrowest of limits. But there were other influences at work. Exploration and discovery had intellectual results. Eastern languages were learned and transmitted, and oriental MSS. were triumphantly brought home to eager scholars. Nor must we forget the close connection between English and foreign scholars. Many of the Elizabethan bishops had lived in Germany or Switzerland during the Marian persecutions. The chief glories of scholarship in the seventeenth century were clustered together in Holland, and with the ardent Protestant countries our divines and scholars were in the closest touch. Latinized names like Budaeus, Turnebus, Salmasius, Grotius, Heinsius, Scioppius, Vossius, Baronius and Scaliger concealed Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Germans and Italians and made scholars international. From the elder Heinsius Ben Jonson borrowed most of the matter for *Timber*. Francis Dujon, a Dutch scholar of German birth, Latinized his name to Franciscus Junius, lived in England for thirty years, produced an edition of Caedmon in 1655 and lends his name to the important Junian manuscript at Oxford, given to him by Archbishop Ussher, another great scholar, who engaged Thomas Davies, resident at Aleppo, to secure oriental manuscripts for him. The adventures of Antonio de Dominis, who came from a Dalmatian archbishopric to be Dean of Windsor, read like a piece of fiction.

The influence of Roman Catholic scholarship perhaps constituted the most potent stimulus to the efforts of Protestant erudition at this time. In the latter half of the sixteenth century the Company of Jesus had regained France and southern Germany for Rome Jesuit colleges were the admiration of every scholar. The greatest of Roman Catholic researchers, Cardinal Baronius, produced between 1588 and 1609 his twelve folios of *Annales Ecclesiastici*, which gave back to the Catholics pre-eminence in theological learning. Protestant scholarship devoted itself to refutation of Baronius, the greatest effort coming from England, though not from an Englishman—*De rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis exercitationes XVI ad Baronii annales* (1614) by the great Genevan scholar Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614),

dead scholasticism of Cambridge and Hobbes sneered at the "Aristotelity" of Oxford. Wealthy parents preferred private tutors to public schools, and the sons of noble families went on a grand tour abroad under the care of learned tutors—such as Hobbes himself. The maintenance of discipline at the larger public schools, where pupils remained till nineteen or twenty, was a matter of difficulty; nevertheless, as we have already seen, the schools in the seventeenth century produced scholars of great if limited learning. The languages and the literature of theology and of classical antiquity were their main concern. In the pursuit of learning, the endurance of pupils was only equalled by the ferocity of the teachers, then as now an unpopular and despised class. It is a curious fact that the celebrated beaters of children are affectionately remembered when those who sought to introduce a softer discipline are forgotten.

XV. THE BEGINNINGS OF JOURNALISM

The circulation of news in some form is a necessary accompaniment of civilized life. The development of printing naturally assisted the development of newspapers; but newspapers owe their existence, not to the press, but to the circulation of letters. In Elizabethan and Jacobean times journalists were private, not public institutions. Thus, Essex had his staff of "intelligencers", and Sir Dudley Carleton, James I's ambassador, had in John Chamberlain a valuable purveyor of news. It was long before journalism could call a vexed, controlled, censored and licensed press to its aid. Royal eyes looked upon printing as upon coining, that is, as a privilege to be granted, not as a right to be exercised. Printed journalism crept into existence in the form of broadside ballads about startling events, and gradually expanded into occasional pamphlets, usually termed *Relations*. English periodical pamphlets, like English books, were first printed abroad—the place Amsterdam, the date 1620. The first Englishman to publish them was Thomas Archer in 1621. He was soon imprisoned and was succeeded in the same year by Nicholas Bourne. Other stationers, of whom Nathaniel Butter was chief, joined Archer and Bourne as publishers; but in 1625 Archer appears to have published a periodical in competition with Butter and Bourne. News of foreign wars formed the matter to be distributed. Like early books, these pamphlets had no definite short title or "catchword"; the first titles were those of the journalists: *Mercurius Britannicus* was Archer, not a newspaper. The general term used for sheets conveying news was *Coranto*, i.e. a current relation of events; and by that name Ben Jonson ridiculed them. In 1632 the Star Chamber prohibited the printing of news from foreign parts. However in 1638 Butter

scholasticism was transferred in all its strength and its narrowness to the Bible. The Puritan vision of a theocracy on earth made the Bible [illegible] questioned; but that it helped to give our national life its sobriety, its sincerity and its fixed trust in character rather than in cleverness should be gratefully affirmed.

XIV. ENGLISH GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

The foundation of famous English schools is a fascinating subject which must be studied in the larger *History*. We have here space for [illegible] view of [illegible] Wyke- [illegible] limited [illegible] "public school spirit" or the "grand old fortifying classical curriculum". He aimed at creating a supply of learned clerks for service in church and state. Schools of any kind that remotely resembled monastic [illegible]

[illegible]

illustration. Beginning as a free grammar school in 1571 it developed during the seventeenth century into a school attracting the sons of well-to-do parents. It may be mentioned that a Southwark man, John Harv- [illegible] for New [illegible] devoted tc [illegible] country in knowledge and godlynes'. Thus began the Cambridge of the New World.

[illegible]

is usually good. There was doubtless much careful revision by correctors of the press, among whom were some of the ejected Anglican clergy, glad to earn a living.

When the Rump resumed its sittings for the second time in 1659, its Council of State allowed two journalists, Nedham and Oliver Williams, to publish news twice a week. The brother-in-law of General Monck got permission for a third paper to appear and selected as his writer a young schoolmaster named Henry Muddiman, who had never written for the press before. On Monday 26 December 1659, the new journalist issued his first newsbook, *The Parliamentary Intelligencer* (afterwards *The Kingdom's Intelligencer*); and some days later the first number of his other weekly book, *Mercurius Publicus*, appeared. Thus began the career of the most famous of all the seventeenth-century journalists, one whose principal paper, *The London Gazette*, first issued in 1665, is with us still. Muddiman was granted the important privilege of free postage. Anyone was at liberty to send him, without charge, news and information from all parts of the country—a matter of importance to the government—and he, having collected his matter, sent out closely written "news-letters" to subscribers, post free, for £5 a year. In this odd fashion government and public were both served and a general desire for a regular transmission of news was created. By the end of the reign of Charles II the journalistic struggle for existence had scored two notable victories, first an official recognition of the public need for news, and next the toleration of written news-letters, amplifying the meagreness of licensed print.

XVI. THE ADVENT OF MODERN THOUGHT IN POPULAR LITERATURE. THE WITCH CONTROVERSY

Every age, however enlightened it thinks itself, has its superstitions. The chief superstition of the seventeenth century was a firm belief in witchcraft, and a belief, rather less firm, in the demons who had been incorporated into medieval theology from the dethroned heathen deities. The brief and menacing text in Exodus "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" clearly proved the existence of witches and the duty of destroying them. It is characteristic of Hobbes that he asserted the necessity of punishment, not because witchcraft was a reality, but because belief in it was a reality. In 1603 King James caused his treatise *Daemonologie* (Edinburgh, 1597) to be published in England, and though this dialogue has the jejuneness and insipidity which characterize the literary efforts of that royal pedant, Parliament dutifully followed his lead with an act condemning all witches

and Bourne were granted the monopoly of printing foreign news and No. 1 of the new "newsbook" was dated 20 December 1638 [illegible]*ne occurrences brought* [illegible] But the way of the [illegible] which abolished the Star Chamber in 1641, had not the least intention of abolishing control of the press, and in 1643 a good Presbyterian, Henry Walley, clerk to the Stationers' Company, was made licenser. This ensured active commercial control over the disseminators of news, and from that time journalists may be said to have attained at least toleration. [illegible] not used.

To follow in any detail the course of journalism from Samuel Pecke's *Diurnall Occurrences* of 1641 to the Restoration would end in [illegible] tween 1643 and 1648 there was scarcely any Royalist press, and what there was appears to be comparatively respectable. Cromwell's [illegible] His "jackal", [illegible] anagrammat[illegible] [illegible]560 a successi[illegible] [illegible] to arrest the five members; and he ended by giving a [illegible] account of Cromwell's last moments and by writ[illegible] eulogy of Charles II in 1660. The most notorious of [illegible] was one of the worst of men. Another of Cromw[illegible] was the almost equally voluminous Marchamont N[illegible] better educated than Walker, but equally unp[illegible] 1650 he [illegible] forth, was a favourite name for the [illegible] their writers. In 1655 Nedham bega[illegible] *Publick Intelligencer*. One curious fac[illegible] is that though some of the writers [illegible]

died out and now became again fashionable. Translations of the interminable romances of La Calprenède and Madeleine de Scudéry began to appear; and with the translations came imitations. More practical civilizers collected anecdotes and apophthegms likely to teach exact thought and good manners. Selden's *Table Talk* (1689), was welcomed because of its tolerance, moderation and breadth of view. The Baconian essay, with its large generalities, began to lose ground, and writers of miscellanies passed from the general to the particular. The way was being prepared for Steele and Addison.

Even the belief in astrology and witchcraft was at last assailed in a civilized spirit. The best work against superstition was done by John Webster (1610–82)—not, of course, the dramatist, but a Puritan minister and doctor. His book *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* (1677) did more good than all its predecessors by bringing the controversy into an atmosphere in which the superstition could not live: the atmosphere of confidence in nature and reverence for an immaterial God. At a time when Harvey, Newton and Locke were teaching men to investigate and not fear the mysteries of life, Webster insisted that all evidence in support of sorcery should be subjected to the same scientific scrutiny. The period of witch persecutions is one of the darkest blots on English civilization and it produced a literature no less dreary. Before we pass too heavy a judgment on that evil time, we should remind ourselves that the desire to inflict suffering belongs to the lower minds of all ages, and that the modern lynchers and organizers of reprisals (even on a national scale) justify their passion for the spectacle of torture by alleging the intensity of their religious, moral, social, or racial convictions.

to death. Then came an outburst of arguments proving both the existence of relations between human beings and the devil and the [illegible]

attached to the original *History*. Impostors and perjurers abounded, and witch-finders found as profitable a public as modern psychical experts.

It was inevitable that the stars should be considered to have a special and predictable influence over events on earth, and so "Judicial Astrology" came to be recognized as one of the seven liberal arts. Though theologically banned as heresy against the doctrine of free-will, men clung to it, as men will always cling to [illegible]

precious metals and to cure all diseases united enthusiasts into a secret society under the symbol of the Rosy Cross Rosicrucianism reached England from Germany in the seventeenth century. Robert Fludd and Thomas Vaughan (brother of the poet) sought in occultism a cure for the ills of the world. Their doctrines helped to disseminate a purer conception of God and man; but the attempted substitution of vague allegorical aspiration for practical Christianity led nowhere.

It may be claimed that the popular and ribald literature of the Cavalier times helped to clear the air overcharged with menacing heaviness. This was certainly true of politics. The writings of Cleveland were of great service. While *Corantos*, *Mercuries* and *Diurnalls* were developing into newspapers, the popular verses and penny broadsides were serving the purpose of leading articles of a kind [illegible] h all its errors and excesses, [illegible] a crusade against the vices [illegible] attention to abuses in the administration of justice. The system of imprisonment for debt had been attacked as early as 1618, and the unnecessary sufferings of all prisoners engaged the attention of thoughtful minds.

At the end of the Civil War people began to frequent coffee-houses, because a cup of the newly-imported Turkish beverage cost only one penny and was supposed to cure minor ailments. Coffee-houses became places of discussion. A "coffee-house literature" [illegible]

their model to the French court, where a period of peace and [illegible]

How far the law against play-acting was evaded during the eighteen ars that followed the closing of the theatres in 1642 is a matter for ter discussion. At the moment we should remember two facts, rst that plays continued to be read in England, and next that the exiled Charles and his court were accustomed to plays abroad. In spite of the zealots there was still a public for printed drama. The second edition of the Shakespeare Folio (1632) was current. The second edition of Ben Jonson's *Works* had appeared in 1640. The first collected folio of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays was published in 1647. Other collections as well as numerous individual publications appeared. Thus the English drama, though under public condemnation, continued to live.

Foreign influences, or rather, foreign fashions, were in vogue, first because Henrietta Maria was a Frenchwoman, and next because after the failure of the royal cause, many Englishmen of the bett class lived abroad until the Restoration; and just as, in a former age, the type of serious drama had been set by the intrinsically unimportant Seneca, so in the present period the type of serious drama had been set by the intrinsically unimportant Alexandre Hardy, whose most celebrated play, *Mariamne*, dates from 1610, and whose vogue endured beyond his death in 1630. Hardy represented in France the kind of drama represented in England by the Beaumont-Fletcher collection. The great austere works of Corneille and Racine came much later and had little influence on the English dramatists. The "near-tragedy" of Hardy was much more to the English taste. The beginnings of Molière may, for our present purpose, be placed in 1658, when, both as actor and writer, he first appeared before Louis XIV and his court. Him the later writers of comedy pillaged without compunction. Another foreign influence upon the drama was that of the French and Spanish romances. With the *Astrée* (1610–12) of Honoré d'Urfé began the movement towards elaborately sentimental romance culminating in the works of La Calprenède Madeleine de Scudéry, and the Comtesse de La Fayette. The mai theme of these romances was heroic love in large dimensions, bu comporting itself with elaborate conventionality; and either translations or in the original tongue they were the favourite fare the English reading-public of the middle and later sixteen-hundre

It was in this period of foreign fashion that Dryden betook him to the writing of plays, which, in their printed form, were acc panied by excellent prose essays or dedications written with summate mastery. *The Wild Gallant* (acted 1663), his first play, not very successful, and hardly deserved to be. Dryden ack ledged that he was not fitted to write comedy, and consoled hi by observing that it was an inferior sort of composition. A summary may be made here of all his comedies. *The Wild*

CHAPTER VIII

THE AGE OF DRYDEN

I. DRYDEN

In the forty years of English literary production between the Restoration and the beginning of the eighteenth century, Dryden is the most conspicuous personality and the leader of almost every movement; yet of all great English poets he is the most restrained, the least

The fact is that Dryden was not in any sense an academic person. About 1657 he settled in London to which he remained faithful for the rest of his life. He emerged as a public writer with *A Poem upon the Death of His Late Highness, Oliver, Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland*, first published separately early in 1659, and revised later as *Heroick Stanzas consecrated to the Memory of His Highness Oliver, etc.* Few poets seem to have been less moved by

(1660), and next, *To His Sacred Majesty, A Panegyrick on his Coronation* (1661). With these may be mentioned the lines *To My Lord Chancellor*, offered to Clarendon on New Year's Day 1662. All three are in the decasyllabic couplet which Dryden writes at once

Prince Rupert, and His Grace the Duke of Albemarl And describing The Fire of London (1667)—the full title is worth quoting as it is a compact summary of the poem, which is a masterpiece of its own kind. In writing it Dryden returned to the "Gray's Elegy" quatrains of the *Heroick Stanzas* and used them with complete mastery Preceding it is *An Account of the Ensuing Poem in a Letter, etc.*, one of Dryden's early critical essays. A sentence in the letter refers to a play, and may serviceably remind us that Dryden did not progress simply from poem to poem. He wrote many plays of different kinds; but before we discuss them something should be said about the drama of his day.

cted 1690) is a romantic play in blank verse and prose. In the reface, Dryden, as usual, claims the dramatist's right to tell the tory in his own way. He shows no knowledge of *The Battle of Alcazar*, a century older, attributed to Peele. The tragedy which followed, *Cleomenes, the Spartan Hero* (acted 1692), is finely conceived and finely carried through on the lines of French classical tragedy, though with unrhymed verse. With it Dryden's career as a dramatist closes. *The Secular Masque*, written for his own benefit, and played only a short time before his death in 1700, has no enduring value. Dryden attempted many kinds of dramatic composition and attained a very notable degree of success in all; but it was only in the heroic play that he surpassed all his rivals and followers. Though Dryden did not enjoy writing plays, he enjoyed writing about the drama, and it is to the close and honest scrutiny of his own reactions to the theatre that we owe the magnificent body of prose criticism which alone would ensure him a memorable place in English literature. Incidental to his plays are the numerous prologues and epilogues. There is no species of composition in which he so happily mingles wit and wisdom, and in which those who came after him so clearly failed to reach his eminence.

To make this survey of Dryden's contributions to dramatic art and literature, we had to leave the general story of his career in the year of *Annus Mirabilis*, 1667. In 1670 he was made Poet Laureate and Historiographer Royal. Gradually he became the most famous writer of his day; but though he was much observed as he sat in his accustomed seat in Will's Coffee-house, everything seems to show that he was a quiet and retiring man, unconcerned by the broils which disgraced the republic of letters. He seems never to have been popular. Few English poets have been more violently and extensively attacked, and few have been so unperturbed. Compared with the calm reserve of Dryden, the shrieking personalities of Pope seem vulgar. We have already remarked that Dryden's genius responde instantly to movements of his time; he therefore found in the air and methods of the Whig intriguers a subject made to his har Who should succeed Charles II? His Catholic brother, James? T anti-Catholics led by the brilliant and unprincipled Shaftesbury t to set aside that succession. The infamous Popish Plot of Titus O and the tragi-comic attempt to place Monmouth on the throne incidents in the conspiracy. But before the final collapse Shaftes was arrested and sent to the Tower. The Middlesex Grand Jury t out the bill against him and a medal was struck in his honour. were the circumstances in which Part I of *Absalom and Ach* appeared in 1681. Part II, of which only a little is Dryden's (r Nahum Tate's), appeared in 1682. Both were anonymou giving his satire a Biblical setting and presenting Monmo

was written in prose, as was *Sir Martin Mar-All, or the Feigned Innocence* (1667, printed 1668), based on Molière's *L'Étourdi*. This was successful. In prose also is the main portion of *The Assignation, or Love in a Nunnery* (1672, printed 1673), a piece of small interest. [illegible] loose.

Dryden's second acted play, *The Rival Ladies* (acted 1664), shows him passing from comedy into tragi-comedy, where his genius was more at home. The play is specially remarkable for its use of rhyme as a feature of dramatic verse, a practice defended by Dryden in a dedication to Lord Orrery, the earliest of his critical excursions. To this subject he afterwards returned at greater length, both in his *Of Dramatick Poesie, An Essay* and in his *Essay of Heroick Plays*; but he did not claim the innovation as his own. D'Avenant in the semi-operatic *The Siege of Rhodes* (enlarged 1656) and Etherege in *The Comical Revenge, or Love in a Tub* (1664) had extensively used the heroic couplet, and Lord Orrery had written the whole of his *Henry V* (c. 1664) in that measure. The question of priority is not really important. It seems to be forgotten sometimes that much early English drama is written in rhymed verse (though not decasyllabic) and that, in his early plays, Shakespeare uses rhymed decasyllabic verse extensively.

The success of *The Rival Ladies* led Dryden to consider carefully a form of tragi-comedy, in which the serious part, executed in verse, should be accompanied by a less serious underplot, carried out in prose. The formula was not new; the novelty lay in the treatment. Three of Dryden's plays belong to this class. *Secret Love, or The Maiden Queen* (acted 1667) is founded mainly on *Le Grand Cyrus* of Madeleine de Scudéry. In *The Spanish Fryar, or The Double Discovery* (acted 1680) the comic effect predominates. The Friar is a specimen of the unctuous type which, from Chaucer to Dickens, has given unfailing delight. His last tragi-comedy, *Love Triumphant, or Nature will Prevail* (acted 1694), is mainly a repetition of *Marriage-à-la-Mode*, and did not succeed.

This summary has ranged widely through Dryden's life. Let us return. After the success of *The Rival Ladies* in 1664, he assisted his brother-in-law Sir Robert Howard in the production of almost the first "heroic" play, *The Indian Queen* (1664, printed 1665). This proved popular, and Dryden was encouraged to write a "sequel" called *The Indian Emperor, or The Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards* (acted 1665), by which the success of the new species was established

the poem *To The Pious Memory of the Accomplisht Young Lady, Mrs Anne Killigrew* (the best of his lyrics) was plainly moved, as feeling men of his years are often moved, by a sense of too long surrender to a "lubrique and adult'rate age", and by the need for a spiritual discipline with its healing obligations. When the political cause for which he had fought was utterly lost, Dryden refused to accept the new régime, was deprived of places and pensions, and saw his lost laurels crowning the head of MacFlecknoe himself. But before the fall and flight of James, Dryden produced several works of importance. He took a hand in a new translation of Plutarch (afterwards revised by Clough), and he embarked upon verse translations of Ovid, Virgil, Horace and Theocritus. The hope long cherished of writing an epic poem receded more and more into the background. A great poem of a different kind was still to come. Stillingfleet had made unfavourable religious comment on Dryden, and Dryden's reply took the form of a long allegorical fable *The Hind and the Panther. A Poem. In Three Parts* (1687). The poem is the longest of Dryden's original productions in verse; but it is carried with unmistakable vigour to its abrupt close. There is no sign of failing power. Its perfect sincerity brought him into favour with neither religious party. William and Mary came in, and Dryden was dismissed and disgraced.

From the time of the Revolution he became a hard-working man of letters in the modern sense. With the assistance of his two elder sons he brought out in 1693 a complete translation of Juvenal and Persius, prefaced by one of the most delightful of his essays, *A Discourse concerning the Original and Progress of Satire*. In 1697 appeared his translation of Virgil. Dryden's Virgil is literally Dryden's Virgil, and was expected to be. Its readers were already familiar with Virgil's Virgil, and wanted to know how a great English poet would treat that familiar story. Its successes and its failures are equally plain. The freedom which Dryden had assumed as a translator of the Roman poets he carried a step further in the reproductions of Chaucer and of Chaucer's frequent source, Boccaccio. The whole volume, with a preface dated 1699, has the curious title *Fables, Ancient and Modern*. Dryden, like other eminent persons of a date still later, did not know how to read Chaucer and charges that admirable metrist with "writing thousands of...Verses, which are lame for want of half a foot, and sometimes a whole one, and which no pronunciation can make otherwise". Nevertheless he recognized both the quality and the magnitude of Chaucer, and his Chaucerian poems, like his Shakespearean plays, are acts of homage, and recommended the old poet to readers of another generation. The prose *Preface* to the *Fables* is one of the most delightful and one of the most unconstrained of all Dryden's prose pieces. The last period of Dryden's literary labours

Shaftesbury as the rebellious Absalom encouraged by the wily counsellor Achitophel, Dryden caught the ears of the Whig and Puritan citizens of London who had been Shaftesbury's strongest supporters. *Absalom and Achitophel* remains the greatest political satire in our literature. The incomparable brilliancy of its diction and versification can hardly be over-praised; but its supreme excellence lies in its sketches of character. The shrunken counterparts of Dryden's great inventions can always be found in any Government ... , Shaftesbury, who recognized that ... Monmouth was arrested and the ... o show himself in England. *The Medall. A Satyre against Sedition By the Author of Absalom and* ...

... *upon the True-Blew-Protestant Poet, T. S.* (1682). Those who know the incomparable lines on Shadwell need scarcely be reminded of them; those who do not must seek them in the first of great English mock-heroic poems. From it Pope derived his idea of *The Dunciad*. This cycle of Dryden's writings is completed by his share in the *Second Part of Absalom and Achitophel*, published a few weeks after *MacFlecknoe*. Dryden's characters of Doeg and Og (Settle and Shadwell) are triumphs of haughty satirical contempt.

With *Religio Laici, or a Laymans Faith* (1682), we come to Dryden's most personal and spontaneous composition; but even here we cannot forget that religion was partly a political question. In Browne's *Religio Medici* the important word is the first; in Dryden's *Religio Laici* the second. The prose work is an exultation in the mysteries of religion; ... warring ... road whi ... writer of a later *Apologia*, to Rome. It is a poem that deserves more attention than it usually receives.

Charles II died in 1685, and was succeeded by James II. To the ...

... importance. The personal effect on Dryden of the succession of a Catholic king was to lead him into the Church where authority was supreme. The easy charge that Dryden obsequiously followed the victorious side cannot be maintained The author of *Religio Laici* was clearly seeking for the guidance of some kindly light; the author of

II. SAMUEL BUTLER

a singular piece of literary good luck Samuel Butler (1613–80) came secretary to Sir Samuel Luke, the Puritan colonel (Bunyan's mmander), and found in that fanatic the model for Sir Hudibras, d in the motley crew of zealots who surrounded him the inspiration or a comic epic. At Luke's house, no doubt, he composed many of his prose *Characters*, though some were written after the Restoration. One hundred and twenty of these *Characters* appeared (but not till 1759) in *The Genuine Remains in Verse and Prose of Mr Samuel Butler*, and sixty-eight more, together with a number of miscellaneous *Observations and Reflexions*, have recently been published. The *Characters* are good examples of that once popular form of composition. *Hudibras* itself appeared in three parts, the first in 1663, the second in 1664, and the third much later in 1678. It was at once received with great enthusiasm, especially by Charles II, who rewarded the poet with a gratuity of £300. But most of Butler's life was unfortunate and he died in abject penury.

Hudibras is a mock-heroic poem dealing with the pretensions and hypocrisies of the Presbyterians, Independents and the rest of the "caterwauling brethren", who, styling themselves saints, helped to overthrow the monarchy and hoped to establish a sectarian tyranny of which they should be the leaders. Butler wrote it with conviction and enjoyment. The general machinery and the actual name come from *The Faerie Queene*; but clearly the strongest influences are those of Cervantes and Rabelais. Cervantes supplies the plot and the setting, Don Quixote and Sancho serving as models for Sir Hudibras and Ralpho; Rabelais supplies the general comic extravagance of parody. To mention predecessors whom a writer has known and liked is merely to intimate a community of enjoyment in which the reader may like to share. There is no suggestion of any lack of originality in this or in similar instances. Butler was clearly an original satirical genius with a skill in comic rhyming which has been, in its turn, the inspiration of many successors.

Hudibras is the most remarkable document of the reaction agains Puritanism at the Restoration. Its turns of wit, racy metaphors an quaint rhymes have secured its continuance as an English classi even though much of its matter and many of its allusions are no scarcely intelligible without profusion of comment. Sparkling and humour enliven the discussions which make up much of book and many memorable couplets are excellent as general critic and have become almost household words. The three parts contain three cantos. Whether Butler meant to bring his poem the Virgilian twelve by adding another three we cannot say.

also witnessed his final endeavours in lyrical verse—a species of poetry in which he achieved a more varied excellence than is always placed to his credit. The *Song for St Cecilia's Day* (1687) and *Alexander's Feast; or The Power of Musique* (1697) have been over-praised and are

which the decline of life is rarely exempt, Dryden's days drew to

Chaucer.

English prose; and though in verse the next generation claimed to improve upon his model, the model, nevertheless, was his. In blank verse he is almost as strong as in his chosen instrument, the couplet. Dryden's prose combines with ease of flow and forcible directness a

period. In his non-dramatic verse he left scarcely any kind of poetry

and, at the same time, with masculine directness and clear simplicity of purpose.

conditions of popular passion violence established itself as a method of political controversy.

The laureate of Titus Oates and the Popish Plot was John Oldham (1653–83), whose life, character and circumstances combined to make him an ardent revolutionary. He was by nature and inclination a satirist; but unfortunately he digressed from his "only province" into Cowleyan "Pindarique" odes. His vice of turgidity and his method of heaping effect on effect to reach one great towering climax were encouraged by Cowley's influence. The ode *Upon the Works of Ben Jonson* contains just criticism, but falls far short of the sublime it essays to reach. The *Satyr against Vertue* enlists, for the first time, the "Pindarique" hyperbole in the service of irony. Oldham's real power was clearly exhibited in *A Satyr upon a Woman, who by her Falsehood and Scorn was the Death of my Friend* (1678). Here he makes use of the heroic couplet, which was his most effective medium. But this poem was soon surpassed by his chief work, the four *Satyrs upon the Jesuits*, published as a whole in 1681. They owe much to Juvenal. The harshness of the versification and the air of violence differentiate sharply the satires of Oldham from those of his great contemporary Dryden. His Jesuits are rejoicing and self-conscious villains, and they fail as indictments because they are incredible. Oldham is not really a great satirist. He did not care enough for truth for its own sake. He is merely violent in an age when violence was in fashion. Oldham's other works call for no comment. It is tempting, but useless, to speculate upon the poet he might have become had his life not been cut short by the excesses of his violent spirit. Dryden, though of the other party in politics and religion, generously saluted the early ripeness of Oldham, even while indicating his characteristic defect—"the harsh Cadence of a rugged line".

The succeeding swarms of satirical effusions by known and unknown writers settled round two main points, the Exclusion Bill and the Revolution. But the earlier failures of Charles II's reign were not forgotten. Waller's well-meant but unfortunate *Instructions to a Painter, for the Drawing of the Posture and Progress of His Majesty's Forces at Sea*, designed to celebrate "the Victory obtained over the Dutch, June 3, 1665", invited satirical reprisals when the Dutch not only began to obtain victories over His Majesty's Forces at sea but sailed up the river Thames and threatened His Majesty's own capital city. We have already mentioned Marvell's deadly imitation of Waller. There were other *Advices* or *Instructions* on various themes. To Denham, Marvell, Dryden, Oldham and Butler were attributed many pieces which they did not write; and when the most popular productions were reprinted in such collections as the volumes entitled *Poems on Affairs of State* issued between 1697 and 1716 the false

third part is the least satisfactory in form and one almost expects another instalment to restore proportion.

verse, beginning with *The Elephant in the Moon*, directed against Sir Paul Neale, a member of the Royal Society. The subject is treated metrically twice over—in octosyllabic verse, Butler's special metre, and then in the rhymed decasyllables of Dryden. It seems as though Butler had experimented to find the most suitable vehicle for his satire. This poem is followed by nine satires, one or two of which are

a number

them cont

III POLITICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL SATIRE

The accounts just given of Dryden and Butler should have shown, first, that the Restoration established political and religious satire among the kinds of English poetry, and, next, that "political" and "religious" are, in this period, two terms for the same thing. The Civil War created parties, the Restoration established them. The ignoble squabbles over the Exclusion Bill created a new kind of conflict, the violent interchange of hostile words. Butler gave the "caterwauling crew" no quarter. "The True-Blew Protestants"

was Andrew Marvell, whose knowledge of affairs and statesmanlike insight gave added power to the poetic force of his satires. But

acquired the nicknames "Whig" and "Tory"; and under these

even blasphemers preferred to deal with Quaker tradesmen because of their honesty.

The mystic is commonly impelled to make known to others his experience of God in the soul, and early Quaker literature, therefore, is the record of a spiritual conflict rather than the assertion of a creed. George Fox's *Journal* is by far the most noteworthy of all these records. It has hardly a rival in religious literature of its kind. Yet it has no literary form and was, for the most part, dictated. It was first put into grammatical English by Thomas Ellwood and other Friends, but the original has now been published *verbatim* and there is a useful abbreviation. It has a penetrating fervent simplicity which goes straight to the heart of the reader. Whether his story be gentle or horrible, George never lifts his voice to shrillness of protestation or complaint. Some of the vignettes, as we may call them, that illustrate his narrative make unforgettable pictures. Indeed the whole book is deeply moving.

Thomas Ellwood (1639–1713), a man of liberal education, was constrained by conviction to throw in his lot with the despised "people of God". He was an intimate friend of William Penn and Isaac Penington, and was for some years engaged as reader to Milton in his blindness. It was Ellwood, according to a doubtful tradition, who suggested to Milton the theme afterwards worked out in *Paradise Regained*. *The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood, written by his own hand* (1714) gives a very lively picture of his inward struggles, of his passive resistance to the monstrous tyranny of his father, and of his share in the persecutions to which all his people were subjected. His description of prisons and prison life in the seventeenth century has high historical value. The *Journal* of John Gratton (1641–1712), another Quaker of good education, is of great interest to the student of religious psychology. Equally attractive is *An Account of the Convincement, etc.* (1710) by Richard Davies of Welshpool, who tells the story of his own sufferings, and of the first propagation of the "truth" in Wales. *The Memoir of John Roberts* of Cirencester (1623–83) was written by his son Daniel in 1725. For its brightness and unfailing humour, it well deserves an honourable place in English religious literature. Oliver Wendell Holmes called it a book of gold.

William Penn (1644–1718), son of the Admiral Penn frequently mentioned by Pepys, is the most widely known of the early Quakers—chiefly as the founder and first governor of the colony of Pennsylvania. His character has been assailed by Macaulay and others; but there seems no reason to doubt that he remained absolutely sincere and worthy of the respect in which he was always held by his people. The best known of his early works, *No Cross No Crown* (1669), was written at the age of twenty-four, while he was in the Tower for the "blasphemy" of a pamphlet, *The Sandy Foundation*

attributions were still maintained. *Absalom and Achitophel* and its sequel *The Medal* produced their own crop of replies, and the Popish Plot was naturally the inspiration of a whole tribe of scurrilous penmen, whose productions it would be tedious to mention. There were of course many "ballads"—imitations of popular songs to well-known tunes. Tom D'Urfey (1653–1723) was the most popular ballad-composer under the Restoration. But all political ditties are unimportant compared with *Lillibурlero*, the tune of which, absurdly claimed for Purcell, conferred an instant and extraordinary success on Thomas Lord Wharton's doggerel. It is unnecessary to cite other examples. "We don't want to fight, but by Jingo if we do" is a music-hall song that sharply summed up popular political feeling in 1877 and gave a word to the language; but we do not quote it among the masterpieces of Victorian literature. So, although *Lilli-* [illegible] been mentioned.

IV. THE EARLY QUAKERS

The rise of the Quaker movement in England, which began with the public preaching of George Fox (1624–90), was marked by a surprising outburst of literary activity. The new conception of religion was propagated with extraordinary zeal. It is not our business to discuss religious differences; but we may say briefly that whereas the churchman reposed upon tradition and the Puritan upon the Bible, the Quaker found certitude in a direct experience of God in the soul. It was the fate of these sincere and exalted enthusiasts to be persecuted more rancorously by the Puritan sects than by the church itself. The "Inward Light" of the Quakers shone in many loathsome prisons of the Lord Protector's England

George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends (first called "Quakers" by "Justice Bennett at Derby, because, said Fox, we bid them tremble at the word of the Lord"), was, like Bunyan, an unlearned man inspired by the Bible. It is not Bunyan, however, whom George Fox seems most to resemble. His true brother in spiritual genius is St Francis of Assisi. What George Fox took from the Bible was practice rather than doctrine. His associates were "Friends", and men and women stood on equal terms. George Fox had one of the sure marks of genius: he was a great organizer, and the Society rose like an exhalation under his inspiration, covered England with its influence, and circulated quantities of printed matter in defiance of all authority. So completely practical was Quaker Christianity that

Fry and attracted the attention of Charles Lamb. A delightful modern book is *Memories of Old Friends* (1882) by Caroline Fox, fascinating as a personal record and as a gallery of notable portraits.

V. THE RESTORATION DRAMA

1. *D'Avenant, Etherege, etc.*

Like all fanatical large-scale prohibitions, the closing of the theatres in 1642 could not be strictly enforced. There were surreptitious performances, in and out of London, either at the houses of noblemen or in actual play-houses like The Cockpit and The Red Bull. If plays were forbidden, "entertainments" were not. So we hear of "drolls" or "droll-humours", as they were called—farces or humorous scenes adapted from current plays and staged on extemporized platforms. Thus, a "droll" entitled *Merry Conceits of Bottom the Weaver* was printed as early as 1646. "Drolls" derived from *Hamlet*, *The Merry Wives* and other plays were acted in spite of the penalties.

Towards the close of Cromwell's rule, the laws against dramatic entertainments appear to have been somewhat relaxed, and Sir William D'Avenant, who had been governor of the royal company of players, and had held a patent, dated 1639, empowering him to erect a new play-house, was obviously the man to provide for a returning interest in plays. He obtained authority for the production of a kind of semi-dramatic entertainment, which, though given at private houses, was public to those who paid for admission. D'Avenant's earliest venture of this sort was entitled *The First Day's Entertainment at Rutland House*, "by declamation and music, after the manner of the ancients", staged in 1656. By some, this venture has been called "an opera", though it is little more than two pairs of speeches diversified by music. After this came a more ambitious entertainment. This was the celebrated "opera" *The Siege of Rhodes* (1656), which included "perspective in scenes" and "the story sung in recitative music". It may be worth while to remember that opera, i.e., sung drama, appeared in Italy at the very end of the sixteenth century, as an attempt to revive the peculiarities of Greek drama. *The Siege of Rhodes* is claimed as the first English opera; and though its musical texture is slight there is no greater gap, operatically speaking, between *The Siege of Rhodes* and *Rinaldo* than between *Rinaldo* and *Don Giovanni*. *The Siege of Rhodes* is also described as the first English play to employ scenery and the first in which an actress appeared on the English stage. Neither of these statements is correct. Ladies of the court had appeared in the Jacobean masques and French actresses appeared in London as early as 1629. In 1658 D'Avenant opened The Cockpit Theatre in Drury Lane, producing

Shaken (1668), in which he had assailed what were regarded as the strongholds of the Christian faith. He wrote *No Cross No Crown* "to show...that the denial of self...is the alone way to the Rest and Kingdom of God". More of a mystic than Penn was his friend Isaac Penington (1616–79), son of one of the regicide judges. The love story of Penington and his wife is a record of noble heroism

taken down about two hours before the end of his wild and tortured life reads like the words of a man whose life had known nothing but the ecstasy of contemplation. Another beautiful tribute to the spirit that animated the early Quakers is given by William Dewsbury (1621–88) in *The Faithful Testimony, etc.* shortly before his death during a long and terrible imprisonment in Warwick Castle.

The Quakers were attacked by Bunyan and by Baxter, as well as by innumerable forgotten sectaries; and both attacks and defences are now scarcely readable. Of Penn's merely controversial books it is needless to speak. The prodigious *apologia* of Samuel Fisher (1605–

can be read to-day with interest and profit, *An Apology for the True*

aphorisms, "fruits", as Penn calls them, "that may serve the reader for texts to preach to himself upon". The exalted mysticism of the Quakers found no memorable expression in verse—there is no

spirituality of their predecessors, became, for the most part, the children of a tradition. That tradition inspired the work of Elizabeth

and Mrs Behn's *The Roundheads* (1682), borrowed from Tatham's *The Rump*.

A few individual playwrights of the Restoration maintained the old traditions of English drama. Foremost among them was John Wilson (d. 1696), whose two comedies *The Cheats* (1662) and *The Projectors* (1664) are Jonsonian. Besides these excellent comedies, Wilson is the author of an excellent tragedy, *Andronicus Comnenius* (1664), in blank verse. His fourth play, *Belphegor, or the Marriage of the Devil* (1691), repeats the familiar story told by Machiavelli and used by Jonson in *The Devil is an Ass*, as well as by others. Brief mention only can be accorded to Sir Robert Stapylton's comedy *The Slighted Maid* (1663) and his tragi-comedy *The Stepmother* (1663). Whether the trivial but witty comedy, *Mr Anthony*, printed in 1690, be the work of Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, or not, it calls for favourable notice here. The Duke of Newcastle, too, and his clever Duchess both wrote plays. Two comedies by the Duke—*The Humorous Lovers* and *The Triumphant Widow*—were printed in 1673; and twenty-one plays by the Duchess were published in a folio volume of 1662. But comedy, on the revival of the stage, was not to be confined to satire on recent events or to imitations of Jonson. New wares were imported from abroad, and especially from Spain.

The effect of Spanish literature upon English, especially in drama, has been unduly minimized by historians and critics who have not possessed the material upon which a judgment can be based. There had long been regular intercourse with Spain since the time of James I, and visitors to the Peninsula saw many plays that have not survived or attained to print. Thus Lope de Vega, almost an exact contemporary of Shakespeare, is said to have written over two thousand plays, most of which are entirely lost. About five hundred survive, and not even all of these have been printed. The reports of those who saw these plays were current in literary circles; and though we cannot adduce printed Spanish "originals", we can adduce a very large number of plays with Spanish characters, Spanish themes and Spanish attitudes, as well as a large number of plays based, either directly or through adaptations, upon Spanish stories. The most popular pre-Shakespearean play was *The Spanish Tragedy*. Cervantes offered to our dramatists material which they were not backward in using. There is nothing specially Spanish in Shakespeare, except the fine caricature of Armado; but characters with unmistakably Spanish names appear in plays that have nothing to do with Spain—Iago being the most striking example. Fletcher, Middleton, Rowley, Massinger and Shirley all clearly drew directly or indirectly from Spanish sources. With Samuel Tuke's *Adventures of Five Hours* (written in 1662) so much admired by Pepys, and George Digby's *Elvira, or The Worst Not always True* (printed in 1667), we reach

there two similar operas, *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* (1658) and *The History of Sir Francis Drake* (1659).

[illegible]

Salisbury Court in Whitefriars. At the Restoration, Charles II issued a patent to Thomas Killigrew and Sir William D'Avenant, empowering them to "erect" two companies of players. Killigrew's company soon became known as the King's, and D'Avenant's as the Duke of York's. In 1661, the latter moved to a new play-house in Portugal Row, Lincoln's Inn, and later, after D'Avenant's death, to the sumptuous theatre in Salisbury Court. D'Avenant's house was commonly called "the opera" from the performance of musical plays there. The King's Company (Killigrew's), variously housed before 1663, removed in that year to the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane.

Thomas Killigrew (1612-83) had been reared as a page in the court of Charles I, and continued a favourite companion of Charles II. [illegible] *Claracilla* and *The Princess.* [illegible] in the collected edition of [illegible] play, and, being very loose, was very popular. Two brothers of Thomas, Sir William and Henry, also wrote plays, which have no value as literature.

The works of Sir William D'Avenant (see p. 328) were posthumously collected in 1673. Several of his rewritten plays, such as *Love and Honour*, *The Wits* and *The Platonick Lovers*, long remained popular favourites; but most of his work after the Restoration was mere adaptation—*Macbeth*, with "alterations, amendments, additions and new songs" and *The Tempest or the Enchanted Island* written with Dryden. Shakespearean adaptations were common at the Restoration—*Measure for Measure* with Beatrice and Benedick introduced and the concoction named *The Law against Lovers*, and *Romeo and Juliet* transformed into a comedy. Pepys saw many Shakespearean performances and is loud in praise of Betterton as Hamlet However

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dramatic journalism, *The Rump, or the Mirrour of the Late Times* (1660), which boldly lampoons the notabilities of the Commonwealth. Another comedy of the type is Sir Robert Howard's *The Committee*, produced in 1665 and long popular. A better written

[illegible]

sional glimpses of real feeling. Little is known of Sir George Etherege (1634?–91). His first play, *The Comical Revenge, or Love in a Tub* (1664), was partly serious, and is written in prose and rhymed couplets; but his next, *She wou'd if She Cou'd* (1668), is a prose comedy and a better work. The indolent author waited till 1676 before producing his last and best comedy, *The Man of Mode, or Sir Fopling Flutter*. Etherege appears to have held diplomatic posts in various parts of Europe. His correspondence, which included letters to and from Dryden, is full of life and gay gossip. Whether he was the first of his contemporaries to use rhymed couplets in a play is one of those useless questions that need no discussion. He was one of the first. Either by natural inclination or by the example of Molière, Etherege was moved to give his hearers the "comedy of manners" instead of the "comedy of humours" associated with Jonson and his imitators, and his plays have the air of light improvisations which must have given the sixteen-sixties the kind of unexpected pleasure that Oscar Wilde gave the eighteen-nineties. The dialogue of Etherege is almost uniformly witty and is seldom overdone and unsuited to his personages. He is not too brilliant for life.

The closest immediate follower of Etherege in comedy is Sir Charles Sedley (c. 1639–1701), whose earliest comedy *The Mulberry Garden* (1668) is written in Etherege's mixture of prose and heroic couplets. Sedley gained a deserved reputation alike for the clearness and ease of his prose and for a light lyrical gift, not of the first order. *The Mulberry Garden* is bettered in *Bellamira, or the Mistress* (1687), founded on the *Eunuchus* of Terence, and presenting a lively, if coarsely realistic, picture of contemporary pleasure-seeking. *The Grumbler* (1702) is a mere adaptation from the French. Sedley's tragedies call for no comment. John Lacy's *The Old Troop* (c. 1665), *Sawny the Scot* (c. 1667), *The Dumb Lady* (c. 1669), butchered from Molière, and *Sir Hercules Buffoon* (1684) are merely an actor's plays. Edward Ravenscroft pillaged Molière and other writers for his numerous pieces, one of which, *London Cuckolds* (1682), was acted annually on Lord Mayor's day for a century.

It is curious that the first woman to write professionally for the English stage began her career when the morality of English drama was at its lowest. Aphra or Aphara Johnson (1640–89) married a Dutch merchant named Behn. Mrs Behn's novels do not concern us here. Between 1671 and 1689 she wrote fifteen plays. Like her contemporaries she borrowed much, but she is genuinely inventive, and keeps both action and dialogue in easy motion. Her most popular play was *The Rover, or The Banished Cavaliers* (1677, second part 1681). *The Dutch Lover* (1673) is a favourable specimen of cloak and sword comedy. Other plays deal with contemporary town life, most of them lifted bodily from earlier English plays. For example,

unquestionable examples of the immediate adaptation of Spanish dramas to the English stage. Both these comedies are favourable specimens of the popular "cape and sword" drama invented by Lope de Vega. George Digby, Earl of Bristol, had been ambassador

Lover and *The Rover* are other popular plays that came, in some way, from Spain. Crowne's *Sir Courtly Nice* and part at least of Wycherley's comedy *The Gentleman Dancing-Master* can be assigned to Spanish originals. Very often, Spanish stories filtered into England through the drama of France. Steele's *Lying Lover*, *The Perplexed Lover* of Mrs Centlivre and Colley Cibber's *She Would and She Would Not* are later plays derived from Spanish sources The matter may be summed up thus: the pro-Spanish fashion instituted by James I coincided with the most extraordinary period of fertility in Spanish drama. There was considerable friendly intercourse, and

current plays and novels. As we have pointed out, it was the less important writers who were most popular. The greatest, Corneille and Racine, did not affect English plays, though people talked about their observance of the "unities" or the "rules". The one French writer of the first rank who directly affected English dramatists was Molière, whose earlier work corresponds, in point of time, with the latest years of royal exile. No one foreign author has been so

English Friar.

Before French adaptations became generally popular in Restoration times, a new dramatist, schooled in France, gave expression to the spirit of the age in the kind of plays that came to be called "the comedy of manners"—exhibitions of artificial social life with occa-

Judged by the highest standard of comedy, *Love for Love* fails because it does not remain true to its own life throughout; but it certainly has a kind of life. In 1697 Congreve gave his players, not another comedy, but *The Mourning Bride*, a rash experiment in the later Elizabethan drama. To a modern ear *The Mourning Bride* is fustian; but the taste of the time hailed it as a masterpiece, and it held the stage for many years. We may note that it opens with the familiar line: "Music hath charms to soothe a savage breast", and that its third act concludes on a famous tag, the sense of which is borrowed from Cibber:

> Heaven has no rage, like love to hatred turned,
> Nor hell a fury, like a woman scorned.

Three years later, in 1700, Congreve's masterpiece, *The Way of the World*, was played at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields. That it was a failure on the stage is not remarkable, for it is still a failure on the stage. That Millamant sails triumphantly into our hearts and that the dialogue is written with dazzling brilliance cannot hide the harsh facts that the story (if it can be called a story) is unintelligible and that the action (if there can be said to be any action) is feeble. And so *The Way of the World*, constantly cried up by "intellectuals", has always failed to hold the stage. But, failure though it is, *The Way of the World* touches a height that Congreve nowhere else attained. Some of it is comedy perfectly brilliant; some of it is near to tragedy almost poignant. It shows possibilities of dramatic excellence that Congreve, with his indolence, never sought to attain. He lacked the larger virtues of character, charity and humanity; and so Goldsmith and Sheridan, who had some measure of those gifts, remain alive when Congreve is merely embalmed in the enthusiasm of the "intelligentsia".

It would be difficult to find a more obvious contrast to Congreve than Sir John Vanbrugh (1664–1726). In the sense that Congreve was a man of letters Vanbrugh was not a man of letters at all. He was a man of a bluff temper and vigorous understanding, who easily communicated to his works the energy and humour of his mind. His grandfather came from Ghent and, like others of foreign descent, Vanbrugh became more English than the English. In 1697 he produced *The Relapse, or Virtue in Danger*, and instantly established his reputation. This broad and lively farce owed its inspiration to Cibber's *Love's Last Shift*, and it exists for the display of Lord Foppington, Sir Tunbelly Clumsey and Miss Hoyden, three caricatures of the kind that delighted the author. *The Provok'd Wife*, produced in 1697, is in all respects a better play. Sir John Brute is Vanbrugh's masterpiece. He stands out in relief by the side of Lady Brute and Belinda, who are far nearer to common life than are the fine ladies of Congreve.

The Debauchee (1677) is based on *A Mad Couple well matched* by Richard Brome, *The Town Fop*, of the same date, on George Wilkins's *Miseries of Enforced Marriage*, and *The City Heiress* (1682) [illegible] *Roundheads* (1682) [illegible] *ump.* It is idle to [illegible] What they have [illegible]

[illegible]

borrowed from Spain. *The Country Wife* is likely to be misjudged [illegible]

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VI. THE RESTORATION DRAMA

2. Congreve, Vanbrugh, Farquhar, etc

[illegible]

came upon the town with *The Old Bachelor* Dryden, now in the plenitude of his power, generously hailed the rising star. The play is bright and easy, but confused in action. At no time of his life did Congreve learn how to tell a story on the stage

In the same year (1693), *The Double Dealer* was played at Drury [illegible]

[illegible]

George Farquhar (1678–1707) who, being an Irishman, had naturally joined in the fight, appeared too late to feel the parson's whip. He began his career as Congreve was closing his, and put life, as he knew it, into his comedies without pretence of restraint. Ireland, the recruiting officer, the disbanded soldier, love, the bottle, and the road—these he handled with the freedom and joyousness of one who knew them well. Farquhar borrowed with impunity; he used the most exhausted devices; he left his dialogue unpolished; and he dismissed criticism with the remark that "the rules of English comedy don't lie in the compass of Aristotle or his followers, but in the Pit, Box, and Galleries". Farquhar was right; and in his own practice he showed that the one thing needful is genuine vivacity. He came to London in 1698, with *Love and a Bottle* in his pocket, and made an instant conquest of the theatre. A year later followed *The Constant Couple, or a Trip to the Jubilee*, which showed a clear advance in workmanship. Thereafter came two failures, and then, in 1705, a piece of good fortune sent Farquhar on military duty to Shrewsbury; and he brought back with him a comedy, *The Recruiting Officer*, which he dedicated "to all friends round the Wrekin". In this he takes the comedy of manners perceptibly nearer the novel. A year later was played *The Beaux Stratagem*, the masterpiece of its author. Full of the gaiety and bustle of the road, it depicts the life of taverns and the highway and moves in an atmosphere of boisterous merriment. A sense of undefeated spirit is communicated by all Farquhar's plays and accounts for their lasting interest.

The lesser lights of the Restoration stage need the barest indication. Thomas Shadwell (1642?–1692), Poet Laureate, popular in his own day, now lives in the immortal couplets of *MacFlecknoe*. But he was not so completely foolish as those couplets imply. He was a distant disciple of Ben Jonson and he had sense enough to borrow from Molière, who is the source of *The Sullen Lovers* (1668), *The Miser* (1672) and *Bury Fair* (1689). Shadwell offers quite early examples of the comedy of manners in *The Humorists* (1670) and *Epsom Wells* (1672). He had the wit to make Don Juan the hero of *The Libertine* (1676), and with *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688) he caught the taste of the town. Shadwell gives a faithful picture of his age, roughly rather than finely drawn, and, to that extent, more veracious. His work kept the stage for many years.

Thomas D'Urfey (1653–1723), a French Huguenot by descent and a denizen of Grub Street by profession, who turned his hand to any form of composition, left a vast number of boisterous farces and bombastic melodramas. His more serious plays, mere burlesques of tragedy, are in "Ercles' vein". *The Siege of Memphis* (1676) and *The Famous History of the Rise and Fall of Massaniello* (1700) can scarcely be matched, for sheer fustian, in English literature. The plays

true breed. The last years of Vanbrugh's life were devoted to architecture, and he became involved in violent disputes; but detraction never checked the buoyancy of Vanbrugh's spirit.

Three years after *Love for Love*, and one year after *The Relapse* and *The Provok'd Wife*, an attack was delivered on the theatre in *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* (1698) by Jeremy Collier, a non-juring clergyman, who specially arraigned

fact and representation. He assumed that the poet who successfully

sented as a virtue, and infidelity for infidelity's sake ceased to be

deluded by dislike for Collier's fanaticism into asserting that when reformation gradually came it owed nothing to Collier, but arose from a change in the manners of the people, is to be the victim of mere text-book criticism Collier was one of the causes as well as one of the symptoms of that change.

England. Of the major French dramatists the first to be known in England was Pierre Corneille, for a version of *Le Cid* by Joseph Rutter was played before King Charles and Henrietta Maria as early as 1637. Shortly after the Restoration, Corneille found a worthy translator in Katherine Philips, "the Matchless Orinda", whose version of *Pompée*, in rhymed verse, was produced in London in 1663. *Heraclius* translated by Lodowick Carlell was played in 1664. In 1671 John Dancer's translation of *Nicomède* was acted at the Theatre Royal in Dublin. Other translations were published but, apparently, not acted. While Corneille thus became known and appreciated, his great contemporary Racine had to wait for recognition till the next century. The industrious Crowne put forth, in 1675, an utterly inadequate version of *Andromaque*, and Otway came out with *Titus and Berenice* (1677), which had almost no success. A similar fate befell two other versions of plays by Racine—*Achilles, or Iphigenia in Aulis* (1700) by Abel Boyer the historian, and *Phaedra and Hippolitus* (1706) by Edmund Smith the poet. Public taste, no doubt, was being educated, for in 1712 *The Distrest Mother*, Ambrose Philips's skilful adaptation of *Andromaque*, met with immediate and lasting popularity. But English writing was very little influenced by the French style, though there were many defenders of its "rules". French plays were plundered, not imitated.

After Dryden, the foremost place among the tragic writers of the Restoration age is held by Thomas Otway (1652–85). His first play, *Alcibiades* (1675), a tragedy in rhymed verse, is a dreary and stilted piece. In his next play, *Don Carlos* (1676), Otway was more happy. The scenes are handled with vigour, and the play was effective and popular. The largely fictitious romance *Don Carlos* by the Abbé de Saint-Réal was the source both of Otway's and of Schiller's play, but there is no evidence that one suggested the other. Two capable versions of French plays followed (1677)—*Titus and Berenice* from Racine's *Bérénice* and *The Cheats of Scapin* from Molière's *Fourberies de Scapin*. Otway's loose comedy *Friendship in Fashion* (1678) showed no aptitude for that form of composition. In 1680, however, appeared *The Orphan*, a tragedy in blank verse, one of the two plays upon which the fame of Otway rests. The other, *Venice Preserv'd, or a Plot Discover'd*, a tragedy in blank verse, was first acted in 1682. Though the story of the play is taken from another semi-historical narrative by the Abbé de Saint-Réal, the finest character, Belvidera, is a creation of Otway himself. *The Orphan* is lachrymose rather than tragic; *Venice Preserv'd* is in the grand manner of tragedy and its major characters held their place in the repertory of great players well into the nineteenth century. In magnitude of emotion and eloquence of speech *Venice Preserv'd* is worthy to rank with the later masterpieces of the Elizabethan age. Otway at his tragic best is very

which he dignifies by the name of comedy are mere farces. There is no trick of the time which he does not employ. *Madam Fickle* (1676) his first play and *The Fool Turn'd Critic* which followed in the same year are nothing but collections of situations from earlier plays. Many years later, in 1709, "sing-song D'Urfey" astonished the town with a play of a wholly new pattern. It was called *The Modern Prophets*, and was described by Steele as "a most unanswerable satire against the late spirit of enthusiasm" (i.e. fanaticism). Save in the writing of songs, D'Urfey was a man of very slender talent; but his later works mark the beginnings of the sentimental comedy which was to displace the artificial comedy.

Colley Cibber (1671–1757) was a born man of the theatre. His plays were no more than scenarios for the display of his company's talents. His best-known piece, *Love's Last Shift* (1696) is, as far as we know, the first. He adapted as freely as he wrote, and improved Shakespeare as cheerfully as he improved Mrs Centlivre. His version of Richard III lasted well into the nineteenth century. But Colley Cibber has one claim upon our regard, which all his journey-work would not merit. He left us in *An Apology for the Life of*

longer trouble us. We may even forget the manufacturer of mechanical plays. The kindly and shrewd historian of the theatre will still be entitled to our gratitude, though the bays sit oddly on his brow.



VII. THE RESTORATION DRAMA

3. *The Tragic Poets*

Compared with Dryden, the contemporary writers of heroic and

was almost as bad, but which was so successful that Settle felt himself at least the equal of Dryden and behaved accordingly. He had his reward. From that time until 1718 he produced numerous bombastic tragedies of the poorest sort. At the time of the Popish Plot he became notorious for his rapid changes of opinion. To this period belongs his disgraceful play *The Female Prelate* (1680), on the subject of Pope Joan. But pliability could not save him, and he sank to writing and acting "drolls" for Bartholomew Fair. His opera *The Fairy Queen*, adapted from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, deserves mention solely because the music was provided by Purcell.

A few other dramatists of the time must be briefly named. John Dennis (1657–1734), author of *Three Letters on the Genius and Writings of Shakespeare* (1711), was a critic of some power, but justified Pope's ridicule of him by his plays, which were uniformly unsuccessful. John Hughes (1677–1720) belongs, in point of time, to the next period, but his manner is emphatically that of the Restoration. Besides the operas *Calypso and Telemachus* (1712) and *Apollo and Daphne* (1716), he wrote *The Siege of Damascus* (1720). Hughes exhibits some power. George Granville, Lord Lansdowne (1667–1735) wrote an adaptation, *The Merchant of Venice* (1696), a comedy, *The She Gallants* (1696), a tragedy, *Heroick Love* (1698), and an opera, *The British Enchantress* (1706). None has any value. Mrs Aphra Behn, whose comedies have already been mentioned, wrote several uninteresting tragedies; and Mrs Mary Manley, who achieved an unenviable reputation as a novelist, likewise produced several lurid tragedies, of which the first, *The Royal Mischief*, appeared in 1696. Thomas Rymer (1641–1713), whose criticism of Shakespeare in *The Tragedies of the Last Age* (1678) achieves the depths of ineptitude, published in 1678 one of the last specimens of rhymed tragedy, *Edgar, or the English Monarch*, which, strictly observing the classic rules the want of which he denounced in Shakespeare, is both unreadable and unactable.

One notable and indeed honourable name closes the story of Restoration drama. Nicholas Rowe (1674–1718) holds a unique position as a link between the late Restoration dramatists and those of the Augustan age. His first play, *The Ambitious Step-Mother* (1700) and his second, *Tamerlane* (1702) are ineffective; but his next piece, *The Fair Penitent* (1703), proved one of the most popular plays of its time. It takes its plot from Massinger and Field's *The Fatal Dowry* (1632), and its "haughty, gallant, gay Lothario" has become a familiar synonym for a heartless libertine, and was the model for Lovelace in Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe*. *The Tragedy of Jane Shore* "in imitation of Shakespeare's style" was produced in 1714 and gave Mrs Siddons later one of her great parts. *The Tragedy of the Lady Jane Grey* (1715) may be taken as evidence of the beneficent

impressive, and would still succeed on the stage if there were any

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verse; but in 1677 Lee produced the blank-verse play entitled *The Rival Queens, or The Death of Alexander the Great*, which proved an

King of Thebes, Theodosius, or the Force of Love, one of Lee's most successful plays, was produced in 1680. In 1682 Dryden and Lee again joined hands in *The Duke of Guise*. Lee ended as a drunkard and madman. None of the finer qualities are to be found in him; but his plays were not meant to be read; they were plays for the kind of theatre that preserved the old rhetorical tradition.

Shakespeare's *Henry VI* he returned to comedy in *City Politics* (1683) and *Sir Courtly Nice, or It cannot be* (1685). The latter is by far

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author's redeeming picturesqueness.

Thomas Southerne or Southern (1660–1746) wrote numerous unimportant comedies which need not be named. It was not until 1694 that, in *The Fatal Marriage, or the Innocent Adultery*, he achieved a play of any value Southerne's other great success, *Oroonoko, or the Royal Slave* (1696), is, like its predecessor, a mixture of blank verse and prose. His later plays are not important. Only in *The Fatal Marriage* and *Oroonoko* does Southerne attain to any power; and his success was of the kind that makes those plays the first steps towards popular melodrama.

Elkanah Settle (1648–1724), like Shadwell, lives in the superb couplets of Dryden, who depicted the pair as Doeg and Og in *Absalom and Achitophel*. And just as a single couplet of *MacFlecknoe* has immortalized Shadwell, so a single couplet of *The Dunciad* has

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do not live in the same world as the satires of Dryden, or Pope, or Marvell. His tragedy *Valentinian* was adapted from Fletcher. Rochester's authentic works were not completely collected till the present century.

Sir Charles Sedley (1639–1701) was rich as well as accomplished, and outlived his dissipated youth, to become the friend and champion of William III. As a poet, he followed obediently the fashion of the time. His lyrics are pleasant, and little more. *Phyllis is my only joy* is the one clear survival.

The reputation of Charles Sackville, Lord Buckhurst and then Earl of Dorset (1638–1706), is a puzzle of literary history. An age lavish of panegyric exhausted in his praise all its powers of flattery. Yet when we turn from the encomiasts to the poet's own works, we find them to be no more than what Johnson called them, "the effusions of a man of wit". No poem of his really survives except the celebrated song *To all you Ladies now on Land*, and his authorship of even that is disputed. There is nothing more to say about a poetical reputation as lightly earned as any we know.

John Sheffield (1684–1721), Earl of Mulgrave, later Marquis of Normanby and Duke of Buckingham, was neither an amiable person nor a tolerable poet. Those who wish to study the "art of sinking" in couplets can be recommended to his most important poem, *An Essay on Poetry*, for that purpose, but for no other. His *Essay on Satire*, which cost Dryden an encounter with Rochester's hirelings, has the accent of the scold in every line. Sheffield's poetical flight and political career were equally low.

Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roscommon (1633–85), nephew of the great Strafford, meddled in the affairs of court as little as he practised its vices. He was an honest man and perhaps something of a prig. A friend of Dryden, he engaged that great man's sympathy for his favourite project, the founding of a British Academy which should "refine and fix the standard of our language". His *Essay on Translated Verse* is just such a poetic exercise as might have been read before such a body. Nevertheless, a reading of that poem will disclose the unexpected source of many familiar quotations. Horace was Roscommon's master, and the disciple's version of the *Art of Poetry* is attractively personal. Roscommon was among the first of his time to discover the greatness of Milton, and one of many who have tried to reproduce in English the plangent harmonies of *Dies Irae*.

We must beware of supposing that the fashionable court poets represent the whole spirit of Restoration England. Sound and serious work in art and science, as well as in literature, was done during a period too often dismissed as trivial. Purcell, Wren and Newton are as much a part of their age as Rochester, Mulgrave and Dorset. Dryden alone would make it illustrious.

[illegible] English stage since the Revolution [illegible] Collier's *Short View*. Rowe, who [illegible] audience, made a special line in distressful heroines: women, rather than men, are at the heart of his tragedies. Only *The Fair Penitent* can be said to survive. But Rowe [illegible] followed.

VIII. THE COURT POETS

The court poets of the Restoration concern the historian of manners as well as the historian of literature, for they were the voice of a revolt against Puritanism. Charles himself was intelligent and liked people who amused him. His courtiers flourished therefore both by their wits and by their wit. They were the foes of everything serious and could not even understand wit that was not also wicked. Their pleasures had what we should call a "post-War" shrillness, [illegible] admiration of a Philip Sidney, who could be courageous without being also infamous.

[illegible] Crowne as a rival dramatist. Mulgrave's anonymous *Essay on* [illegible] cudgelled one night by a pack of ruffians hired by Rochester. Rochester died at thirty-three, as complete an example of ill-used talent as the history of our literature affords. He was a born poet, with a slender gift for lyric and a stronger gift for satire, shown specially in *A Satyr against Mankind* (1679) But Rochester's actual pieces are only second-rate. His lines *To Sir Car Scrope*, who had charged him with cowardice, are very fierce, but their subject cruelly told him in reply that his pen was as harmless as his sword. His *Trial of the Poets for the Bays* and his *Epistolary Letter to Lord Mulgrave*

advance in lyrical poets. Place side by side any blameless effusion from *Tottel's Miscellany* and such a song as *Take, O take those lips away*, or *Queen and Huntress, chaste and fair*, and the superiority of the later verse as verse is as clear as the superiority of the later poem as poem. The Jacobean and Caroline lyrists kept their inventions at the height, whether they were as craggy as Donne or as easy as Suckling. Their Restoration successors were not inferior as technicians, they were inferior simply as poets. Whether Donne was marvellously original (as moderns believe) or was a faulty metrist (as his contemporaries thought) can hardly be decided by argument. But it must be clear to everyone that Donne's vital energy of creation tends to burst from the restraint of orderly expression whether in lyric or in couplet.

The outstanding name in the prosody of the seventeenth century is that of Milton, and no modern affectation of depreciation can dim his shining glory. He restored verse to its greatness, and he ranks with Chaucer, Spenser and Shakespeare as one of the four chief pillars of English prosody. What really succeeds in Milton is the majesty of his utterance, whether regarded as poetry or merely as verse; and this rebuking majesty is what some of his critics, especially among the minor poets, have found insupportable.

With one important development of prosody during his time, however, Milton had little to do, though the experiments of *Samson* show that he may have thought of it latterly. This was the employment of the anapaest—not in occasional substitution for the iamb, but as the principal base-foot of metre. Between the age of doggerel and the mid-seventeenth century it is rare in regular literature; but folk-song kept it; and in such pieces as *Mary Ambree*, which, perhaps, is as early as 1584, there is no mistake about it. Dryden, however, brought his great metrical skill to the support of trisyllabic measures in various songs and in portions of his odes. Prior, too, no mean versifier, makes effective use of the anapaest.

The octosyllabic couplet magnificently used by Milton was humorously used by Butler in *Hudibras*, which naturally inspired other satirists to make it their vehicle. Butler's excellent versification usually receives less than its meed of praise, merely because its purpose is comic.

But the chief prosodical event of the seventeenth century was the resurgence and development of the decasyllabic couplet, as a fact, together with the inculcation of "smoothness and numbers" in verse, as a doctrine. The couplet in itself was no new thing. It had been practised magnificently by Chaucer, exquisitely by Spenser, charmingly by Marlowe and efficiently by Drayton. Now, like blank verse, the couplet can be used in two ways: it can be "stopped" or it can be "run on". The most familiar example of the free or

IX. THE PROSODY OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The first Elizabethan poets, disliking the popular doggerel of the early Tudor dramatists, sought to bring back order into verse by two curiously different methods. One was a training of their own lines to move in a steady iambic tramp "from short to long"; the other

hope dies hard; and quantitative English hexameters have been

measure in *Tottel's Miscellany*. What is very odd is that while Tudor poetry seemed to have fettered itself with a two-foot movement, Tudor music had attained the chainless liberty of what we now call "free verse". Music, whether ecclesiastical or secular, was so plastic in movement that well-meaning editors have ruined its flexibility by tying it up in the regular bars of the classical period. The later

deviating in their tramp from short to long. But the authors of *Gorboduc* were not really dramatists. Real dramatic verse is a kind of song, not a kind of back-chat prose, a fact that producers rarely recognize. Not many more than thirty years lie between *Gorboduc* and *Romeo and Juliet*; yet it is already clear that such lines as Romeo's

Shakespeare lines we discern the ghostly pattern of archetype, warning them not to venture too far. Shakespeare's successors did venture too far, especially in their addition of redundant syllables, until their alleged blank verse became a kind of slovenly prose, fitfully metrical and utterly pedestrian. In short, dramatic blank verse was reverting to the doggerel out of which it was digged

Lyrical poetry shows a steady advance because there was a steady

X. MEMOIR AND LETTER WRITERS

1. *Evelyn and Pepys*

Diaries as a form of expression suite[illegible] natures have been common in many ages, and they h[illegible] as the material for reminiscences, autobiographies and biographies. Few have been printed in full; and of these few the greatest are the diaries of John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys, the first a personal record of events and the second a personal self-revelation of the frankest kind. It is one of the curiosities of literature that neither of these famous works came into general knowledge until the nineteenth century. The Evelyn discovery was almost accidental. William Upcott (1779–1845), the literary antiquary, employed by Lady Evelyn to inspect the manuscripts at Wotton House near Dorking, was particularly attracted by the two volumes of a diary, found, it is said, in a basket of clothes. He advised publication, and secured the help of William Bray (1736–1832) as editor. The work was published in 1818 and received by the public with great satisfaction. It has continued to be reprinted as a standard work in a large number of different forms. One diary led to the other. The volumes of Evelyn contained several references to Samuel Pepys, and these drew attention to the six mysterious manuscript volumes, written in shorthand, preserved in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge. An undergraduate, John Smith, undertook to decipher them, although the celebrated stenographer W. B. Gurney told him they were indecipherable. Smith worked for nearly three years, usually for twelve or fourteen hours a day, and completed his task. John Smith is one of the unrecognized heroes of English literature, for the first edition is always called by the name of Lord Braybrooke, the editor of the two volumes of selections published in 1815.

Evelyn and Pepys were lifelong friends, and they had many business relations in connection with the Navy which were carried on in a spirit of mutual esteem. Both were of gentle birth, but Evelyn belonged to the class of "men of quality", and was a frequenter of courts, while Pepys, who was very much the "poor relation", had to make his own way in the world by his tenacity of purpose and great abilities. The two diaries differ widely both in character and extent. Evelyn's work covers a very great part of his life; Pepys's, though of greater length, occupies little more than nine years of a busy career.

John Evelyn (1620–1706) was an English gentleman of the best kind. He was a whole-hearted Royalist, but greatly disliked the idea of Civil War. He travelled abroad and tells us just the things we

run-on couplet is the opening of Keats's *Endymion*, in which the rhymes do not tie down the sentence-endings The end-stopped

Keats that objection was urged. The reader who has been puzzled to know why a minor poet like Edmund Waller, coming after Spenser and Shakespeare, and contemporary with Milton, was hailed as the "reformer of our numbers" will now perhaps see a gleam of light. Blank verse, run on, or sagging with redundant syllables, and couplets, run on, and disregarding the recurrent snap of rhyme, began to wear a slovenly look. Waller, tightening and tidying up verse into neat, trim, lucid couplets, with syllables that could be numbered off, appeared to give our poetry "sweetness, numbers and smoothness", although, actually, his later and better verse tended to "run on", and none of it is remarkable for easy movement.

It was a greater poet than Waller who used the couplet with such

severely trained and exercised; it is full-blooded, exuberant, multiform, showing, sometimes, almost the rush of the anapaest, and sometimes almost the mass of the blank verse paragraph But you can never mistake the five-spaced distribution of the line.

Another region of verse in which Dryden exhibited his mastery was the irregular ode. More or less irregular strophes had been successfully achieved by Spenser; and Ben Jonson (at the other extreme) had attempted pieces which exhibited the strictly regular correspondence in the lines of strophe and antistrophe, and the regular division of strophe, antistrophe and epode. But poets like Cowley had fastened the austerely regular name of "Pindaric" upon so-called "odes" which were without form and void. In later times the irregular ode produced some magnificent poetry, but most of those who practised it between 1650 and 1750 produced nothing but formless bombast.

but high rank to make him a great figure in public life. Being merely a commoner of great administrative genius he was naturally relegated to obscurity. In January 1664, he suffered his first great calamity. Like another inconspicuous commoner, John Milton, he developed symptoms of blindness. He was compelled to abandon his beloved reading and writing, and bade farewell to his private world in May 1669, when he made the last affecting entry in his diary and closed the mysterious volumes which were not to be read again till the world of Clarendon and the Cabal had changed to the world of George IV and George Stephenson's first railway.

Pepys lived for thirty-two years after the closing of the diary, in which he never made another entry. He became Secretary to the Admiralty in 1673, and Master of Trinity House in 1676; but in 1678 he was one of the victims of the Popish Plot. The triumph of scoundrelism could not overlook so true a servant of the country. He was sent to the Tower; but the failure of carefully manufactured evidence against him led to his release in 1680. He had lost his office and his living. He was, however, sent to Tangier in 1683, and wrote a diary which gives an interesting picture of the condition of the place and a vivid account of its maladministration. In 1684 he was reappointed to his Secretaryship and embarked again on a campaign of naval reform; but at the Revolution of 1689, the man who had spared no pains in his endeavour to place the country in a proper condition of national defence was sent by the new government to the Gatehouse in Westminster as an enemy to the State. He was released, and entered into a period of honourable retirement, during which he was considered and treated as "the Nestor of the Navy". He had already served in the House of Commons. He wrote his *Memoires of the Navy* (1690) and kept up his many activities, including experimental science. In 1700 he removed from London to what Evelyn calls his "Paradisian Clapham". Here he lived with his old clerk and friend, William Hewer, and died in the presence of the learned George Hickes, the non-juring Dean of Worcester. The last two Stuart kings were precisely £28,007. 2*s.* 1¼*d.* in his debt, but the new government of William and Mary did not feel that they were called to discharge a debt of honour incurred in the national service.

The popular "mystery" of Pepys's diary is not very mysterious—or at least it is no more mysterious than any other product of creative literary genius. For Pepys, without knowing it, was a creative artist. Any person can put himself into a book, and many writers do little else than expose in print their self-pity and self-admiration. What the true creative artist does is to "objectify" or "externalize" his experience, so that it becomes one (and probably the most important) of the phenomena that interest him as artist. He neither applauds nor condemns: he simply re-creates. Pepys the artist contemplated

want to know. His first book, *Liberty and Servitude*, translated from the French, was published in 1649, and later in that fatal year he again left England and did not return till 1652, when the Royalist cause seemed lost and the Commonwealth firmly established. He was in regular correspondence with Charles II. In 1660 (the year in which the diary of Pepys begins) Evelyn became a Fellow of the newly founded Royal Society, to which Pepys was elected in 1664. He was distressed by the smoke of London and wrote *Fumifugium* (1661) proposing remedies, in which (as usual) the government was deeply interested without actually arriving at the point of doing anything. Also in 1661 he wrote *Tyrannus, or the Mode* urging the [illegible]

noble book *Sylva* (1664), which revived the spirit of planting in England. Like Pepys, Evelyn stuck to his duties during the Plague [illegible]

is a moving utterance.

Far different was the life of Samuel Pepys (1633–1703). Evelyn was a public figure more fully revealed by his diary. Pepys, save to the few who recalled a dim and forgotten donor of old books to his college library, was a completely unknown person. Strange paradox, that the most intimately known Englishman of the past should have lain unnoticed for over two centuries in the dust of an obscure grave [illegible]

devout self-possession. Although small in bulk, the *Memoirs of Queen Mary II*, published in 1886, should not be overlooked, as she is a sovereign who has had less than her due from posterity. Her letters are unusually attractive.

The diaries of Pepys and Evelyn and the Gramont memoirs are established classics. The other works here named, though less generally known, deserve to be read for their own sake as well as for their historical interest.

XI. PLATONISTS AND LATITUDINARIANS

The interest of Anglican literature does not cease with the Caroline divines. Bishop Burnet declares, in effect, that the Church of England was saved, during the perilous times of the seventeenth century, by a "new set of men" who appeared in Cambridge. They are commonly called "the Cambridge Platonists", and they deserve more notice than we can here afford to give them.

Benjamin Whichcote (1606–83) gained through many years of preaching the esteem of widely differing believers, including Cromwell himself. He sought to counteract the fanatic canting of the Puritan extremists, especially the "enthusiasm" of that constant by-product of English liberty, the rabid sectary convinced of a call to promulgate some eccentricity of doctrine or conduct. Anthony Tuckney, a Puritan divine, charged Whichcote with the abominable crime of studying books other than the Scriptures—even the works of "PLATO and his schollars". Whichcote good-humouredly suggested that spiritual understanding might be advanced by the kind of reasoning that inspired the discoveries of Galileo and Harvey. It is characteristic of a modest and broad-minded thinker that he published nothing himself. His principal writings are to be found in *Select Sermons* (1698), *Several Discourses* (1701), and *Moral and Religious Aphorisms* (1703), containing in the enlarged edition of 1753 the correspondence with Tuckney.

Whichcote perhaps derived some of his "Platonic" doctrines from the *Commonplaces* (1641) of John Sherman (d. 1671), who quotes Plato's rule, "Not who, but what"—"Let us not so much consider who saith, but what is said." The title of his book *A Greek in the Temple* (1641) indicates that his appeal is from the Latin church to the Greek philosophers. It is possible to regard Sherman as the first inspirer of the Platonist group in Cambridge.

But the outstanding and most memorable name among the Platonists is that of Henry More (1614–87), who imbibed mysticism in youth from *The Faerie Queene*. He entered Christ's College, Cambridge, almost as Milton left it, and there remained till his death, profoundly influencing numerous pupils. Unlike Whichcote and

with interest the external creature called by his own name and set down his failings and his aspirations with Defoe-like veracity of detail. Pepys is the only writer of his kind known to history. There are many diarists, there is only one Pepys. For whom did Pepys write his diary? people fondly ask. The question is best answered by another: For whom did Rembrandt paint his self-portraits? For whom (taking a different instance) did Sir Thomas Browne write *Religio Medici*? The creative instinct compels creation; and a [illegible]

he believed nobody else could read. He himself is his own triumphant creation. So perfect is the picture that his very faults appeal to our affection.

2. *Other Writers of Memoirs and Letters*

[illegible]

who united in himself the qualities of a courtier and those of a country squire. He tells us much about the villainies of the Popish Plot. Sir Richard Bulstrode (1630–1711) in his *Original Letters* (1712) and *Memoirs* (1721) is a first-hand authority for the long period [illegible]

[illegible]

correspondents were divines, to whom she writes with serene and

faith the things that are faith's". "Revealed truths are never against reason, they will always be above reason." More and Cudworth do not seem to have welcomed warmly the latitudinarian views of Smith and Culverwel, tending as they did to exalt abstract truth at the expense of definite dogma.

The spirit of compromise between breadth and dogma is exemplified in Joseph Glanvill (see p. 392). In the main, he was in agreement with Cudworth and More, *Lux Orientalis* (1661) being chiefly a defence of the theory held by the latter as to the prior existence of souls. In *Sadducismus Triumphatus* (1681) Glanvill defends the belief in witchcraft; yet he admired the researches of the Royal Society, of which he was a Fellow.

Other eminent divines either held, or inclined to, the latitudinarian view, strongly presented by the Platonists, that there was spiritual truth beyond the limits imposed by sectarians of any kind. While "breadth" or latitudinarianism may promote a large and peaceable communion, it may (and some say it did) produce the flatness and apathy which were charged against the English Church in the next century. Dogma may lack breadth; it does not lack direction, and it gets somewhere.

XII. DIVINES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

For a time the loyalist pulpit at the Restoration matched in extravagance of utterance some of the Puritan "enthusiasm". It gradually lowered its tone and tamed its style, but it showed no signs of creative genius. Herbert Thorndike (1598–1672), for example, is interesting as a complete Catholic Anglican, advocating confession, reservation, and prayers for the dead; but his importance is not literary. John Cosin (1594–1672) was, like Thorndike, a liturgiologist, but is best known by *A Collection of Private Devotions* (1627).

A greater writer than any of these, Isaac Barrow (1630–77), died at forty-seven, but left a mark of originality upon the theology of his age. He knew the Europe of his time and he was the first theologian to use the prose manner that we call Addisonian. His posthumous treatise *On the Pope's Supremacy* was remarkable for its breadth of view. Barrow's influence upon theology and theological prose was entirely beneficent. He can be profitably studied in *Sermons preached upon several occasions* (1678). Barrow's *Exposition of the Creed, Decalogue and Sacraments* did not displace the work, on different lines, of his older contemporary, Bishop John Pearson (1613–86), a notable preacher and an accurate patristic scholar. Pearson's *Exposition of the Creed* (1659) remained till recent times the standard treatise on its subject.

Cudworth, More wrote and published voluminously. In his *Psychozoia Platonica* (1642), reprinted (enlarged) in *Philosophical Poems*

inferior contemporary of the same order in *Psyche, or Love's Mystery* (1648) by Joseph Beaumont (1616–99), alleged to have been praised by Pope, in spite of its thirty thousand lines. Henry More wrote rapidly, producing numerous works of which only a few can be named here. In

1656 *Enthusiasm*

"enthusiasm". T

the prose-matter of the *Song of the Soul*. In 1660 came *An Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness*, containing an attack on judicial astrology. *The Mystery of Iniquity* (1664) and *Divine Dialogues* (1668)

the age of Hobbes He gave to Anglican theology a mystical armour that enabled it to withstand the assaults of the Hobbesian materialists and the Puritan fanatics.

Contemporary with More at Christ's was the Master, Ralph

System of the Universe appeared in a faulty edition in 1678 and in a better form in 1743. But by that time the fashionable, sceptical Church-and-State world of Hanoverianism had no use for the

published manuscripts, two remarkable disciples of theirs rose and vanished with equal suddenness—

John Smith (d. 1652).

of the Light of Nature ap

in 1660. Smith, like More, was concerned to prove the immortality

the mystical thought of the day.

best of the Cambridge Platonist

sentences that are still valid as es

purpose as "giving to reason the things that are reason's and unto

Judicia Ecclesiae Catholicae, and his sermons and his *Harmonia Apostolica* gained great renown. Bull, however, clung to Latin.

But we must leave the successful churchmen and turn to a sacrificed band who came into existence at a crisis in the national history. When William and Mary were called to the throne there were many divines who felt that, having taken the oath of allegiance to one king, they could not take it to another, while the Lord's anointed was still alive, though dispossessed by secular law. From their refusal of the second oath they were called "non-jurors", and they went into voluntary spiritual exile. The leader was Archbishop Sancroft (1617–93), one of the seven bishops who had withstood James II. In his day, he had wielded his pen adroitly. His *Fur Praedestinatus*, a delightful satire on Calvinism, was an early work; but archbishops cannot afford to be satirical in print; and when he became a non-juror, Sancroft refrained from all written works. Of greater literary importance are such engaging figures as Ken and Hickes. Thomas Ken (1637–1711) is one of those religious writers whose words reveal a beautiful soul. He wrote only when he felt deeply. *Ichabod* (1663) tells of his disappointment with the church after the Restoration. His poetry (including the evening hymn adapted from Sir Thomas Browne) came readily from his pen; his prose is still an excellent example of what educated men wrote naturally in his day. George Hickes (1642–1715) was a scholar as well as a man of piety. He learnt Hebrew that he might discuss Rabbinical learning with the extraordinary Duke of Lauderdale, and "Anglo-Saxon and Meso-Gothic" for his own pleasure. His enormous *Linguarum veterum septentrionalium thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archaeologicus* is a marvel of erudition, and immortal as containing the first mention of *Beowulf*. Another attractive writer among the non-jurors is Robert Nelson (1665–1715), who in his *Companion for the Festivals and Fasts* (1704) produced one of the most popular of religious books. Nelson did for the Church of England in prose what Keble, more than a century later, did in poetry. He showed the romance of its past, the nobility of its ideal, the purity of its forms of prayer.

Two eminent Scotsmen next attract our attention. Robert

lection of sermons appeared in 1692. With Leighton may be coupled his countryman Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715), more famous as historian than as theologian. He was intimately conversant with ecclesiastical matters during something like half a century. Born in the land of presbytery and Calvinism, he became an episcopalian and an Anglican. But his interest lay in personal religion more than in theology. He was a glorified "man in the street", always aware of, and intensely impressed by, what partisan laymen were saying. His *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles* (1699) was, for more than a century, as famous as Pearson's *Exposition of the Creed* His ministration to the dissolute Rochester, who died a believer and a penitent,

(1659), which regards the system of church government as unim-

earned high praise from Dryden. But the most striking example of the new pulpit manner was Robert South (1634–1716). South, before all things, was original. He rejected the flowers of Taylor and outdid the simplicity of Tillotson. His *Animadversion on Mr Sherlock's Book entitled a Vindication of the Holy and ever-blessed Trinity* is the liveliest essay in theological criticism of the time William Sherlock's *Practical Discourse concerning a Future Judgment* (1691) is a piece of sound and sober prose, but he will be remembered less as a voluminous author than as the theme of South's racy criticism. Specially

Judicia Ecclesiae Catholicae, and his sermons and his *Harmonia Apostolica* gained great renown. Bull, however, clung to Latin.

But we must leave the successful churchmen and turn to a sacrificed band who came into existence at a crisis in the national history. When William and Mary were called to the throne there were many divines who felt that, having taken the oath of allegiance to one king, they could not take it to another, while the Lord's anointed was still alive, though dispossessed by secular law. From their refusal of the second oath they were called "non-jurors", and they went into voluntary spiritual exile. The leader was Archbishop Sancroft (1617–93), one of the seven bishops who had withstood James II. In his day, he had wielded his pen adroitly. His *Fur Praedestinatus*, a delightful satire on Calvinism, was an early work; but archbishops cannot afford to be satirical in print; and when he became a non-juror, Sancroft refrained from all written works. Of greater literary importance are such engaging figures as Ken and Hickes. Thomas Ken (1637–1711) is one of those religious writers whose words reveal a beautiful soul. He wrote only when he felt deeply. *Ichabod* (1663) tells of his disappointment with the church after the Restoration. His poetry (including the evening hymn adapted from Sir Thomas Browne) came readily from his pen; his prose is still an excellent example of what educated men wrote naturally in his day. George Hickes (1642–1715) was a scholar as well as a man of piety. He learnt Hebrew that he might discuss Rabbinical learning with the extraordinary Duke of Lauderdale, and "Anglo-Saxon and Meso-Gothic" for his own pleasure. His enormous *Linguarum veterum septentrionalium thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archaeologicus* is a marvel of erudition, and immortal as containing the first mention of *Beowulf*. Another attractive writer among the non-jurors is Robert Nelson (1665–1715), who in his *Companion for the Festivals and Fasts* (1704) produced one of the most popular of religious books. Nelson did for the Church of England in prose what Keble, more than a century later, did in poetry. He showed the romance of its past, the nobility of its ideal, the purity of its forms of prayer.

English should be made the language of the law. But when discussion turned from this principle to questions of substantial reform, the Puritan leaders were more "enthusiastic" than helpful. Hugh Peters wanted to take over the laws of Protestant Holland; John Rogers wanted simply the law of Moses. Before long Cromwell settled the matter by the establishment of a military despotism and martial law. The main literary products were Matthew Hale's *London's Liberties* (1650), Thomas Hobbes's *Elements of Law* (1640), and William Prynne's *Collection of Fundamental Liberties and Laws* (1654–5). The Restoration brought back the common law, and the old French and Latin jargon. At this period we again meet the name of Sir Matthew Hale (1609–76), whose most notable work was his fragmentary *History of the Common Law of England* (printed 1713). A thorough survey of the field of early law and the institutions connected with it was made by Sir William Dugdale in his *Origines Juridicales* (1666). In 1679 a collected edition of the *Year Books* appeared. But the old law did not lack its critics. Prominent among these was the irreconcilable William Prynne. In 1669 he published his *Animadversions on the Fourth Part of Coke's Institutes.* A much more formidable critic, however, both of Coke and of the laws of England, was Thomas Hobbes. In his *Dialogue between a Philosopher and a Student of the Common Laws* (published posthumously in 1681) he assails the legal and political principles of Coke and the other opponents of the Stuart autocracy. As a writer on law Hobbes has not even yet been fully appreciated.

It is right that the written words of these great jurists should be mentioned in a history of literature in its broad sense. Actually, however, there is but one of the company who has found his way into the intenser literature which is part of every man's reading. We mean Selden; for Bacon belongs to philosophy rather than to law. *Table-Talk: being the Discourses of John Selden Esq. Being His Sense of various Matters of Weight and High Consequence; relating especially to Religion and State* was first published in 1689, thirty-five years after Selden's death, and nine years after that of his sometime amanuensis, Richard Milward. Selden's *Table-Talk*, like Ben Jonson's *Conversations*, is one of those annoying posthumous works which lack the formal certitude of authenticity. The strong voice of authority is almost certainly Selden's; but the rather confusing alphabetical sequence of the utterances may be Milward's. "Table-Talk" is hardly the best name for a collection of autocratic deliverances, some, like *Preaching*, several pages long, and some, like *Councils* and *Trinity*, condensing a treatise into a few trenchant lines. But, however titled, it is an inexhaustible little book.

XIII. LEGAL LITERATURE

In a brief summary like the present a full account of our legal [illegible]

that in which, from Alfred to Canute, kings began to issue royal ordinances. The third period is that in which the Norman rulers endeavoured to discover and record what had been the "law of Edward the Confessor", to which the English seemed attached.

From the reign of Henry II we get legal writings of a new type, exemplified by *Tractatus de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Regni Angliae* by Ranulf de Glanvil or perhaps by Hubert Walter, and Henry de Bracton's *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae* (c. 1256). From 1292 we have an almost complete series of *Year Books* recording cases adjudged. The fifteenth century saw two notable additions to legal literature, Sir John Fortescue's *De Laudibus Legum Angliae* and Sir Thomas Littleton's *Tenures*. To the sixteenth century belongs William Lambarde's *Eirenarcha*, a manual for justices of the peace.

When James I came to the throne, the great unsettled constitutional question was whether the country should be governed by *rex* or by *lex*. Foremost among those on the side of *rex* was Francis Bacon, the lifelong rival and personal enemy of the formidable [illegible] who was the embodiment of *lex* and [illegible] Coke produced [illegible] ts fundamentally [illegible] him was largely [illegible] ary rules of law. [illegible] re some devoted [illegible] e scientific study of legal history. Foremost among them was John Selden (1584–1654), the most erudite Englishman of his day. To a wide classical scholarship he added a remarkable knowledge of archaeology, history, philology and legal anti[illegible] with a mind free from prejudic[illegible] judicial temperament. In 1618 [illegible] (not published till 1636), an attempt to vindicate England's claim to sovereignty over the narrow seas against the attack which Grotius had made upon it in his *Mare Liberum* [illegible]

In 1649 the Commonwealth was established, and in 1650 a committee was appointed to consider the matter of legal reform. Parliament resolved that one thing, at any rate, should be done.

treatise on *The Conduct of the Understanding*, originally designed as a chapter of the *Essay*.

Locke opened a new way for English philosophy. He undertook a systematic investigation of the human understanding with a view to determining the truth and certainty of knowledge and the grounds of belief, on all matters about which men are in the habit of making assertions. In this way he introduced a new department, or a new method, of philosophical inquiry, which has come to be known as the theory of knowledge, or epistemology; and, in this respect, he was the precursor of Kant and anticipated what Kant called the critical method. Like other great books, the *Essay* had a simple beginning. A discussion with friends on some unimportant matters led to no conclusion; and Locke saw that before inquiries could be profitable, it was necessary to settle "what objects our understandings were, or were not, fitted to deal with". Locke proposed to expound this on a single sheet of paper next day; but the "single sheet" became the *Essay*, and the "next day" arrived twenty years after. Locke's interest centres in the traditional problems. He refuses to "meddle with the physical consideration of the mind", though he has no doubt that the understanding can be studied like anything else. All the objects of the understanding are described as *ideas*, and ideas are spoken of as being in the mind. The term "idea" implied no contrast with "reality". Locke avoids any presupposition about matter, or mind, or their relation. He begins neither with mind nor with matter, but with ideas. His first inquiry is "how they come into the mind"; his next business is to show that they constitute the whole material of our knowledge. His treatment of "the association of ideas" is an afterthought, and did not appear in the earlier editions of the *Essay*. It is out of place in a history of literature to expound or criticize the doctrines of a particular philosopher. We must be content to state briefly his main conclusion. The real existences to which knowledge extends are self, God, and the world of nature. Of the first we have, says Locke, an intuitive knowledge, of the second a demonstrative knowledge, of the third a sensitive knowledge. "God has set some things in broad daylight"; but of others we have only "the twilight of probability". With that we must be content.

Locke's practical interests find ample scope in his other works. In *Two Treatises of Government* he refutes Sir Robert Filmer's doctrine of absolute power and propounds a theory which reconciles individual liberty with collective order. His economic writings are particular rather than general, and, when considered, should be related to the economic arguments produced at the time by Sir Josiah Child, Sir Dudley North and, especially, Sir William Petty, who devoted himself to what his most famous book indicates in its title, *Political Arithmetic* (1690). Petty distrusted vague generalities and required

XIV. JOHN LOCKE AND SOME ECONOMISTS

John Locke (1632–1704) is the most important figure in English

show the grounds in the human mind for honesty, liberty and toleration; but actually, by its "historical plain method", it gave a new direction to European philosophy. Locke did not graduate as a bachelor of medicine at Oxford till 1674. His medical knowledge made him acquainted with the Earl of Shaftesbury, Dryden's Achitophel. He became a member of Shaftesbury's household and saved the statesman's life by a skilful operation. He directed the education of the boy who became third earl and author of *Characteristics*. He shared the mutations of Shaftesbury's fortunes and, after the statesman's flight and death, the philosopher withdrew to Holland. Here he continued his literary work, and before he returned to England in 1689 the *Essay*
have reached its final form.
the new government; but
enabled him to absent himself a good deal from London, which he hated.

He had not published anything before his return to England in 1689; and by this time he was in his fifty-seventh year. In 1689 his Latin *Epistola de Tolerantia* was published in Holland, a corrected English translation being issued in 1690. The controversy which followed this work led to the publication of *A Second Letter concerning Toleration* (1690) and *A Third Letter for Toleration* (1692) In 1690 the book entitled *Two Treatises of Government* was published, and a month later appeared the long expected *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, on which he had been at work intermittently since 1671. It met with immediate success, and led to a voluminous literature of attack and reply. Its most vigorous critic was Stillingfleet. Among Locke's correspondents and visitors were Sir Isaac Newton and Anthony Collins, a young squire, whose activities will concern us later. The extent and variety of Locke's interests are attested by later works—*Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest, and Raising the Value of Money* (1691), and *Further Considerations* (1695); *Some Thoughts concerning Education*

epistles, a *Discourse on Miracles* and, most important of all, the small

Elizabeth, had published his experiments on electricity and magnetism in the last year of the sixteenth century. Galileo was using his newly constructed telescope; and, for the first time, Jupiter's satellites, the mountains in the moon, and Saturn's rings were seen by human eyes. The barometer, the thermometer and the air pump, and, later, the compound microscope, all came into being at the earlier part of our period, and by the middle of the century were in the hands of whoever cared to use them.

In his *Tractate on Education* Milton advocates the teaching of medicine, agriculture and fortification—the last being an exceedingly practical kind of applied mathematics. By the time of *Paradise Lost* the learned accepted the Copernican system, though the world at large remained Ptolemaic. We ourselves still use Ptolemaic terms in popular speech. The evidence of the best diaries tells us much about the place of science in the life of an educated man. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys are all examples of busy men whose wide range of knowledge included science.

The Marquis of Worcester, popularly credited with premature discovery of the steam-engine, was little more than an ingenious dabbler in mechanical crafts; but Sir Kenelm Digby, though a great pretender, was a more serious student of science. In mathematics John Wallis of Cambridge was a forerunner of Newton and had the wide education of his age. His *Arithmetica Infinitorum* contained the germs of the calculus, suggested the binomial theorem to Newton, evaluated π and first used the current symbol for infinity. Another mathematical ecclesiastic was Seth Ward, Bishop of Exeter and afterwards of Salisbury. Ward and Wallis refuted Hobbes's attempted proof of the squaring of the circle.

Like the distinguished mathematicians just mentioned, Isaac Newton (1642–1727) took a keen interest in certain forms of theology current in his day; but in his intellectual powers he surpassed them all. He was the founder of the modern science of optics. His discovery of the law of gravitation, and his application of it to Kepler's laws of planetary motion made him the founder of the science of gravitational astronomy. His discovery of the method of fluxions entitles him to rank with Leibniz as one of the founders of mathematical analysis. His chief work, *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (1687), has been described as the greatest triumph of the human mind. Though Newton belongs to the history of learning rather than to the history of letters, his name adorns either chronicle. His fame as a man of science was European; but his dabbling with interpretations of Biblical prophecies must be consigned to the history of aberrations.

The second man of outstanding genius in British science in the seventeenth century was William Harvey (1578–1657). Harvey,

exact statements. Thus, he defined interest as "a reward for forbearing the use of your own money for a term of time agreed upon"—a definition that carries us far beyond the old notion of "usury".

Locke's plea for toleration in matters of belief has become classical. His exclusion of Papists and atheists must not be blamed as inconsistency. To Locke a Roman Catholic was not a person who professed a particular kind of religion, but a person who professed

Education and his *Conduct of the Understanding* must always be considered in any discussion of their subject. That a man of Locke's quality of mind propounded a theory of education at all was a great gain: at least there was something to discuss. Locke had the gift of

and poems, as well as of the longer and more systematic work on which his fame depends, *An Essay towards the Theory of the Ideal or Intelligible World*, the first part of which was published in 1701, and the second in 1704. In temper of mind, Norris may be regarded as the antithesis of Locke. He represents mysticism as against the latter's critical empiricism, and he has been praised by those mystically inclined perhaps rather more than he deserves

XV. THE PROGRESS OF SCIENCE

With the exception of anatomy and astronomy, the sciences lagged a century and more behind the arts. The first and greatest advance was made in anatomy, when the great Belgian Vesalius dared to turn away from Galen and search into the human body. His *De corporis*

by Edmund Gunter. Decimals were coming into use and, at the close of the sixteenth century, algebra was being written in the notation we still employ. William Gilbert, physician to Queen

not that there grew up a public which demanded plainer prose, but that there accumulated a mass of information which demanded plainer prose. There may be poetry in the art of healing; there must be plain prose in a treatise on anatomy. The men of science whom we lately considered, when they did not write in clear Latin, felt they must write in clear English; in fact, the Royal Society did definitely demand plain and unadorned English from its members, as Thomas Sprat, the first historian of the Society, precisely records. In 1664 his colleagues gave effect to their views by appointing a committee for the improvement of the English language, which included, besides himself, Waller, Dryden, and Evelyn. We have never come nearer than that to the foundation of an English Academy resembling the French. One other fact must be remembered. The seventeenth century had a much larger reading public than the sixteenth. In the sixteenth century learned men wrote to instruct each other or to annihilate each other. Salmasius perished under the cannonading of Milton. In the seventeenth century men wrote for "the Town". They did not try to annihilate, they tried to argue. The admirable John Wilkins (1614–72), afterwards Bishop of Chester, one of the founders of the Royal Society and its first secretary, had recommended in his popular *Ecclesiastes or the Gift of Preaching* that the style of the pulpit should be plain and without rhetorical flourishes. Tillotson's sermon, *The Wisdom of being religious* (1664), is, in its perfect plainness and absence of rhetoric, an instructive contrast to the imaginative discourse which Jeremy Taylor delivered, only eight months earlier, at the funeral of Archbishop Bramhall. Stillingfleet preached in plain English, and South not only preached in plain English, but mocked at those who did not.

The influence of France upon England in the seventeenth century has already been mentioned. Though the Civil War checked for a time the French studies of Englishmen, it ultimately contributed to their diffusion; for it sent many English men of letters to Paris. In 1646 Hobbes, "the first of all that fled", Waller, D'Avenant, Denham, Cowley and Evelyn were gathered together in the French capital. There were many others. The heroic romances were not the only examples of French literature read and translated in England when the Restoration came. Versions, good and bad, appeared of works by Pascal, Descartes, Boileau, Bossuet, Malebranche, La Rochefoucauld, La Bruyère, Le Bossu and Rapin. Saint-Évremond was long in England, and one of his friends was Cowley, who gave a lighter touch to the essay. Prose became more urbane.

One delightful example of personal prose can be found in the letters written by Dorothy Osborne to her future husband, Sir William Temple, between 1652 and 1654. Temple himself (1628–99), once a great figure, has fallen out of notice, but he is still important. His

"the little choleric man", was in his thirty-eighth year when, in his [illegible]

Harvey, enabled him to reveal the capillaries.

Great as were the seventeenth century philosophers in the biological and medical sciences, they were equalled by workers on the physical side. Robert Boyle was, even as boy of eighteen, one of the leaders in the comparatively new pursuit of experimental science. His first love was chemistry. He settled at Oxford, where he arranged a laboratory and had as assistant the famous Robert Hooke. He in- [illegible] firmed Harvey's [illegible] with the pres- [illegible] rt it played in respiration and in acoustics. He was the first to distinguish a mixture from a compound, to define an element, to prepare hydrogen.

It was men such as these that re-established the Royal Society in 1660. This great institution has not only had the longest existence among the scientific societies of the world, but anticipated its own birth in 1645, when the Philosophical College came into being. During the Civil War this body divided itself between Oxford and London. At the Restoration, the London meetings were resumed, and in 1662 the Society received the royal charter.

XVI. THE ESSAY AND THE BEGINNING OF MODERN ENGLISH PROSE

[illegible] precision and sobriety can be found in the works of Hobbes, who was born in the year of the Armada. Before we pass to examples of the "new prose" we should observe a fact too frequently overlooked, [illegible] creates. The purpose of Milton and Jeremy Taylor in their great [illegible]

CHAPTER IX

FROM STEELE AND ADDISON TO POPE AND SWIFT

I. DEFOE: THE NEWSPAPER AND THE NOVEL

Daniel Defoe (1659–1731) is known to most readers as a pioneer novelist of adventure and low life. Students know him further as a prolific pamphleteer of questionable character and many disguises. His early biographers regarded him not only as a great novelist but as a martyr to liberal principles and homely piety. Some of his own contemporaries saw in him a political traitor, a social outcast, and a venal scribbler whose effrontery was equalled only by his energy. Something of the truth can be found in all these views. The novelist we know grew out of the journalist and political hack we have almost forgotten. Defoe is specially interesting for his date. He was born thirty-one years after Bunyan, on the very eve of the Restoration. The acute manifestations of religious eccentricity, shown at their height during the Commonwealth, and all comprehensively labelled "Puritanism", did not survive the Restoration, which re-established the Church of England and buttressed its supremacy with many Acts of Parliament. The wilder Puritans, with their hope of some new theocracy, ceased to exist; the next generation of religious liberals were not Puritans; they bore no resemblance to Sir Hudibras and Ralpho; they had no trace of the cant and snuffle of the "caterwauling crew"; they maintained the old tradition of the Presbyterians and Independents; and as they refused to conform to the re-established Episcopalian Church, they were Nonconformists or Dissenters. Bunyan was the last of the Puritans; Defoe is the first typical Nonconformist or Dissenter in our literature.

When Defoe established his periodical *The Review* in February 1704, the English newspaper was less than fifty years old. Among Defoe's predecessors in journalism (see p. 398) two figures of special importance stand out: Henry Muddiman, the best news disseminator of his day, and Roger L'Estrange, who was beaten by Muddiman as an editor of "newsbooks", but who, as journalist, pamphleteer and man of letters, was Defoe's true prototype. Sir Roger L'Estrange (1616–1704) was a zealous royalist of good family and suffered in the great struggle. In 1659 he wrote many pamphlets and broadsides advocating the restoration of Charles II, and after that happy event he was made one of the licensers of the press. His political newspaper,

Letters, first collected by Swift (1700–3), are interesting in historical matter and simple and unaffected in manner. The same clear and agreeable prose appears in his *Memoirs*. His essays, or, as they were called, *Miscellanea*, appeared in three parts; the first in 1680, the second in 1692 and the third in 1701. The most widely read of these essays, *Upon Ancient and Modern Learning* (1692), was inspired by a stupid literary quarrel which had raged in Paris. The essay has no importance, but it produced two notable works, Swift's *Battle of the Books* and Bentley's annihilation of the supposed letters of Phalaris. The most ag [illegible] sentence), *U*[illegible] *Health and L*[illegible] without any [illegible]

Like Cowley, Temple came under the spell of Montaigne. In 1685 Montaigne was popular enough in England to warrant the publication of a new translation of his essays from the pen of Charles Cotton (1630–87). Cotton sometimes misses his author's meaning, but he does not write sheer nonsense, as Florio sometimes does. Cotton's work is dedicated to George Savile, Marquis of Halifax (1633–95), whose own *Miscellanies*, first collected in 1700, carry the stamp of a most attractive character. His finest piece of writing is the praise of truth in *The Character of a Trimmer* (1688)—a passage worthy of Montaigne. His admirable *Character of King Charles the Second* was not published till 1750. *A Letter to a Dissenter Upon the Occasion of His Majesties late Gracious Declaration of Indulgence* (1687) and *The Anatomy of an Equivalent* (1688) have both point and style. More in the nature of an essay is *The Ladies New Years Gift, or Advice* [illegible]

years later, Steele wrote the first number of *The Tatler*, he found both a model and an instrument ready to his hand.

equalled. "The Author of *The True-Born Englishman*", as Defoe called himself, having made a true beginning, had no intention of stopping. His most important publication of 1702 was the tract *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*. In this Defoe assumed the character of a "high-flying Tory" and argued ironically that the shortest way of dealing with the Dissenters was to extirpate them. But the age had no taste for irony. The Whigs and Tories were waging a bitter war over the succession to the childless Queen Anne. Defoe's pamphlet angered both parties. The Whigs, having taken it seriously, were suspicious of a man who could dissemble so well; and the Tories, finding they had been hoaxed by a Whig, were furious. Defoe was arrested, sentenced to imprisonment during the Queen's pleasure and to public exposure in the pillory. He met his fate with courage. He wrote a spirited *Hymn to the Pillory* and, when exposed, though not "earless" as Pope has it, he was "unabash'd", and the mob gave him a popular triumph. The Tories had overreached themselves. Defoe was liberated at the end of 1703, probably through the influence of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, half Whig, half Tory, first the friend and then the rival of the brilliant Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke, both of whom were important factors in Defoe's career.

Not even imprisonment or his employment as a busy agent for Harley could check the stream of Defoe's pamphlets and poems. In 1703 and 1705 he produced two volumes of his collected writings—the only collection ever made by himself. Defoe's real achievement at this time was his establishment of *The Review*, a model of sound, straightforward journalism. It first appeared in February 1704 and was suppressed in June 1713. *The Review* is creditable not only to Defoe, but to Harley, his patron, who first perceived the political importance of the press. We leave without mention many political writings of 1704 and 1705 and come at once to a first glimpse of Defoe passing from journalism to fiction; for a year later (1706) appeared *A True Relation of the Apparition of one Mrs Veal, the next Day after her Death, to one Mrs Bargrave at Canterbury, the 8th of September*, 1705. This, at one time thought to be a hoax written to sell "Drelincourt on Death", is actually a clever journalistic working up of a ghost story current at the time.

From the autumn of 1706 to the spring of 1710, Defoe was at work in Scotland, and did some of the underground labour that made the Union of 1707 a practicable affair. But he was unrewarded; for when he returned to England in penury, Harley himself was out and the Whigs were in. Defoe was allowed to transfer his services, and was sent back to Scotland. His main production of 1708–9 is the huge and methodically accurate *History of the Union*. In 1710 the Whig government made the foolish mistake of impeaching a

The Observator, originally cast in dialogue form, ran from 1681-7 [illegible]

L'Estrange was a large figure in his age and of no magnitude in this.

Between the suppression of *The Observator* in 1687 and the founding of *The Review* in 1704 various papers appeared. James Dunton brought out his *Athenian Gazette*, afterwards *The Athenian* [illegible]

Licensing Act was allowed to lapse and several new journals were at once begun—*The Flying Post*, a tri-weekly Whig organ, the Tory *Post Bag*, and *The Post Man*. These were primarily disseminators of news. They [illegible]

The Daily C[illegible]

moderation, [illegible]

interests. Defoe's journalistic originality appears in his abandonment of the dialogue form and of violent partisanship. He cultivated moderation, and sought to gain acquiescence rather than to embitter animosities.

Defoe's life and work defy summary. A few general considera- [illegible]

what obscure, and do not concern us here. During his first phase we may call him a tradesman-publicist. We hear of a verse satire in 1691; but his first real book was the *Essay upon Projects* (1697), a surprising display of versatility and modern ideas To name all the publications known to be Defoe's would need several pages. Here we must be content with a notice of some typical pieces, and we can therefore pass at once to his most famous early publication, his lively verse-satire against those [illegible]

III. It was called *The Tr*[illegible]

popularity it deserved. [illegible]

tures of his hero, and, a year later, *Serious Reflections during the Life and Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*. But it is only the original that lives. True to his age and nature, Defoe wrote for edification; but the book suddenly assumed its own life. Defoe did not write the first English novel, but he wrote the first English novel of genius.

Numerous journalistic publications belong to the *Robinson Crusoe* year, but Defoe's next work of importance was *The History of the Life and Adventures of Mr Duncan Campbell* (1720), the deaf and dumb conjurer. Immediately after came *The Memoirs of a Cavalier*, an absorbing story of the wars in Germany and England. A month later appeared a fine example of the fiction of adventure, *The Life, Adventures and Piracies of the Famous Captain Singleton*. In this and in his next great book, *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders* (January 1722), we find Defoe beginning to display remarkable powers of characterization. *Moll Flanders* is supreme as a realistic picture of low life, just as the book of the next month, *Religious Courtship*, is an unapproachable classic of middle class smugness and piety. To the wonderful year 1722 belong *Due Preparations for the Plague* and *A Journal of the Plague Year*, besides *The Impartial History of Peter Alexowitz the Present Czar of Muscovy* and *The History and Remarkable Life of the truly Honourable Colonel Jacque*. After the almost unmatched fertility of 1722, the next year was barren; but in 1724 we have our prolific and masterly writer once more, for that is the date of *The Fortunate Mistress*, better known as *Roxana*, the story in which Defoe makes his greatest advance toward the construction of a well-ordered plot. This, also, is the year of one of the best of his sociological works, his treatise on the servant question, *The Great Law of Subordination Considered*, as well as of the first volume of *A Tour Thro' the whole Island of Great Britain*. Before the year closed, he had written the last of his generally accepted works of fiction, *A New Voyage round the World*. *The Political History of the Devil* (1726) and *The Friendly Daemon* (1726) with numerous other works belonging to the same year hardly call for notice; but 1725–7 produced *The Complete English Tradesman*, that bourgeois classic, and 1728 saw *A Plan of the English Commerce*, the remarkable *Augusta Triumphans*, a piece of Utopian reconstruction for London, and the interesting *Memoirs of an English Officer....By Capt. George Carleton*.

Nothing but death could end Defoe's enormous productiveness. His final years are a little mysterious, and his last book, *The Compleat English Gentleman*, was not published till late in the nineteenth century. His death was hardly noticed, and his reputation sank in the aristocratic Augustan period. His labours for the Union and the Protestant Succession caused some well-meaning people in later years to discover in him the lineaments of a British Patriot and Christian Hero. But there is no need to praise Defoe for imaginary virtues.

political divine named Sacheverell for a Tory sermon, and there wa a sudden outburst of enthusiasm in favour of the victim. Defoe di what pamphlets can do against mob excitement, but the Whigs wen out and the Tories came in. That Defoe was trying to serve two sides can hardly be doubted; but the statesmen, especially St John, were models of duplicity. Defoe himself never wavered in his support of the Hanoverian Succession or his opposition to the Jacobites. For the second time Defoe ventured on irony, attacking the Jacobites in 1712 with his *Reasons against the Succession of the House of Hanover*. But the literal Whigs prosecuted him for issuing a treasonable publication, and once more he was imprisoned. *The Review* ceased to appear; but he began at once to edit a new trade journal, *Mercator*, in the interest of Bolingbroke's treaty of commerce By the end of 1713 he had secured a pardon under the Great Seal for all past offences. A year later he produced the pamphlets called *A General History of Trade* which have led some to call him the father of Free Trade.

Queen Anne died in 1714. The Tory intriguers were routed. The Hanoverians came in and the Jacobites came out. But the Whigs triumphed and kept their hold upon English politics till George III became king nearly fifty years later At this point begins Defoe's most dubious period. It seems clear that between 1716 and 1720 he was employed as a "secret agent", working with the Jacobite publisher Nathaniel Mist, and contributing information to the Whig ministers. Whether his preliminary apologia, *An Appeal to Honour and Justice, tho' it be of his worst enemies* (1715), is genuine or a clever piece of impersonation can hardly be determined; but it has been taken quite seriously by biographers. In the same year he produced *History of the Wars of Charles XII*, and the first instalments of *The Family Instructor*, besides numerous pamphlets. The year 1717 saw the end of his career as a political controversialist.

A new Defoe now appears. It was in April 1719 that the first part *Robinson Crusoe* was published Defoe was nearly sixty years old, he had hitherto written nothing that would have preserved his name for posterity During the next few years he was to become the most extraordinarily prolific old man in the history of English literature. He had lived actively He had read whatever fiction was current in his time, and literary impersonation was almost a second nature in him. *Mrs Veal*, written in 1705, shows his ability to make very vivid and credible by a skilful use of circumstantial detail. He had moreover, the true creative writer's gift of looking at his experience objectively. Having read some account of Alexander Selkirk, he found no difficulty in impersonating a castaway sailor. The immediate and permanent popularity of *Robinson Crusoe* is a commonplace of literary history. Defoe, who always had a keen eye to the market, produced, in about four months, *The Farth*

Steele had not yet found either himself or his public. His public he presently found in the coffee-houses, where men got together, as in the later clubs, and conversed, and practised the social amenities. The coffee-house assemblies were not coteries or studio-cliques. They were parties of ordinary persons, who did not talk like books. Steele, having lost his place at court and being in need of money, thought there might be profit in a periodical appealing to the coffee-house public; and so on 12 April 1709 appeared the first number of *The Tatler*. The paper came out three times a week, and each issue (unlike *The Spectator*) contained several essays, dated, according to their subjects, from different coffee-houses. Thus *The Tatler*, at its beginning, was hardly more than an improved imitation of Defoe's *Review* or Dunton's *Athenian Mercury*. Having found his public, Steele next found himself, and, as sometimes happens, he discovered himself in an impersonation. From Swift he borrowed Isaac Bickerstaff, and soon Bickerstaff, with his familiar, Pacolet, developed from Swift's astrological humbug into a general commentator on civilized life. In this thin disguise, Steele touched on questions of breeding, good taste, courtesy and chivalry. He set forth a reasonable ideal of a gentleman and taught a new respect for women. To heighten and illustrate his discussions of family life he invented a lady editor, Jenny Distaff. Had it occurred to him to weave the familiar incidents of the essays into the history of Jenny Distaff, he would have been well on the way towards the domestic novel. But Steele could not develop his own ideas, whether of criticism or of character. He needed a collaborator. *The Tatler* continued to appear three times a week until 2 January 1711, and then ceased abruptly: we do not know why. The most probable reason is that Steele's invention had given out and the task of going on had become laborious. The least probable, though most pleasing, explanation is that he recognized the superiority of another writer, who had contributed some essays to the paper.

That other was Joseph Addison (1672–1719), who had been at Charterhouse with Steele. Addison's political career does not concern us; but it may be mentioned that he held many important public offices and became a privy councillor. The least satisfactory part of his political career is that which brought him, at last, into a pamphlet-quarrel with his old friend Steele. But we are concerned with their collaboration, not with their conflicts. Steele was impulsive, communicative, adventurous; Addison was reserved, taciturn, careful. He had produced the expected Latin poems and dissertations, and the chief fruits of his four years' travel after leaving Oxford were his *Dialogues upon the Usefulness of Ancient Medals* (posthumously published in 1721) and his *Remarks upon Several Parts of Italy* (1705). His first contribution to what may be called public

He was the most prolific writing machine known to us. He wrote [illegible]

the sheer quantity of his work; no man will be injured more by attempts to claim for him impossible virtues. It should be enough that Defoe was not only the author of *Robinson Crusoe*, but that he had in him something of the uncalculating love of liberty which is the real mark of a tribune of the people.

II. STEELE AND ADDISON

[illegible]

a calmer morning dawned. The steady, quiet, middle-class began to make themselves heard. Of this cleaner urbanity Addison and Steele were the voices. Richard Steele (1672–1729) led the way, and he is curiously attractive because in his own person he combined Restoration impulses and Augustan restraint. He was an Irishman and a soldier, both rake and moralist, finding in himself the sins he was most ready to condemn. His reading sat in judgment on his conduct, and his first publication, therefore, was *The Christian Hero: an* [illegible]

Steele turned next to the stage. He tried to make money by amusing his audience and to do good by instructing them. He covered the usual ground of Restoration drama, but he sought to paint virtue and vice in their true colours. Vice never triumphs, though virtue may suffer. In *The Funeral, or Grief-à-la-mode* (1701), h[illegible] hly improbable plot b[illegible] *Lover* (1703) young [illegible] ences and ends by [illegible] ourted with a fidelity rare [illegible] *d* (1705) an impossible and [illegible] bility to an unconvincing [illegible]

brief all Steele's best ideas on life and character. Steele and Addison produced other work separately. But when they ceased to collaborate in *The Spectator*, which was revived for a few months in 1714 by one of their circle, they became authors of secondary importance. Their work was done. They were complementary writers. Steele was more original, Addison was more effective. The modern essay is still Addisonian, and modern prose, in all its adventures, has never strayed far, without danger, from the model of ease and correctness set by Mr Spectator. Together, Steele and Addison succeeded because they were the voice of a new and civilized urban life.

III. POPE

The work of Pope has always been a battlefield of criticism. Every reputable judge agrees that he is a polished literary artist, the type in our country of the restraint considered classical. What is urged against him is that he left the free air of heaven for the atmosphere of the coffee-house, and that he mechanized verse to suit an age of prose. Actually, Pope represents a reaction against artificiality and a return to nature. He descends directly from Waller and Dryden; he revolts directly from Donne. He could not breathe in the heavy air of the metaphysical poets; and so the paradox of Pope is that he is the chief figure in a romantic revolt. Let us abandon, he says in effect, the perverse, obscure, tormenting of words and emotions; let us go back to health and Horace.

Alexander Pope (1688–1744) began life with several disadvantages. He was the child of elderly parents, he was physically weak and deformed, and he was a Roman Catholic. His feeble health denied him a school, his faith denied him a university; and so the most instinctively classical of our poets missed the intensely classical education of his day. But there were advantages. He grew up in an indulgent home on the verge of Windsor Forest, and his intellectual isolation gave him intellectual freedom. While still a child, he "lisped in numbers". He read and wrote incessantly, and, as he grew, cultivated the acquaintance of older men to whom he submitted his juvenile efforts for criticism and correction. We must face at once the fact that he was completely disingenuous. Poems alleged to have been written at an early age were in fact carefully overseen and revised. Thus his *Pastorals* went from hand to hand before their publication in 1709. That they are bookish is not surprising, for the writer was young, and the pastoral was at this date a literary exercise; but his mastery of metre is at once evident. *Windsor Forest* (1712) belongs to the period of the *Pastorals*, though it attempts to apply observation and reading to a larger theme. Less fortunate is the

literature was The Campaign, A Poem to H... (Marlborough (1705) ...
wind and the st...
sentiments abo...

... the perfect style for "occasional literature" ... the natural volubility of ... colloquial, full of individuality and yet chastened by classic examples in the choice of words. Steele discontinued The Tatler in January 1711. In 1710 the Whig ministry had fallen. Addison felt a financial as well as a literary call to continue his essay writing; and so, on 1 March 1711, The Spectator was born.

The Spectator was not *The Tatler* revived. The old paper was a medley; its successor was a series of literary pamphlets, each confined to a single theme, grave or gay. It appeared daily and so grew into the life of its readers like a trusted friend. "Isaac Bickerstaff," the astrologer, perished with *The Tatler*; the new author was "Mr Spectator", who not only gave his name to the paper but typified the spirit in which it was written. Naturally he had to be a member of a club. Steele invented the Spectator's club as he had invented the Trumpet Club for *The Tatler*. There were six typical members: Sir Roger de Coverly, once a town-gallant, and now a country gentleman; Captain Sentry, a retired soldier of quiet tastes; a lawyer (anonymous) who resides at the Inner Temple; Will Honeycomb, fop and wit; a gentle clergyman; and Sir Andrew Freeport, a merchant, specially notable, for he marks the first appearance of the bourgeois as a serious figure in modern English literature. The moneyed gull of Jacobean and Restoration comedy had gone. The middle-class had become the hero of the new literature. The last number (555) of *The Spectator* appeared on the 6 December 1712. Apparently Addison and Steele felt that they had exhausted that vein of writing. Addison now began to work again on his tragedy, *Cato*, which was produced in 1713 at a time of great political excitement. The success it had then it can never have again. To say it is dead is too ..., for it was never alive. Addison's prose comedy *The Drummer; or The Haunted House* was produced at Drury Lane in 1715, but did not succeed.

In 1713 Steele returned to literature and started several periodicals, of which *The Guardian* is the most important. To this Addison contributed fifty-one papers. In 1722 came Steele's last com...y, *The Conscious Lovers*, remarkable because it resu...

of the sonnet. The narrowness of eighteenth century writers like Pope amounted, in Pater's phrase, to a positive gift.

By the date of his *Works* of 1717, Pope had already published the first instalment of his most laborious enterprise, the translation of the *Iliad*. Pope's Homer, like Dryden's Virgil, was not intended to make known an unknown author. His readers were familiar with Homer in Greek; what they wanted was to hear Homer speak in the accents of their time. The first four volumes appeared in 1715, 1716, 1717, 1718, and the last two in 1720. The harvest-home was sung by Gay in *Mr Pope's Welcome from Greece*. Tickell's version of the first *Iliad* was published on the same day as Pope's first volume. It was alleged to be inspired by Addison, and Pope's suspicious nature was ready to believe the worst. With all its faults the translation of Pope is a great success. As Bentley admitted, it is not Homer, but it is a poem, which few translations are. The reader who cannot find beauty in Pope is not likely to find much in Homer. Shortly after the long labour of the *Iliad* was over, Pope was engaged in two fresh enterprises. The translation of the *Odyssey* was shared with Elijah Fenton and William Broome, to whom half the books were allotted, Fenton taking I, IV, XIX and XX, and his colleague II, VI, VIII, XI, XII, XVI, XVIII and XXIII, while Pope translated the rest and assumed, in addition, the task of revision. The first three volumes were published in 1725, and the remaining two in the next year. But the homely, domestic, romantic *Odyssey* is less successful than the heroic, oratorical *Iliad*. The other task, which he undertook at the invitation of Jacob Tonson the bookseller, was a new edition of Shakespeare, published in 1725. Pope's literary and personal disqualifications for such a work were great, and the mistakes he made were carefully pointed out by Lewis Theobald, who therefore unjustly gained the bad eminence of being the first hero of *The Dunciad*. Among the shorter pieces of this period is the *Epistle to Robert Earl of Oxford*, almost unsurpassed for variety of music and dignity of style.

Thanks to Homer, Pope had thriven; but he was apt to brood over injuries, real or imaginary, and employ to the full his "proper power to hurt". Pope, Swift, Gay, Parnell and others had been in the habit of meeting at Arbuthnot's rooms in St James's Palace. From this informal club came later the idea of satire on various forms of pedantry, in the person of an imaginary Martinus Scriblerus. In 1727 appeared the first two volumes of *Miscellanies* by the Club, with a preface signed jointly by Swift and Pope. *Miscellanies, the last volume* (1728) contained the severe character of Addison which had already made a first appearance; but the piece that created most stir was Pope's *Martinus Scriblerus peri Bathous: or the Art of Sinking in Poetry*, a prose essay in which the "Bathos or Profund" is discussed and illustrated by devastating quotations from Pope's detested con-

Virgilian eclogue *Messiah* (1712), which fails to make the Biblical prose of Isaiah impressive in the couplets of the eighteenth century.

The real Pope is first encountered in *An Essay on Criticism* published in 1711. A poet so careful of form was likely to discuss the principles of his art, and Pope naturally turned for inspiration to the *Ars Poetica* of Horace and the writings of those who had imitated it. Though most of the statements are commonplaces, they have taken permanent form through the writer's genius for poetic aphorism. With the *Essay on Criticism* Pope became famous. His next work established him. Based on an actual incident, *The Rape of the Lock* (1712) became at his hands a blend of the mock-heroic, the satirical and the fanciful, unmatched in our poetry. It is what Hazlitt called it, an exquisite [illegible]

passion; but neither can be called successful. Pope's genuine emotions of friendship and affection are expressed with singular charm in three Epistles, (1) *To Mr Jervas with Dryden's Translation of Fresnoy's Art of Painting*, (2) *To a Young Lady with the Works of Voiture*, (3) *To the Same on her leaving the town after the Coronation*. The last two Epistles were written, in the first instance, for his friend Teresa Blount, and transferred afterwards to her younger sister Martha. Pope was [illegible]

Pope's literary activity in the first period of his career was both intense and varied. Drama he left alone, though he contributed to Gay and Arbuthnot's *Three Hours after Marriage*. His *Ode for Music on Saint Cecilia's Day* discloses no gift for song. There is no lyric quality in the poetry of Pope; but the aphoristic quality is highly developed. He was not prosaic. He was satisfied with nothing less than poetic perfection. The "stopped" or self-contained couplet, which was his unit of form, was no impediment to consecution of [illegible]

much variety as other poets have achieved within the narrow form

vii and the latter part of *Satire* II, v in octosyllabic verse (1738) are of a totally different character, being attempts to copy Swift's manner. The *Satires* (II and IV) *of Dr Donne Versified* were included in the *Works*, Vol. II, 1735. It may be remarked that the one year, 1738, saw the publication of the Horatian *Dialogues* of the elderly Alexander Pope and the Juvenalian *London* by the young Samuel Johnson. Pope himself made no complete collection of his works, and his text is almost as difficult to establish as that of Shakespeare. His first editor, the admiring Bishop Warburton, took various liberties, and collected the poems named in this paragraph as *Satires*, using the *Epistle to Arbuthnot* as *Prologue* and the *Dialogues* of 1738 as *Epilogue*. Not till 1939, when the first instalment of a new edition appeared, was a worthy effort made to produce a sound text.

The New Dunciad appeared in 1742. While gratifying many personal grudges, as in the notorious and disgraceful lines on the aged Bentley, the satire was, to a large extent, general. Pope had descried a new hero. The amiable and harmless Colley Cibber had not hesitated to make fun of *Three Hours after Marriage*, the play to which Pope had contributed. In a new edition of the whole poem, incorporating this fourth book, Pope therefore dethroned Theobald and elevated Colley Cibber to the vacant seat. Though some hold that Pope injured the original design of the poem by his alterations, they will scarcely deny that the conclusion of the fourth book is one of the high lights of his verse.

To one rather dubious part of Pope's work small attention need be paid. He had been a prolific correspondent, and in 1726 "the unspeakable Curll", the publisher, put out a volume containing some of Pope's letters. Pope was annoyed, and began to beg various friends to return his letters. A mysterious collection was issued in 1735 by Curll, who, it is alleged, had been supplied with the material by agents of Pope himself. A pretext was found for prosecuting Curll, and in 1737 Pope published an edition of his own, in which the originals were carefully manipulated to present the writer in the most favourable light. Nothing has damaged his reputation more; and the tragi-comedy of the situation is that, original or sophisticated, Pope's letters are unimportant.

Pope has been denied the name of poet and has been made to suffer for the faults of his worst imitators. By some people, and especially by scholars, he has been liked in every age, and his admirers now tend to increase rather than to diminish. Even his character has been as hotly denounced as defended. In spite of the Windsor home and the retreat at Twickenham, Pope's spiritual home was the parish of St James. He was essentially urban; and the romantic period, which sought the beauty which has strangeness in it, would have none of him, even though Byron was his last great champion. Readers must

In 1688 Godwin, who had lost his fortune, died, and Swift was left without resources. He joined his mother at Leicester, and sought for other connections. The most obvious was the celebrated Sir William Temple, then living in retirement at Moor Park in Surrey, about forty miles from London. Temple's father had been a friend of Godwin Swift; Temple himself had known the Swifts in Ireland; and Lady Temple (Dorothy Osborne) was said to be a connection of Swift's mother. Swift therefore entered the service of Temple, and became a kind of secretary. The arrangement was not happy for anybody. The ladies of the house ignored or patronized the proud and sensitive young man. That Temple meant to be friendly is certain; it is also certain that he never apprehended the real measure of Swift's capacity and that his efforts to find for him a place in the world of affairs were not very energetic. Nevertheless, life at Moor Park was of immense value to Swift. He grew familiar with public affairs and with the rich experiences of his patron, and he formed the lasting affection of his life. Dependant found sympathy with dependant. The companion of Temple's sister, Lady Giffard, was a widow, Mrs Johnson; and Mrs Johnson had two daughters, one of whom, Esther, was eight years old, and a great favourite with the family, when Swift was charged, among other duties, with her tuition. She was probably Temple's daughter and therefore Swift's own niece. Swift made one effort to escape from servitude. In 1694, disappointed that Temple had found no place for him, he took the only course that seemed to promise advancement, and was ordained. Temple obtained for him the prebend of Kilroot, and the fated connection with Ireland was resumed. In 1696 he left Ireland and returned to Moor Park, where he remained till Temple's death in 1699.

During one of the foolish periodical controversies about the merits of ancient and of modern literature, Temple felt called upon to defend the classics, but unfortunately cited the spurious "Epistles of Phalaris" as an example of ancient excellence. He was answered by William Wotton, and, in 1697, Swift wrote his contribution to the controversy, *The Battle of the Books*, which, however, was not published till 1704. The death of Temple left him without a place. He was given the living of Laracor, and found himself once more in Ireland, and alone. It was therefore arranged that Esther Johnson should live in Dublin, with a Mrs Dingley, mysteriously related to the Temples, as chaperon. Swift was thirty-four, and Esther, henceforth his "Stella", was an attractive girl of twenty. The proprieties were strictly observed, and Swift and Stella never met except in the presence of a third person. But Swift was soon back in England, and on familiar terms with wits and ministers.

His pamphlets of 1708–9 on ecclesiastical questions show his conviction that the Whigs were unfriendly to the Church; and when the

never let themselves be bullied into a narrow view of poetry. In literature there is a voice of the city and the senate as well as of the mountains and the waters. Poetic truth may be spoken in a polished manner, as well as in a rustic manner or a prophetic manner. If t[illegible]

[illegible]

as a last word of eulogy, says that he "turned his screams into poetry, with the enchantment of the heroic couplet". That is not praise, it is condemnation. The best poetry is not made out of screams, however carefully ejaculated. We have but to turn to the lyrics of Blake to find a world of poetry from which Pope was everlastingly shut out; and it is a better world than the one he chose to inhabit. Perhaps the nineteenth century was not so wrong about Pope as we, in our pride of date, suppose. Let us be sure that we give Pope his due; but let us be sure that we do not give him more than his due.

IV. SWIFT

[illegible]

small legal post in Dublin and died. Several months later, a son, Jonathan, was born. There is much probability that his real father was Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, and father of Sir William Temple, who was therefore Swift's older half-brother. A nurse took the child to Whitehaven and kept him there three years; and, not long after his return to Dublin, the mother returned to her relatives in England, leaving the boy in his uncle's care. Thus, in a curious sense, Jonathan Swift was both fatherless and motherless; and we need feel no surprise at the growth of strange legends about his birth. Swift was sent to Kilkenny School, where he met Congreve, and, at fourteen, was entered as a pensioner at *Trinity College, Dublin. When he accused his uncle of giving him* the "education of a dog", he really meant that Oxford or Cambridge would have been more to his heart's desire than an Irish university. Swift, born in Ireland almost by accident, and afterwards identified with Ireland against his hopes and wishes, had no tenderness for the land of his birth.

increasing infirmities and by Stella's illness. She died in January 1728, after making a will which describes her as "spinster". For Swift life soon became an acute torture, and in a sense he was dead before he died. A tumour on the brain maddened him with deafness, blindness and giddiness. In 1742 he fell into a condition of dementia. Three years later he was dead. Dublin was hushed into silence at the passing of the strangest character that ever emerged from that remarkable city. It may be added, as a last satiric touch, that not till times quite recent has any serious attempt been made to produce full, true and accurate editions of his writings.

The earliest and the most characteristic of Swift's books is *A Tale of a Tub, written for the Universal Improvement of Mankind*, composed about 1696 and published in 1704. Like all his books it is anonymous. In form it is a pungent allegorical satire upon the contending religious parties of the day; but the essayistic digressions are an important part of it. Few more entirely characteristic first books have ever been written. It contains almost every quality Swift possessed—his intellectual power, his polished irony, his savage mockery, his terrifying humour and his immense vitality. Some of the chapters or essays are unequalled as examples of plain prose. The nearest parallel to the prose of Swift is the verse of Pope. With this short work was printed another. The origin of Swift's *Full and True Account of the Battel Fought last Friday between the Ancient and the Modern Books in St James's Library*, generally known as *The Battle of the Books*, has already been mentioned. The fact that Swift was backing his patron in a lost cause does not lessen the interest of the book, for Swift cared little about the matter as long as he could make the pedants ridiculous. It is an excellent piece of satirical humour.

Swift's most famous and most popular book belongs to the years of his maturity and disillusionment. *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World, by Lemuel Gulliver, first a Surgeon, and then a Captain of Several Ships*, was published anonymously at the end of October 1726. It took the town by storm. Three famous controversialists, all born in the same century, have furnished the juvenile libraries of the western world with three perpetual volumes, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, *Gulliver's Travels* and *Robinson Crusoe*. The success of Swift in scoring a hit on the wrong target is almost ludicrous. Young readers are usually content with the voyages to Lilliput and to Brobdingnag, duly modified. The latter and more terrible parts of the book, which they wisely let alone, might have been conceived by the tottering mind of a thinker in the modern war-broken world. Any discussion of the possible or even probable "sources" of *Gulliver's Travels* is totally vain. What matters in a book is not whence it might have come but what it is. Everything that makes *Gulliver* immortal has its source in Swift, and in Swift alone.

Whigs triumphed in 1708, he knew his hopes of preferment were vain, and retreated to Ireland. The prosecution of Sacheverell

Tories were now devoted to bringing the war with France to an end. Swift composed, in November and December 1711, two formidable pamphlets in favour of peace. By this time he had attained a position of great importance, and the authority he possessed and the respect he received gave him much pleasure Recognition of his services

Dublin was anything but friendly. In October he returned to London. But the aspect of affairs threatened disaster. The Queen was dying. The succession was unsettled. Harley and St John had quarrelled, and there was some Jacobite plotting. Swift was in a difficulty; but the death of the Queen in 1714 settled the matter. With the triumph of the Whigs and the defeat of his friends, all Swift's hopes finally

visits to London he became intimate with Hester Vanhomrigh, supposed to be twenty, but probably older. Swift was forty-three; but the disparity of age mattered little to Hester. In their friendly intercourse she was "Vanessa" and he "Cadenus", an anagram of *decanus*, i e.
and Vanessa,
were friendly
for Vanessa.
mother, she and her sister retired to Ireland, a step very embarrassing to Swift. About 1723 a crisis occurred. The usual story (for which there is no authority) is that Vanessa provoked Swift's wrath by demanding to know what were the relations between him and Stella. What is certain is that Vanessa died in 1723 and made no mention of Swift in her will, which names many other friends. The plain truth of the matter is that we know almost nothing about

that the poverty of the people should be relieved by the sale of their children as food for the rich. The pamphlet is both a terrible indictment of Irish helplessness and a terrible parody of political argument.

On literary subjects, Swift wrote little. In 1712, he published his *Proposal for correcting, improving and ascertaining the English Tongue*, in the form of a letter to Harley. In this tract, to which he allowed his name to be affixed, he urged the formation of an academy, which was to fix a standard for the language. Nine years later, Swift published in Dublin an amusing satire, *A Letter of Advice to a young Poet: together with a Proposal for the Encouragement of Poetry in this Kingdom* (1721). In the rather patronising *Letter to a Very Young Lady on her Marriage* (1727), Swift advises his friend to listen to the talk of men of learning, as few gentlemen's daughters can read or understand their own native tongue, or even be brought to spell correctly.

Swift's poetry has the merits of his prose, but not many other merits. To trace and identify all his writings in verse is a heroic task. He began by writing frigid "Pindaric" odes, after the fashion of Cowley. But Dryden's good-humoured criticism turned him to lighter verse, modelled on Butler in style, and generally satirical in matter. One of the earliest and best of his playful pieces is the graceful *Baucis and Philemon*. The famous *Cadenus and Vanessa* (1726) gives, in a mock classical setting, Swift's account of his acquaintance with Hester Vanhomrigh. Much more pleasing are the pieces which Swift wrote year by year on Stella's birthday. He is here at his best in verse. At the other extreme are his satires on women, which are some of the most horrible verses ever written. Savagery has full play in his political ballads and skits. *On Poetry: a Rapsody* (1733) was thought by Swift to be his best satire. At least it contains his most frequently quoted lines. The poem *On the Death of Dr Swift* (1731), with its mixture of humour, egotism and pathos, is a moving piece, the last lines being strangely applicable to his actual end.

Of Swift's correspondence, by far the most interesting is that with Esther Johnson, afterwards known as the *Journal to Stella*. His style, always simple and straightforward, is here at its best. Both in this and in his general correspondence, the ease and vivacity of the writing can hardly be matched in epistolary literature.

Much has been written in defence of Swift since the unsympathetic studies of Macaulay, Jeffrey and Thackeray appeared, but he still remains a mystery. It is not easy to reconcile his contempt for mankind with his affection for his friends and their affection for him; or his bitterness against women with the love he inspired. It is, again, difficult, in view of the decorum of his own life, and his real, if formal, religion, to explain the offensiveness of some of his writings. The normal physiological circumstances of life seem to have filled him with inexplicable horror. The early years of poverty and dependence

In 1708 Swift began a brilliant series of pamphlets on Church questions. The firs[illegible] Steele in *The Tatler*, is curious as a proposal for "auto-suggestion" in religion. Other tracts, able as they are, belong to the history of controversy rather than to the history of literature. *A Letter to a Young Gentleman, lately entered into Holy Orders* (1721) is specially attractive for its revelation of Swift's interest in the study of the English language. The finest and most successful of Swift's political pamphlets is *The Conduct of the Allies and of the late Ministry in beginning and carrying on the present war* (1711), a masterpiece of argument written in the perfection of plain prose. *Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty* (1712) is a supplement to it. Swift's other political pamphlets, too numerous to name, show the same kind of power; but their matter has now an interest that is mainly historical.

[illegible] *Cloaths, etc.* (1720), advocating a scheme for boycotting English fabrics. It was followed by the tracts in which he attacked the grant of a patent to an English merchant, William Wood, to supply [illegible] In 1724 appeared [illegible] *he Drapier's Letters.* [illegible] *epers, Farmers and Common People of Ireland concerning the Brass Half-pence coined by* [illegible] take the coins. The third letter, *Some Observations...relating to* [illegible] (1728) [illegible] The [illegible] *l for* [illegible] *their Parents, or the Country, and for making them Beneficial to the Publick* (1729), in which, with searching irony and bitterness, Swift sugge[illegible]

an end to Arbuthnot's public importance. His remaining works are to be identified with difficulty, and of those known to be his some are scientific. His one surviving poem of interest is *Know Yourself* (1734). *The History of John Bull* is the most attractive of Arbuthnot's works. Though it is far below the level of *A Tale of a Tub* it deserves credit for the clearness of its satirical allegory and its skill in political characterization.

Contemporary with Arbuthnot and friendly with Swift and other High Church Tories was William King (1663–1712)—not to be confused with two others of the same name. His first noticeable piece was an amusing *Dialogue showing the way to Modern Preferment* (1690), and later he joined Charles Boyle in the campaign against Bentley in the very clever *Dialogues of the Dead* (1699). His *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* (1705) embodied some of his best work. King is an interesting writer who deserves to be better known.

Literary criticism at the end of the seventeenth century owed much to Boileau and Rapin, who pleaded for "good sense" and urged the wisdom of following classical models. Thomas Rymer (1641–1713), already mentioned, published in 1674 *Reflections on Aristotle's Treatise of Poesie*, a translation from Rapin. But his principal literary work was *The Tragedies of the Last Age consider'd, etc.* (1678) in which he defended the classical as against the Shakespearean manner. He returned to the attack in *A Short View of Tragedy, etc.* (1693). Both essays have historical interest as attempts to criticize Shakespeare by standards inapplicable to his work. Gerald Langbaine is known chiefly by his *Account of the English Dramatic Poets* (1691), a new edition of which was brought out by Charles Gildon in 1699 under the title *The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatic Poets.* It is a most useful compilation. John Dennis, already mentioned, author of *Three Letters on the Genius and Writings of Shakespeare* (1711), was another of the critics who found Shakespeare wanting in "art", though gifted with some "natural" qualities. John Hughes (1677–1720), the dramatist (see p. 428), produced *The Works of Mr Edmund Spenser...with a glossary explaining the old and obscure words* (1715), the first attempt at a critical edition of Spenser. We have already discussed the eighteenth-century editions of Shakespeare. These, together with numerous minor works on the plays of Shakespeare and the poems of Spenser, should assure us that the polished couplets of the urban poets do not represent the whole poetic feeling of "the age of prose". There is still some misunderstanding of "our excellent and indispensable eighteenth century", as Arnold called it, though in recent years it has found a few excessive advocates and a few much more useful editors.

left an indelible mark on him, and he became a proud, embittered man. Had he been born to rank and wealth he would have taken a [illegible] olitics of the time. [illegible] easy rhythm and [illegible] he sheer force of personality is overwhelming. Earnestness, satire, cynicism, invective, all proceed with the same decorum of outward gravity. Swift wrote many small works, the effect of which is cumulative. In a brief sketch like the present, which cannot discuss or even name the greater part of them, he must inevitably appear with his magnitude lessened. But a reading of the works recorded in the preceding paragraphs will show that in intellectual energy and penetrating force of style he was the greatest writer of his age. To love Swift may be difficult; it is impossible to read him without admiration and without pity.

V. ARBUTHNOT AND LESSER PROSE WRITERS

The name of Dr John Arbuthnot (1667–1735) is familiar to all [illegible] of Pope, Swift and their associates, but his actual writings [illegible] no pains to preserve his [illegible]

He was born in Scotland, [illegible]
[illegible] became the Queen's physician in 1709 [illegible]
[illegible] a pamphlet, *A Sermon,* [illegible]

anti-Marlborough party [illegible]
London from Ireland, and undertook the management [illegible]
periodical, *The Examiner*, and the acquaintance between the Irish and the Scottish wits soon ripened into affectionate intimacy. Arbuthnot was responsible for a series of pamphlets published in 1712, to create a feeling in favour of ending the war with France. The first [illegible]
Lord Str[illegible]
they had [illegible]
quick su[illegible]
1727 as [illegible]
own wa[illegible]
The Examiner. Later [illegible] Arbuthnot published an [illegible]
pamphlet entitled *The Art of Political Lying*. He was one of [illegible]
of Tory statesmen and [illegible] who called each other "Brother [illegible]
[illegible]

piece in couplets, which is not now likely to be read. Of satires in verse no complete examples are to be found among his poems, though the two delightful *Epistles to Fleetwood Shephard, Esq.* are in that vein; but Prior was fertile in a wide variety of light satirical narrative in verse, from the familiar *fabliau* to the humorous ballad or character-sketch and epigrammatic sallies of all sorts. The best instances of Prior's success in the *fabliau* are *An English Padlock* and *Hans Carvel*. In *Down-Hall, a Ballad,* he achieves a humorous character-sketch of the landlady of the Bull at Hendon; but the best example of his playful insight into character is the poem recently recovered, and named *Jinny the Just*. His poems to children are among the best of their kind, and his various "Cloe" songs, though not of the highest excellence, have a delightful kind of prettiness. Prior's shorter poems mark him as the earliest and most successful among masters of English familiar verse. He wrote well in many forms. His imitation of Spenser is poor, but it was at least attempted. His imitation of Chaucer failed simply because (like Dryden) he did not understand Chaucer's versification. Such attempts must be remembered as evidence that there was still a hunger for poetry in a form more free than the Wallerian couplet. Prior succeeded best with the octosyllabic couplet and various forms of the anapaestic line, the latter of which he uses very skilfully. As a prose writer he shows considerable skill, but the existing pieces are unimportant and need not be discussed. Never great, Prior is always good, and engages the affection of those who unbend to his easy charm.

The spoiled child of the Queen Anne fraternity of poets was the pliant fabulist John Gay (1685–1732). His first experiment was a blank verse piece called *Wine* (1708), an imitation of John Philips's *Cyder*. *The Fan* in three books (1713) imitates the Pope of *The Rape*. More important is *The Shepherd's Week* (1714) in six cantos, written in successful ridicule of the urban pastorals of "Namby-Pamby Philips", for Gay was a born parodist. At the end of 1715 he composed what is probably his best remembered poem, *Trivia, or The Art of Walking the Streets of London*, in three books, imitated from Swift. The idea is good, the versification neat, and the mock heroic style admirable. In 1727 he brought out his *Fables* (a second part followed posthumously in 1738) and won with them a poetical success that kept his name alive for a century and more. They are ambling, slipshod, and far indeed from the perfection of La Fontaine, but they have not been excelled in English. To a chance remark by Swift, that a Newgate pastoral would make an odd pretty sort of thing, we owe Gay's most enduring invention, *The Beggar's Opera* (1728). Rich, the manager, produced it, and it made Gay rich and Rich gay. Its prohibited sequel *Polly* (1729), though less good, proved even more successful in print. Gay's later years were uneventfully spent

Matthew Prior (1664– [illegible]
attracting profitable [illegible]
passed to Cambridge. [illegible]
of his early friends, in [illegible]
to the Story of the Country and the City Mouse. People began to take notice of him, and during the winter of 1690–1 he obtained an appointment in the English Embassy at The Hague, the meeting pl[illegible]
C [illegible]
m[illegible] evitably, his first poems assume a laureate form and have little genuine value. We need not name them. It is in *The Secretary* (1696) that we get the first real touch of Prior's quality. The lilting anapaests, which he used so well, describe the jocund progress of the English secretary to a week-end holiday. His diplomatic work succeeded, and honours accumulated upon the poetic official; but, like Swift, he moved towards the opposite political party and began to act with the Tory chiefs, Harley and St John. He was now cultivating his gift for lighter [illegible] epigrams as well as humorc [illegible] stanzas *Written in the Beginnin*[illegible] loved by Sir Walter Scott. *An Ode Inscribed to the Memory of the Honourable Colonel George Villiers* contains some of his finest lines and shows increasing mastery of the couplet. Like Defoe and Swift, Prior was involved in the politic[illegible] and on the death of the Queen th[illegible] to extort from him something [illegible] St John. They failed; and after two years of confinement he was released. Prior was greatly liked, especially by children, one of [illegible]

[illegible]

brown Maid is an elegant and misguided attempt to apply the classic [illegible] Few people who [illegible] know that [illegible] *Alma, or* [illegible] rld. In its theme as well as in its form, it approaches *Hudibras*; but its superior urbanity cannot conceal its lack of force. Prior returned to the theme more seriously in *Solomon on the Vanity of the World*, a lengthy

praised for his rustic note. His anonymous poem *The Choice: A Poem written by a Person of Quality* (1700) became famous because, in the usual fashion, people speculated about the authorship instead of appraising the verses.

Thomas Tickell (1688–1740) was an ardent Whig, who found preferment through his enthusiasm for Addison. As Addison rose, his admirer rose with him. Addison incurred Pope's enmity mainly in his *protégé's* behalf, and Tickell now lives solely as satellite, executor and panegyrist of Addison. His elegy (characterized by Johnson as "sublime and elegant") *To the Earl of Warwick on the Death of Mr Addison* furnishes his chief claim to poetic honours.

The great collections of the poets, especially that for which Dr Johnson wrote his celebrated "Lives", have preserved the writings of some eighteenth-century figures who, without offence, may be called versifiers rather than poets. Their names figure in the allusive writings of Dryden and Pope, and we can therefore hardly ignore them. Brief notice, however, must be their portion in these pages.

George Granville (1667–1735), first Baron Lansdowne, has already been mentioned as a dramatist. Neither his "Myra" lyrics nor such longer pieces as *Beauty and Law* and *The Progress of Beauty* deserve much attention. William Walsh (1663–1708), a gentleman of fashion and place, won the approval of Dryden and of Pope as a critic. Like Lansdowne, he rarely fails to illustrate "the art of sinking" in poetry. He is better in some of his lyrics. *The Despairing Lover* and *The Antidote* may be mentioned as typical pieces. William King (1663–1712) has already been noticed as a prose-writer (see p. 472). His most celebrated work in verse is *The Art of Cookery in Imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry* (1708). A sequel is *The Art of Love in Imitation of Ovid de Arte Amandi* (1709). With them may be mentioned *The Furmetary, a very Innocent and Harmless Poem* (glancing at Garth's *Dispensary*), *Mully of Mountown* (Mully is a cow) and *Orpheus and Eurydice*, all in a robustly humorous vein. William King is the most readable minor writer of his time. Sir Richard Blackmore (d. 1729) is one of those unfortunate writers who live in the satire they have invited. Blackmore's invitation is large and hearty. Having (says Johnson) in two years produced ten books of *Prince Arthur*, in two years more (1697) he sent into the world *King Arthur* in twelve. His ardour was unabated by the ferocity of criticism, and in 1700 he published *A Paraphrase on the Book of Job*. *Eliza, an epic poem in ten books* (1705), *Alfred, an epic poem in twelve books* (1723), and, above all, *Creation, a Philosophical Poem* (1712), demonstrating the providence of God, are in the grandest possible manner. Blackmore was a physician. Another was Sir Samuel Garth (1661–1719), whose one famous production (1699) is *The Dispensary, A Poem in Six Cantos*, an early example of "high burlesque". It ridicules a medical

in the house of his faithful patrons the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry. Though not strikingly gifted he had the art of succeeding. He died, in Pope's phrase, "unpension'd, with a hundred friends". Gay's longer poems, with the exception of *The Shepherd's Week* and *Trivia*, hardly survive. Of the shorter, the best is *Mr Pope's Welcome from Greece*, the *ottava rima* of which has a spontaneous flash and felicity. Everybody knows *Black-Eyed Susan*. Mention should be made of one piece by Gay immortalized by another hand, the *Acis and Galatea* which Handel set to music.

Ambrose Philips (1674–1749) occupies a larger place in the literary disputes of the day than his works deserve He became a target for missiles of all kinds because he was a Whig when all the wits were Tories. His *Pastorals* appeared (1709) in Tonson's *Miscellany*, his being the first, and Pope's the last, in the same volume. Pope of course put him in *The Dunciad*, and Carey or perhaps Swift fixed upon him that perversion of his Christian name by which he survives. Philips had the qualities of his defects and responded naturally to the older music of English poetry. In 1723 he brought out *A Collection of Old Ballads*, including *Robin Hood*, *Johnny Armstrong* and the famous *Children in the Wood* The ballads are, in the main, bad versions, but the collection was one of the earliest of its kind. *The Distrest Mother* (1712), his version of Racine's *Andromaque*, has already been mentioned.

Thomas Parnell (1679–1718) was born in Dublin. From his younger brother the famous Irish patriot was directly descended. Unimportant as he now seems, Parnell nevertheless had perceptible influence on the work of Goldsmith, Collins and Blair. *An Elegy to an Old Beauty* is the unexpected source of a familiar quotation, and *A Nightpiece on Death* an early example of a convention which reached its acme with Gray's *Elegy* The one poem of Parnell's that ...ly survives is *The Hermit*, which tells the eastern tale familiar in ... Latin of *Gesta Romanorum* and still more familiar in the French ... Voltaire (*Zadig*, Chap. xx) His longest effort, *The Gift of Poetry*, ... now hardly be taken seriously. Like others of his time Parnell ... a sedulous translator.

...ne Countess of Winchilsea (1661–1721) had an eye for the ...e beauties of nature, and having attracted the uncritical atten... ...f Wordsworth, her blameless efforts were foolishly overpraised ...er Wordsworthians The short *Nocturnal Reverie* (cited by ...sworth) is slight and pleasing, without entirely escaping the ...porary note of elegance. *The Spleen, a Pindarik Poem*, full of ...d abstractions, must not be confused with a better poem of ...e name. In spite of Wordsworth's praise the Countess of ...lsea is unimportant.

...Pomfret (1667–1702), like Lady Winchilsea, has been over-

Savage (d. 1743) owes his fame to an utterly unsubstantiated romance of noble birth and to his friendship with Johnson, who wrote his life. *The Wanderer* (1729) is one of the worst of long and didactic verse-tractates. *The Bastard* (1728), much shorter, has a false air of pathos and indignation. It contains one memorable line, usually attributed to Pope, "No tenth transmitter of a foolish face". Stephen Duck (1705–56) was a more truly tragic figure. A Wiltshire farm-labourer with a gift for verse, he was taken up by the "best people"; but, feeling unable to fulfil the absurd expectations of his backers, committed suicide. His *Caesar's Camp on St George's Hill* (1755) is imitated from Denham's *Cooper's Hill*. Aaron Hill (1685–1750), a busy poetaster, playwright and inventor, managed to be both the literary foe and personal friend of Pope. In sprightliness, which he essayed, Hill nowhere approaches the justly famed *Pipe of Tobacco* of Isaac Hawkins Browne, a series of parodies which is one of the pleasantest items in Dodsley's collection.

Two other writers deserve mention, less as poets than as the servants of poetry. Leonard Welsted wrote a good deal of verse which gained him a place in *The Dunciad*; but his translation of Longinus is good and the attached comments show that, if he could not exactly produce poetry, he could appreciate it in Spenser and Shakespeare to a degree not common in his day. Christopher Pitt made a translation of Virgil which displaced Dryden's in the favour of the eighteenth century, and wrote miscellaneous poems, including many minor translations, which need no comment. His really important translation, that of Vida's *Art of Poetry* (c. 1525), is one of those things which are good of their kind whether the kind be good or not. No student of the history and criticism of poetry should fail to read Vida, and will lose very little of him in the version of Pitt.

Not least in this procession of minor poets is the elusive and engaging figure of Henry Carey (d. 1743), creator, in the farce-burlesque of *Chrononhotonthologos*, of many quaint names and some actual lines of verse which stick in the memory; probable inventor of Ambrose Philips's nickname, "Namby-Pamby", and of the set of skittish verses attached to it; musician, playwright, and, it is said, suicide; who, in the end, lives in our hearts as author of the delightful words, and the almost more delightful music, of *Sally in Our Alley*. Many of the poets named in these paragraphs owed either their first publication or their wider popularity to Robert Dodsley (1703–64), footman, verse-writer, playwright and publisher. Nearly all testimonies to "the good natured author of *The Muse in Livery*" (1732) are favourable. The publisher of *Old Plays* (1744) and of *Poems by Several Hands* (1748–58) must, necessarily, have been a man of enterprise and intelligence, and students of literature are perpetually in his debt.

squabble of the day, and is a successful essay in the mock-heroic.

admiration even of so staunch a churchman as Johnson. His most

body's friends, the dogs who bark and bite, the busy bee, and the

of success. John Philips (1676–1709), Oxford and Tory, not to be confused with Ambrose, Cambridge and Whig, wrote, in *The*

Elijah Fenton (1683–1730) and William Broome (1689–1745) were both translators "in Milton's style", and assisted Pope in the translation of *The Odyssey*, but not in Milton's style. Their original verse is unimportant. Neither Edmund Smith, already mentioned as a

piece called *Conrade*, purporting to be an ancient Irish legend, can hardly be without obligations to Macpherson—unless, indeed, the obligation lies the other way. David Malloch (1705–65), who for prudential reasons changed his name to Mallet, just as his father, a Macgregor, had already changed his to Malloch during the outlawry of [illegible] was rew[illegible] first pul[illegible] allad fragment. It is in the eighteenth-century manner; but it helped to set that century on the road of true romantic poetry. His larger poems do not deserve mention In collaboration with Thomson he wrote the masque called *Alfred* (1740) in which *Rule, Britannia* appears. It is not certain which poet wrote that number, nor is it important; for it is the tune, not the poem, that makes the song. *Edwin and Emma* (1760), another poem in the ballad stanza, suggests Goldsmith, and is less successful than *William and Margaret*. Richard

Utopia, which, for general readers, is a much better version than the Tudor translation of Robinson. In the last years of Charles II's reign, Burnet declined to throw in his lot with the violent Protestants. He was deprived of his appointments and went into exile. While abroad he became known to the Prince of Orange, and when the Revolution of 1688 established William and Mary on the throne Burnet was made Bishop of Salisbury. For Mary he had sincere esteem, and published (1695) an *Essay* in her memory. Anne liked him less, and the Tories mocked him, but he worked conscientiously for the Protestant Succession.

We now come to the work which Burnet knew was the real labour of his life. The two folio volumes of Burnet's *History of My Own Time* appeared posthumously in 1723 and 1734 respectively. No doubt Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* gave Burnet his first impulse; but his model (and title) should rather be sought in the *Historiae sui Temporis* of de Thou. The sincerity of his work was, from the first, disputed by irreconcilable censors, and his style as a writer has been as harshly criticized as his matter. Comparisons with Clarendon lead nowhere. There is no fixed style for the writing of history. Burnet has not the rolling periods of Clarendon, but his conversational manner is precisely that suited to his own purpose. He is excellent as a teller of stories, less excellent as a portrayer of the full-length character. Burnet may be charged with time-serving and lack of courage, even as a historian; he cannot be charged with enmity to moderation and the right to think freely under the law.

Contemporary with Burnet is John Strype (1643–1737) who amassed a great collection of historical documents, and did not commit himself to print till he was fifty. His *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury* (1694) was succeeded (1698) by *The Life of the Learned Sir Thomas Smith*, which does equal justice to that scholar's work for the state and his work for the teaching of Greek. Then followed the lives of Bishop Aylmer (1701); "the learned Sir John Cheke" (1705); Archbishop Grindal (1710); Archbishop Parker (1711) and Archbishop Whitgift (1718). Meanwhile, he had also been at work upon his *magnum opus*, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion* (1709–31). The last of Strype's important publications is his *Ecclesiastical Memorials, Relating chiefly to Religion and the Reformation of it* (1721). Strype is a laborious artizan of history, not an artist; but he is one of the first pioneers of historical research.

Jeremy Collier (1650–1726) the non-juror has already been noticed as author of a celebrated attack on the stage. He was one of those fearless, conscientious, fanatical heroes who assert their convictions at any cost. His principal occupation in retirement was the preparation of *The Great Historical...Dictionary*, based on *Le Grand Diction-*

That every word by every poet named in the present pages ought to be diligently read is a proposition no sensible historian will maintain. But a glance at the authors and pieces mentioned should cure readers of a supposition that something called a "romantic revival" took place suddenly at the dawn of the nineteenth century. That romance was flourishing throughout the eighteenth century is clear from the original compositions of the minor poets, and from their persistent interest in Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, blank verse and the ballads.

VII. HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL WRITERS

1. *Burnet and Others*

The historical and political writers of the period now under review may be grouped round the commanding figures of Burnet and Bolingbroke, who represent two opposite views of politics and history. Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715), was born and educated in Scotland. When he became a minister at the time of the Restoration, he naturally added politics to religion, for the two aspects of activity were in fact mutually inseparable. Burnet was not less fallible and faulty than most political partisans, but his defects have been magnified by the zealots, who hated his good qualities more than his faults. His impatience with Episcopalian and Presbyterian extremists diverted him from theology to history, and in 1673 he completed his earliest historical work, *The Memoires of the Lives and Actions of James and William Dukes of Hamilton and Castleherald* (1677), composed from documents linked by a thread of narrative in the French manner. In writing it Burnet had found the real direction of his gifts. Burnet came to London, and was at first well-received by Charles II, who had liked *The Memoires of the Hamiltons*. But though he did not retain official favour, he was made preacher at the Rolls Chapel, and came into friendly contact with Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Tenison and other representatives of latitudinarianism. The most important of his productions in these London years, which were the years of the "Popish Plot" and the Exclusion storm of passion, was *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (1679–1715). This, though it appealed to the spirit of the time, was a moderating influence. It is both sincere and readable, and has value as a record.

Between Burnet's greater works came several miscellaneous writings. The best of these is the account of the last phase in the life of Rochester, already mentioned. To a slightly later date (1682) belongs the publication of *The Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale*, an admirable little biography. Soon afterwards, as if one great lawyer had led him to another, he published (1684) a translation of More's

Townshend with another periodical, *The Craftsman*, which began to appear at the end of 1726 and lasted for several years. It was edited first by Nicholas Amhurst, who called himself "Caleb D'Anvers", and then by Thomas Cooke, who was called "Hesiod Cooke" from his translation of that poet (1728). Contributions are difficult to identify; but Bolingbroke certainly wrote the *Remarks upon the History of England* which appeared between 5 September 1730 and 22 May 1731. His famous attack on Walpole, called *A Dissertation upon Parties*, appeared in *The Craftsman* in the autumn of 1733; but it failed in its purpose; Walpole was not overthrown, and Bolingbroke retreated across the Channel again. Once more settled in France he returned to an old purpose of writing a history of his times. Immediately, however, he propounded his views on the philosophical treatment of history in the *Letters on the Study and Use of History*, addressed in 1735 to Lord Cornbury, Clarendon's great-grandson. In these letters, which influenced Voltaire as well as English writers, Bolingbroke propounds the familiar thesis that history is philosophy teaching by examples. In tone they anticipate the sceptical irony of Gibbon. About the same time he also composed *A Letter on the True Use of Retirement and Study* (1736). Its sincerity is doubtful. Of greater importance is *A Letter on the Spirit of Patriotism*, written in 1736. The theme is one which was to occupy Bolingbroke's mind during the remainder of his life. He looked to the younger generation as the hope of a national party inspired by ideals of patriotism. Readers of Disraeli (who was influenced by Bolingbroke) will find in this doctrine the germ of the "Young England" ideal engagingly set forth in some of the novels. In 1738 Bolingbroke composed the last and most brilliant of his contributions to political literature, *The Idea of a Patriot King*. It was not printed till 1749, when the public situation had greatly changed. It became the political bible of the party which set its hopes on Frederick Prince of Wales, and then on his son, afterwards George III; but the legend of its influence on the life and policy of that king is unsupported by facts. Bolingbroke is among our most brilliant failures. Burke called him a presumptuous and superficial writer, and the charge is not entirely untrue. He wrote well, but he had nothing to say. He dabbled in philosophy, and the superficial optimism of Pope's *Essay on Man* was derived from him. What he lacked is the elusive quality recognized instinctively by Englishmen and vaguely called character; and so posterity has rightly refused to take him seriously.

Few of the other historical writers deserve notice here. The best collective history of England in the earlier half of the century was not an English book at all, but the French *Histoire d'Angleterre* of Paul de Rapin (1661–1725), published at The Hague in eight

naire historique of Louis Moreri. Collier's *Dictionary* appeared in successive volumes during 1701–5. It was followed by his chief work, *The Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain* (Vol. I, 1708; Vol. II, 1714), which is naturally "anti-Burnet" and a manifestation of zeal. Fanatical to the last, Collier was a schismatic even among the non-jurors.

Conversation concerning a Right Regulation of Government for the Common Good of Mankind. Here is to be found "the famous saying", attributed to "a very wise man", that, "if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation".

VIII. HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL WRITERS

2. *Bolingbroke and Others*

The historical and political writings of Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke (1678–1751), were nearly all written in the latter half of his life, after the collapse of the Tory party at the death of Queen Anne. We need not describe his political career. The fatal flaw in Bolingbroke's life was the kind of crookedness that made him uncertain whether to co-operate loyally with Harley or to work boldly for his own supremacy. When he at last decided on the latter course, it was too late. He lost the game and his career. During his [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] the world of letters. In 1710 Bolingbroke inspired the production of a journal to support the Tories in a vigorous campaign against the Whigs. This was *The Examiner* (to be distinguished from other periodicals of that name), of which between thirty and forty [illegible]

unashamedly corrupt. A patriot was a man who had no place, or had lost a place. If the tide turned, patriots became placemen, and placemen patriots. It was a brilliant and unprincipled period, and it has not escaped record.

Chief among the chroniclers is Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762), whose work, however, takes us far from England to the Levant, then as distant and as fabulous as the Tibetan mountains to-day. Lady Mary was a keen observer with the frankness characteristic of an aristocratic age. At twenty-three she eloped with Edward Wortley Montagu, who afterwards became ambassador to the Porte. She expressed herself to her friends in letters and to herself in a diary. Besides assuming Turkish attire, she studied the Turkish language, and did something to make the Near East really known. After her return to England in 1718, she introduced inoculation against smallpox. She was at first the friend and afterwards the foe of Pope, who is alleged to have made love to her and to have been laughed at. After her daughter had eloped with Lord Bute, Lady Mary went abroad again in 1739, and wrote numerous letters, mainly to Lady Bute; and it is through her correspondence, not through her essays or her *Town Eclogues* (preserved in Dodsley's collection) that she acquires a place in the history of English literature. Her letters have not survived, of course, in their original form; but, however touched up, they remain the earliest and best things of their kind in English. The first, unauthorized volume appeared in 1763.

Precursor in chief of Horace Walpole as court gossip, scandal-monger and memoir-writer was John, Lord Hervey (1696–1743). Early in 1720 he married the reigning beauty, Molly Lepell, the toast of all the wits. A close association between Hervey and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu offended both Pope and Horace Walpole. Hervey attempted to reply to Pope in Pope's own manner, but the poet had the last word. During the last fifteen years of his life Hervey composed his *Memoirs*, which remained in manuscript for a century and appeared as *Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second* (1848). The book gives a wonderfully vivid picture of the court of the second George. The *dramatis personae* are the King, the Prince, Walpole, Bolingbroke, Chesterfield—and the writer hates them all, sees all their characters at their worst and depicts them with merciless satire. The complete work, edited by R. Sidgwick in three volumes, was not published till 1931.

in 15 volumes
of *The Naval*
'borough) in his
Anne, was still
further continued by Tindal, and was later taken over by Smollett.

settled in England, produced *The History of King William III* in
17
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fo
and verse call for no attention in this place. His earliest historical work, *The British Empire in America* (2 vols. 1708), was at least designed to meet a real need, and *The Secret History of Europe* (4 parts, 1712–15) was a frank and fierce attack upon the Tory government and its subservience to France. But he incurred the special enmity of the Tory wits by the *Essay on Criticism* prefixed to the third edition (1727) of *The Critical History of England, Ecclesiastical and Civil* (2 vols. 1724–6). *The History of England during the*

interesting *Memoirs of the Press, Historical and Political, for Thirty Years Past, from 1710 to 1740*, but did not live to see the book, which appeared in 1742.

An enduring position in English historical literature is held by the biographies of his kinsmen written by Roger North (1653–1734), who early took to the "loyal side" and consistently referred to the Whigs as "the faction". The whole series of personal

IX. MEMOIR WRITERS, 1715–60

Under the first tw
into what Disraeli,
"Venetian oligarch
grace of God, but h
a figure-head, maintained by the ruling classes, whose great estates included pocket boroughs sending subservient members to Parliament. The Whig
growls fro
noises from

activity. Brown collaborated with others in a version of Petronius, and with John Phillips (not to be confused with John Philips) and others in a version of Lucian. John Phillips (1631–1706) was bred in classical learning by his uncle John Milton, whose influence he early shook off. In the laborious extent of his translations he was a near rival to Philemon Holland, and gave the readers of his day versions of numerous forgotten foreign romances, histories and voyages. His most celebrated and most unworthy work was *The History of the Most Renowned Don Quixote...made English according to the Humour of our Modern Language* (1687), which debased a great creation to the level of the gutter-minded.

Peter Motteux (1660–1718) was of the same kind but of different breeding. He turned his hand to anything. He wrote plays without the smallest distinction and he furnished the plays of others with doggerel prologues. He edited *The Gentleman's Journal* (1692–3), for which *Le Mercure Galant* served as a model. His translation of Rabelais (1693) gives him a sure place in history. His style is as far from the Gallic gravity of the original as from the "jargon" of Sir Thomas Urquhart. Nevertheless the version of Motteux has the attraction of representing vividly the "cant" of his day.

For Roger L'Estrange, the work of translation was but a profitable interlude in a busy, active life. We have already mentioned his activity as pamphleteer and journalist. His work as translator was done with the utmost thoroughness. He was the master of many tongues, but his chief qualification for the task was a mastery of his own language. His *Aesop's Fables* (1692) is the best of his performances, and his *Select Colloquies out of Erasmus* (1680) comes near it. He ranged from Terence and Cicero to Quevedo and Josephus. He is at his best with the less grave originals.

Charles Cotton (1630–87)—"the hearty, cheerful Mr Cotton" of Lamb—was another inveterate translator who tried to make his versions true originals. Much that he translated has now no importance or interest; but his version of Montaigne abides, and his continuation (1676) of *The Compleat Angler* assures him of immortality. Cotton's harmless verses won the approval of Coleridge and Lamb and Wordsworth.

The most industrious and by no means the least distinguished of the translators of his time was Captain John Stevens. Who and what he was we know not. There is no record of him or his achievements, save on the title-pages of his many books; yet it was through his skill and learning that much of Spanish history and literature became widely known to his countrymen. He revised Shelton's *Don Quixote*; but though we owe to him *Pablo de Segovia, the Spanish Sharper*, and a collection of novels with the title *The Spanish Libertines*, his preference was for history and travel. It is unnecessary

X. BURLESQUES AND TRANSLATIONS

rejoiced in dethronement. In burlesque their acknowledged master was Paul Scarron (1610–60), and their model his *Virgile Travesti.* The fashion was already overpast in France when Charles Cotton

In 1664 he published

a mock poem on the

rth book later, and

in 1675 put some of Lucian's dialogues into "English fustian", with the title *Burlesque upon Burlesque: or the Scoffer Scoff'd.* Cotton's

other mockers. The boldest of them all was Edward Ward (1667–1731) always called Ned, who combined the crafts of publican and poet. He was a journalist in verse. His *Hudibras Redivivus* (1705) is a

Tom Brown of Shifnal" or "Tom Brown of facetious memory" (1663–1704), whose *Amusements Serious and Comical Calculated for the Meridian of London* (1700) pictured the metropolis with less truth than Ward, but with greater wit.

Persius and mimic

illuminated always

team which translated Scarron's *Le Roman Comique,* and his works,

Translation into the current speech of the day was a flourishing

On his return Berkeley joined in the religious controversies of the age. In the delightful dialogues of *Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher* (1732), written in the seclusion of his home in Rhode Island, he applied his general principles in defence of religion against the free-thinkers. In 1733 appeared his *Theory of Vision, or Visual Language Vindicated and Explained*; and in 1734 he published *The Analyst*, a bold "relativist" criticism of Newtonian mathematics. Berkeley was made Bishop of Cloyne, but his heart was still given to social reform and religious speculation. Reform is represented by *The Querist* (1735), composed entirely of penetrating interrogations; speculation is represented by *Siris: a Chain of Philosophical Reflexions* (1744), which begins by expounding the medicinal virtues of tar-water, and ends in an exposition of idealism.

Berkeley's "immaterial hypothesis" was very early conceived, but was not fully declared to the world at once. *An Essay towards a New Theory of Vision* deals with one point only—the relation between the objects of sight and the objects of touch. The essence of his doctrine consists in two propositions—that the objects (or ideas) of sight have nothing in common with the objects (or ideas) of touch, and that the connection of sight and touch is arbitrary, and learned by experience only. Sight and touch have no separable "abstract" common element in which they both consist. The argument is brief; but whatever the defects of its conclusion, the *Essay* is one of the most brilliant and lucid pieces of psychological analysis in the English language. The little *Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge* carries the war against philosophical abstractions a stage further. It is one of the works which have had a critical influence upon the course of European thought. The fresh step which Berkeley took was short and simple; when taken, it shows us the whole world from a new point of view. Philosophers, such as Locke and Descartes, had found difficulty in defending the reality of the things which they supposed to be represented by the ideas. Berkeley solves the difficulty by denying the distinction. The ideas *are* the things. It is mind, not matter, which creates. Into the spiritual or religious application of his doctrine—the need for an omnipresent eternal Mind—we need not enter. The later works, *Hylas* and *Alciphron*, both show him using the dialogue form in argument with a skill never excelled in English philosophical literature. But he did not work out his spiritual interpretation of reality into a system. His mind, like that of Sir Thomas Browne, was essentially religious; and in *Siris*, the last of his philosophical works, religious thought emerges from the midst of reflections on empirical medicine and old-fashioned physiology. Its prose is a perfect example of philosophical composition.

Arthur Collier (1680–1732), a Wiltshire clergyman, published in

to name all his translations. As far as we know, he was a translator and a translator only, but in that capacity he did some of the most reputable work of his age.

XI. BERKELEY AND CONTEMPORARY PHILOSOPHY

[illegible]

than one head.

1. *Metaphysicians*

George Berkeley (1685–1753) was educated at Trinity College, [illegible]

added nothing to the original views he had formed before he was twenty-eight. His *Essay towards a New Theory of Vision* appeared in 1709, his *Principles of Human Knowledge, Part I* in 1710; and when, in 1713, he got leave of absence from his college and set out for London, it was to print his new book, *Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous*. These three books reveal the new thought which [illegible]

and public spirit, and said so eloquently and earnestly in the anony- [illegible] ritain (1721). His [illegible] ve him resources [illegible] ble and fantastic [illegible] in Bermuda, to reform the English colonists and civilize the American savages. This plan he recommended in his *Proposal for the better supplying of Churches in our foreign Plantations* (1725), and chanted his hopes in the only [illegible]

still vexed Bermoothes; but though he built no college, he builded better than he knew. He left his impress upon American philosophy, and he stimulated the provision of American university education.

On his return Berkeley joined in the religious controversies of the age. In the delightful dialogues of *Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher* (1732), written in the seclusion of his home in Rhode Island, he applied his general principles in defence of religion against the free-thinkers. In 1733 appeared his *Theory of Vision, or Visual Language Vindicated and Explained*; and in 1734 he published *The Analyst*, a bold "relativist" criticism of Newtonian mathematics. Berkeley was made Bishop of Cloyne, but his heart was still given to social reform and religious speculation. Reform is represented by *The Querist* (1735), composed entirely of penetrating interrogations; speculation is represented by *Siris: a Chain of Philosophical Reflexions* (1744), which begins by expounding the medicinal virtues of tar-water, and ends in an exposition of idealism.

Berkeley's "immaterial hypothesis" was very early conceived, but was not fully declared to the world at once. *An Essay towards a New Theory of Vision* deals with one point only—the relation between the objects of sight and the objects of touch. The essence of his doctrine consists in two propositions—that the objects (or ideas) of sight have nothing in common with the objects (or ideas) of touch, and that the connection of sight and touch is arbitrary, and learned by experience only. Sight and touch have no separable "abstract" common element in which they both consist. The argument is brief; but whatever the defects of its conclusion, the *Essay* is one of the most brilliant and lucid pieces of psychological analysis in the English language. The little *Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge* carries the war against philosophical abstractions a stage further. It is one of the works which have had a critical influence upon the course of European thought. The fresh step which Berkeley took was short and simple; when taken, it shows us the whole world from a new point of view. Philosophers, such as Locke and Descartes, had found difficulty in defending the reality of the things which they supposed to be represented by the ideas. Berkeley solves the difficulty by denying the distinction. The ideas *are* the things. It is mind, not matter, which creates. Into the spiritual or religious application of his doctrine—the need for an omnipresent eternal Mind—we need not enter. The later works, *Hylas* and *Alciphron*, both show him using the dialogue form in argument with a skill never excelled in English philosophical literature. But he did not work out his spiritual interpretation of reality into a system. His mind, like that of Sir Thomas Browne, was essentially religious; and in *Siris*, the last of his philosophical works, religious thought emerges from the midst of reflections on empirical medicine and old-fashioned physiology. Its prose is a perfect example of philosophical composition.

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2. *Deists*

The first half of the eighteenth century was the period of the deistical controversy in English theology. The chief writers commonly classed together as deists are Charles Blount, John Toland, [illegible]

exhaustion and a search for a solution. In its best aspect, deism was an attempt to find a natural or rational religion—a religion which admitted a God, but not a creed, a reason, but not a mystery, an [illegible]

suffered much from its prophets. Few of them could write. Power and persuasion were on the side of those who, from Berkeley to [illegible]

Mundi (1679) he defended a system of natural religion, and emphasized the merits of the heathen religions. *Great is Diana of the Ephesians* (1680) is an attack on priestcraft. His translation of *The Two First Books of Philostratus, concerning the Life of Apollonius Tyaneus* (1680) contains comments that further attack the fundamentals of Christianity.

A more important writer was John Toland (1670–1722), an Irish Catholic educated at Scottish universities. In a sense, he moved with the times, for his spiritual progress, not clearly traceable in his books, was from Catholicism to something like Pantheism; and he deserves more respect than he has received. Locke, in *The Reasonableness of Christianity*, sought to show that Christianity was reasonable. Toland, [illegible]

Faith is knowledge. Toland's book became more than famous, it became infamous, much to his astonishment. But his mind travelled on. He had left Catholicism far behind, and showed few symptoms of any kind of churchmanship in his later works. In *Amyntor* (1699), a defence of his *Life of Milton* (1698), and in *Nazarenus; or Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity* (1718), he shows considerable knowledge of early apocryphal Christian literature. That Toland was ever a deist in the usual sense may be doubted. He was rather a free-thinker in search of a faith.

Free-thinking was the declared position of Anthony Collins (1676–1729), whose best-known work is *A Discourse of Free-thinking, occasioned by the Rise and Growth of a Sect call'd Free-thinkers* (1713). What may be called the two main motives in the faith of Collins, belief in reason and hatred of priestcraft, are indicated by the titles of his earliest works—*Essay concerning the use of Reason* (1707) and *Priestcraft in Perfection* (1709). Collins held firmly to a belief in God as established by reason; but he was a hostile critic of the Christian creed. A small book called *A Philosophical Inquiry concerning Human Liberty and Necessity* (1715) is an acute and clearly-written argument in favour of the necessitarian solution of the problem.

The most significant work of the whole deistical movement was Matthew Tindal's (1656–1733) *Christianity as Old as the Creation: or, the Gospel, a Republication of the Religion of Nature* (1730). Its argument is fundamental. God gave man reason; reason establishes the clear truth of natural religion; therefore Christianity is superfluous. Tindal's other works, much earlier in date, do not call for notice, though one of them, *The Rights of the Christian Church asserted* (1706), was burnt by order of the House of Commons.

The line between deists and churchmen was not always drawn very clearly. There was much common ground and some of the discussions were not closely relevant to either view. One controversialist, William Whiston (1667–1752), the Cambridge mathematician and theologian, in opposing rationalism was led back to Arianism, and published a work, *Primitive Christianity Revived* (1711–12), which cost him his Cambridge professorship. His translation of Josephus (1737) has proved of more lasting value than his theology. Conyers Middleton (1683–1750) showed how near a clergyman might come to the deistical position. He denied verbal inspiration and rejected the evidence for ecclesiastical miracles in *A Free Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers which are supposed to have existed in the Christian Church through several successive Ages* (1748).

Among the opponents of the deists, the two greatest were Samuel Clarke and Joseph Butler, who will be noticed later; but the loudest was William Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, who was always ready to write upon anything and against anybody. He has already

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(1755) was published after his death. The ideas of Shaftesbury reappear in these works in a somewhat more systematic form. Hutcheson was, historically, the forerunner of the Utilitarians. In his first work he even used the formula—"the greatest happiness for the greatest numbers"—afterwards, with a slight verbal change, made famous by Bentham.

Hutcheson's first work was described on the title-page as a defence of Shaftesbury against the author of *The Fable of the Bees.* In 1705 Bernard Mandeville (1670?–1733), a Dutch physician resident in London, had published a pamphlet of some four hundred lines of doggerel verse entitled *The Grumbling Hive, or Knaves Turn'd Honest.* This was republished (1714, 1723), with elaborate discussions, as *The Fable of the Bees; or, Private Vices, Public Benefits.* Mandeville marks a reaction both against the optimism to which Shaftesbury and the deists gave philosophical expression, and against the conventions associated with popular morality. He was clever enough to observe that luxury and vice accompany large prosperity and shallow enough to mistake them for its foundation. Mandeville was in no sense a philosopher; but his paradoxes have not been completely answered, nor, in an imperfect world, can they ever be without some foundation.

Joseph Butler (1692–1752), Bishop of Durham, was the greatest theological writer of his own time, and one of the greatest of any time. He published two books only—*Fifteen Sermons* (1726) and *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature* (1736). His writings have no charm or magic of style; but they have a grave dignity and close-knit texture that will always appeal to the educated mind. Butler's condensed and weighty argument hardly admits of summary; indeed, he was distrustful of any attempt at a system of philosophy, and was content to accept probability as the guide of life. Grant, as the deists granted, that God is the author of nature, then religion follows naturally. Nature and morality are so connected as to form a single scheme. There are no difficulties in the doctrines of religion not paralleled by difficulties in the course of nature. This is the "analogy" to the establishment of which Butler's reasonings are directed. They are so exhaustive, so thorough and so candid, that critics of all schools are agreed in regarding his as the final word in a long controversy.

been mentioned as probably the worst of Shakespeare's many editors. In the controversy now under notice, he produced *The Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated on the Principles of a Religious Deist* (1737-41), a vast work, never completed, intended to refute a deistical charge that the books of Moses contain no reference to the doctrine of a future life. Nothing more need be said of it.

3. *Moralists*

two courses of Boyle lectures, entitled respectively, *A Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God*, and *A Discourse concerning the Unchangeable Obligations of Natural Religion, and the Truth and Certainty of the Christian Revelation*. His other works hardly need mention. Clarke's ethical doctrine shows some traces of originality. The view that morality is not arbitrary, but belongs to the order of the universe, had found frequent expression in theories of

deists, but he disliked theological controversy of any kind. He opposed persecution, and though he did not actually say that ridicule is the test of truth he certainly regarded ridicule as a specific

ties to which justice has not yet been done.

The doctrine of the moral sense was developed by Francis Hutche-

Law's writings fall into three divisions, controversial, practical and mystical. His controversial works are directed against a curious assortment of opponents: Hoadly, latitudinarian Bishop of Bangor, Mandeville, a sceptical pessimist, and Tindal, a deistical optimist. These writers represent three main sections of the religious opinion of the day, and Law cheerfully confronts them all. What is generally called the Bangorian controversy arose at the accession of George I. The Church, always on the side of "the Lord's anointed" in Stuart times, found itself in difficulties, first when James II was declared to have forfeited the throne, and next when a parliamentary king from Hanover ascended the throne as George I. For devout churchmen to accept William was difficult; to accept George was impossible. The posthumous papers of George Hickes, the non-juror, charged the Church with schism, and Benjamin Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor, came forward as champion of Crown and Church. Hoadly was an able thinker and writer, and in his *Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Non-Jurors* (1716) he attempts to justify the civil power by reducing to a minimum the idea of church authority and even that of creeds. Law's *Three Letters to the Bishop of Bangor* (1717–19) argued unanswerably that if Hoadly's contentions are accepted, the episcopalian constitution disappears, the church becomes a lay body of teachers, and the free-thinkers triumph in a creedless organization. Hoadly did not attempt to answer. Law's next work, *Remarks on the Fable of the Bees* (1723), replies to Mandeville's paradoxes in a style at once buoyant, witty and caustic. *The Case of Reason* (1731) is Law's answer to the deists, and especially to Tindal's *Christianity as Old as the Creation* (1730). The deists professed to find a rational God and a rational universe, with no mystery about either. Law replied, in effect, that man himself is a mystery, that his universe is a mystery, and that to take reason as the one sufficient guide to truth is to fall into the deepest error.

Two of Law's books, *A Practical Treatise upon Christian Perfection* (1726) and *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life. Adapted to the State and Condition of All Orders of Christians* (1728), have been more read than any other of his writings. They are not controversial. They show that the way to Christian life is not through doctrine or ceremony, but through a change in temper and principle. *Christian Perfection* has much charm and beauty, but it is quite overshadowed by the wider popularity of *A Serious Call*, a book of extraordinary power, persuasive style, racy wit, and unanswerable logic. Few books in English have exerted such a wide influence. It sowed the seed of Methodism, and, undoubtedly, next to the Bible, it contributed more than any other book to the spread of Evangelicalism.

It was in the latter part of his life that Law became a definite mystic, though mystical writings had long attracted him. When he

XII. WILLIAM LAW AND THE MYSTICS

To discuss the mystical thought of the free-thinking period may seem to require little space or labour. As the preceding pages have shown, this was an age of religion without mystery, of a theoretical God and a mechanical universe, of Christianity, not as something to be lived, but as something to be proved. Never before in this country had men written so much about religion and practised it so little. Such appears to be the judgment we must pass on the age of the deists. But, like all easy summaries, this is only part of the truth. Besides the scepticism of Bolingbroke there was the immaterialism of Berkeley. Besides the corrupt place-hunting of politicians, there was the conscientious self-sacrifice of the non-jurors. Self-sacrifice and spiritual exaltation were very notably combined in the inspiring life of William Law (1686–1761), author of one of the great English classics of religion. The early Quakers had the mystical conviction of union with God. Some of them were probably influenced by the teachings of Jacob Boehme, whose works had been put into English between the years 1644 and 1692. Almost as persuasive with others were the writings of Madame Guyon and Archbishop Fénelon. The influence of the mystics may be traced in many manifestations, even in Newton's great discovery; for it is almost certain that the idea of the three laws of motion first reached Newton through his eager study of Boehme; but it touches English literature specially in the writings of Law. Law had a curiously paradoxical career. After being or- [illegible] wrote the book which most deeply influenced the religious life of a century and more. Though a sincere Christian, he was the classic exponent of Boehme, a thinker abhorred and mistrusted alike by orthodox divines and by Wesleyan leaders. One of the oddest connections in English literature is that between Law and Gibbon. Law was tutor to the father of the historian, and lived for several years at Putney as "the much honoured friend and spiritual director of the whole family". Gibbon's autobiography criticises Law with great respect and qualified praise; but even qualified praise for a mystic is high testimony from such a man as Gibbon. The publication of *A Serious Call* brought him renown, and he was revered and consulted by an admiring band of disciples. He settled near Stamford with Hester Gibbon, the historian's aunt, and another lady, and lived a life of personal piety and public good works in charity and education till his death twenty years later.

XIII. SCHOLARS AND ANTIQUARIES

1. *Bentley and Classical Scholarship*

At the end of the seventeenth century, the history of scholarship is illuminated by the great name of Richard Bentley (1662–1742), a born scholar with an unrivalled sense of words in their time and place. In 1692 he was chosen as first Boyle lecturer—Robert Boyle, the natural philosopher, having founded a lectureship in defence of the Christian religion. Two years later Bentley was appointed keeper of the royal libraries, with official lodgings in St James's Palace. Shortly afterwards he became involved in a famous and foolish controversy, already mentioned. Sir William Temple had written an essay in which he praised ancient literature at the expense of modern, and had cited the so-called "Letters of Phalaris" as an example of the superiority. Charles Boyle, a relative of Robert, published an edition of the Letters (1695) and took a chance of making an insulting reference to Bentley. In 1694 William Wotton entered the lists against Sir William Temple in defence of modern learning; and in 1697 a second edition of this book included an appendix in which Bentley not only declared the letters of Phalaris to be spurious, but blamed Boyle's tutors for allowing him to display his ignorance. The "wits" of Christ Church thereupon took up the quarrel and tried to crush Bentley by personal ridicule. At this point another great man took a share in the conflict, young Jonathan Swift, Temple's *protégé*, whose amusing *Battle of the Books* has already been mentioned. Bentley settled the controversy finally in his *Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris* (1699), which not only disposed of Phalaris and his defenders, but made readers aware of the "higher criticism" by which a competent scholar can distinguish between ancient authors of different dates as readily as an ordinary reader can distinguish between Chaucer and Masefield. In 1699 Bentley became Master of Trinity, and at once was involved in a conflict with the Fellows which lasted for nearly forty years. The nature and causes of that quarrel do not concern us, but we may note that Bentley did much to reform studies and discipline, that he was friendly to science, and that he was hospitable to foreign scholars. Most of his work belongs to the history of classical learning. Two books, however, call for mention, his *Remarks upon a Late Discourse of Freethinking* (1713), in which he ridiculed the pretensions of Anthony Collins, and his edition of *Paradise Lost* (1732), in which he amended Milton's text as if it were a corrupt ancient manuscript. The book is a curiosity of literature and is almost a parody of the "higher criticism".

was about forty-six, he came across the work of the seer who set his whole nature aglow with mystical fervour. *Jacob Boehme* (1575–1624) or Behmen, as he has usually been called, was a poor peasant shoemaker of Görlitz, who, like Blake (whom he influenced) lived in a glory of inner illumination. He was interested in all mystical speculation, eastern and western. He did not distinguish

the way Blake puts it. Any full account of Boehme's doctrine would be out of place in such a volume as this. We must accept him as important because he helps to explain the spirit of two great English writers, Law and Blake. Blake saw visions and spoke a tongue like that of the illuminated cobbler; and Law recognized at once the hunger of the soul that is the mark of the true religious mystic.

The two most important of Law's mystical treatises are *An Appeal*

Wesley—until John discovered that Law seemed to attach no importance to the doctrine of the Atonement, and thereafter described mystics as those who slighted the means of grace. Perhaps the most charming and most lovable of Law's followers was John Byrom (1692–1723), who might be called Law's Boswell if he did not more resemble Goldsmith. The collection called *The Private Journal and Literary Remains*

known work.

but everyone k

know the "Handel" and the "Pretender" epigrams attributed to him.

Henry Brooke, already noticed as a poet, was another writer deeply imbued with Boehme's thought, and his expression of it, imbedded in that curious medley of stories, adventures and arguments, *The Fool of Quality* (1766), reached, probably, a larger public than did Law's own treatises. The book is a most extraordinary mixture of gaiety

favour with John

modified, as *The*

was read by generations of devout Wesleyans.

Aubrey (1626–97), whose *Brief Lives* gathered the floating traditions about Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Ralegh, and Bacon. It is a delightful collection. The only book which Aubrey himself published, *Miscellanies* (1696), reveals the credulous side of his character which made Wood call him "magotieheaded".

Among the more ancient monuments of antiquity, Stonehenge was the most fruitful cause of speculation. Aubrey assigns to it a Druidical origin. In 1655 Inigo Jones sought to trace a Roman original. Walter Charleton, in *Chorea Gigantum* (1663), endeavoured to "restore" it to the Danes, and William Stukeley, in 1740, produced his *Stonehenge, a Temple Restor'd to the British Druids*. Druidism or neo-Celticism was a curious revival, specially interesting because it affected Blake. Unfortunately the movement attracted neither the serious historians nor the poets of the time.

The efforts of Archbishop Parker in the sixteenth century to further Old English studies produced many votaries, among whom are to be counted William Somner, whose *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* was issued in 1659, Francis Junius, George Hickes, Bishop Edmund Gibson, editor of the *Old English Chronicle*, William Elstob, and his learned sister Elizabeth, who published an Old English grammar in 1715. The *Typographical Antiquities* of Joseph Ames (1749) gives the first real history of printing.

It would be improper to conclude this section without reference to two great private collections of books and manuscripts which are now among the treasures of the British Museum. The library of Sir Robert Cotton was immensely rich in spoils from the dispossessed monasteries and was generously open to scholars. The Harleian library, no less remarkable in its way, was collected by Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford, and his son. On the death of the second earl, the printed books (upwards of 20,000 volumes) were purchased by Thomas Osborne, remembered as the publisher of *The Harleian Miscellany* (1744–6). This reprint of a selection of tracts from the Harleian library was edited by William Oldys and Johnson, who also worked together for some time upon a catalogue of the whole collection. Oldys, who deserved a better fate, spent a large part of his life in hack-work for booksellers. To an edition of Ralegh's *History of the World* (1736) he prefixed an elaborate life of the author, perhaps his most important work.

Though some of the voluminous publications of the antiquaries here named may not survive as contributions to English literature, they deserve record as treasuries of ancient traditions which are the material of literature.

2. *Antiquaries*

The opening of Bodley's library at Oxford in 1602 stimulated the researches of scholars among local and historical records, and encouraged the formation of collections of antiquities.

One of the first to use the new materials was Sir William Dugdale (1605–86), whose book *The Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656) set a new standard in works of its kind. But Dugdale's greatest achievement is *Monasticon Anglicanum*, an account, enriched by original documents, of the English monastic houses. It appeared in three volumes, 1655, 1661, 1673. In 1722–3 Captain John Stevens (see p. 486), to whom is attributed the English abridgement, brought out two supplementary volumes. In 1658 Dugdale produced his *History of St Paul's Cathedral* and thus preserved a record of the [illegible]

[illegible] in *A Short View of the Late Troubles in England* (1681). Dugdale was both an excellent scholar and an excellent writer.

The most characteristic figure in the Oxford group is Anthony Wood (1632–95), or Anthony à Wood as, in later years, he pedantically styled himself. Dugdale's *Warwickshire* inspired his *Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis* (1674), and this he later enlarged and transcribed into English. Being asked to append biographical notices of Oxford writers to the accounts of the colleges, he produced the *Athenae Oxonienses* (1691–2), the monumental work upon which his fame rests. His autobiography (posthumously published) shows that the asperity of some of his biographical notes was a natural part of an unpleasing character.

[illegible] *Historicus, or A short System of Universal History and an Introduction to the Study of it* (1704–5) indicates the direction of his interests. He published John Leland's *Itinerary* (1710–12) and *Collectanea* (1715); but his most important service to historical study was the production of an admirable collection of early English chronicle histories, issued from 1716 to the year of his death. An autobiographical sketch and some extracts from the diaries, with the title *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, were not published till 1857.

One of the chief contributors to Wood's *Athenae* was John

verse among the people. Ramsay is entitled to the gratitude of his countrymen. His pioneer work as editor, publisher and librarian gives him more genuine importance than some Scotsmen of superior genius can claim.

Other figures worthy of notice are Alexander Pennecuick (d. 1730), with a gift for broad humour and satirical portraiture, and William Hamilton of Bangour (1704–54), whose one notable composition is the melodious *Braes of Yarrow*. Alexander Ross acquired much fame in the northern counties by his pastoral *Helenore or the Fortunate Shepherdess* (1768), which is specially interesting as a specimen of the Aberdeenshire dialect. Quite the equal of Ross as a song-writer was John Skinner, an episcopalian minister, whose *Tullochgorum* so captivated Burns by its cheerfulness that he pronounced it to be "the best Scots song Scotland ever saw". Mrs Cockburn, a relative of Sir Walter Scott, wrote, besides other songs which have [illegible] attained to popularity, a version of *The Flowers of the Forest*. [illegible] more vernacular version, "I've heard them Lilting at the Ewe M[illegible]ilking" by Jane Elliot, was used by Herd, but an authentic copy [illegible] obtained by Scott for *The Border Minstrelsy*. Of a considerable [illegible] number of songs of the eighteenth century the authorship is either [illegible] or quite unknown. Some were preserved by David Herd [illegible], and are included in his *Ancient and Modern Scottish Poems* (1769 [illegible] —enlarged 1776). Neither Peter Buchan's *Gleanings of Scotch, English* [illegible] *Ballads* (1825) nor Robert Hartley Cromek's *Remains of N*[illegible] *and Galloway Song* (1810) can be regarded as trustworthy.

For Jacobite songs the main published authori[illegible] is still James Hogg's *Jacobite Relics of Scotland* (1819–21). The te[illegible] trustworthy, though the notes are useful. In fact, Ho[illegible] edited the *Jacobite Relics* very much after the fashion in whi[illegible] edited *The Border Minstrelsy*.

The succession of the Scottish bards at this peri[illegible] as it began, with a remarkable personality. The ill-fated R[illegible] Fergusson (1750–74) died in a madhouse at the age of twenty-fo[illegible] [illegible] for rustic life is revealed in his odes *To the Bee* and *T*[illegible] delicately descriptive, humorous and faintly didactic, [illegible] and in *The Farmer's Ingle*, a perfect picture of a winter evening in a [illegible] kitchen. But it was as the poet of "Auld Reekie" that he was to make his mark—the Auld Reekie of tavern jollifications and [illegible] scenes. The verse of Fergusson (collected 1773, 1779) is small in bulk and of course it has the faults of youth: but the genuineness of his inspiration is beyond question.

XIV. SCOTTISH POPULAR POETRY BEFORE BURNS

[illegible]

rule on the manners, morals, habits and ancient predilections of the people; but there is evidence that the old songs, though superseded by *The Gude and Godly Ballatis*, were not extinguished. After the accession of James VI to the English throne, the better classes were less submissive to the kirk's authority, and to them we owe some of the songs preserved by Ramsay, songs which are Scottish in character, though English in metre and style.

Some of Ramsay's songs have known authors—Lady Grizel Baillie, Lady Wardlaw, and William Hamilton of Gilbertfield. The old poetic methods of the "makaris" were preserved or revived by Robert Sempill (1595?–1665?) in his famous elegy on *The Life and Death of Habbie Simson, Piper of Kilbarchan*, the chief merit of which is the stave, which existed long before Sempill (see p. 42), but which he revived and gave back to Scottish vernacular poetry. It will be instantly recognized as a form peculiarly associated with later Scottish verse:

> And when he play'd, the lasses leugh
> To see him teethless, auld, and teugh.
> He wan his pipes beside Barcleugh,
>   Withouten dread;
> Which after wan him gear eneugh;
>   But now he's dead.

The outstanding figure of the vernacular revival was Allan Ramsay (1686–1758), who was an unknown journeyman wig-maker when James Watson published his famous *Choice Collection of Comic*

[illegible]

[illegible] ...ation [illegible] *The* [illegible] ...rnous *before* 1600 (1724), containing verse of the old "makaris", obtained chiefly from the Bannatyne MS., he disseminated a love of song and

CHAPTER X

THE AGE OF JOHNSON

I. RICHARDSON

In the eighteenth century the English novel grew quietly to its full stature. The Elizabethans had toyed with romance and with realism; Bunyan had made a story out of his religious convictions; Addison and Steele had expressed common beliefs and sentiments in essays with a touch of fiction; Defoe had given to homely fact an imaginative appeal. The way for the modern novel was thus fully prepared. A clearer day of probity and fervour among the general public had followed the rake-hell noctambulism of the Restoration. A new public for a new fiction was ready, and almost expectant. Richardson, a contemporary of John Wesley, is the typical figure of a changed order.

Samuel Richardson (1689–1751), a master-printer, appeared to be the complete English tradesman, and nothing more. And yet, by one of the inexplicable whims of nature, this diligent, prosperous "bourgeois" was endowed with a creative gift, narrow but intense, and wrote a masterpiece of fiction which plunged England and the Continent into the pleasing excitement of tears. The literary history of Richardson is simple. It begins with his first novel, written when he was fifty, and composed almost by accident. He had been asked by two friends, printers like himself, to prepare for them "a little volume of letters, in a common style, on such subjects as might be of use to those country readers who were unable to indite for themselves". The book came out in 1741, and is best described by its own lengthy title: *Letters written to and for particular Friends, on the most important Occasions. Directing not only the requisite Style and Forms to be observed in writing Familiar Letters; but how to think and act justly and prudently, in the common Concerns of Human Life.* One of the subjects treated in this collection is the special danger attending an attractive girl employed as a domestic servant. Out of this grew *Pamela; or Virtue Rewarded*, published in two volumes (1740) and followed a year later by two further volumes, describing the heroine's life after her marriage. The epistolary form adopted by Richardson now seems clumsy and even irritating; but the letter was clearly Richardson's natural form of expression. The objection, seriously made, that Pamela could hardly have written so much in the intervals of her working-day is ludicrously irrelevant. The epistolary form of story is a convention, which, like every other artistic convention, must be

XV. EDUCATION

The history of education from the Commonwealth to the death of George II is an important subject that we must leave undiscussed. Readers should consult the corresponding chapter and bibliography of the original *History*. The main points to notice are these: that the Restoration gave to the now triumphant Church of England a monopoly of teaching as well as of preaching; that the two great universities remained mediaeval in studies and methods, and closed [illegible] forbidding anyone not a member of the Church of England to keep a school; that there was no provision of education for girls; that some attempts were made to mitigate the dreadful ignorance and degradation of the very poor by means of charity schools aided by religious societies, of which the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (1699) is the best known; and that even these feeble attempts were attacked as socially and politically subversive. It is a dismal story. For another two centuries and more the spirit of [illegible] ede the [illegible] But a [illegible] Locke's *Thoughts Concerning Education*. This, too, was the age of the great Moravian, John Amos Comenius (1592–1671), who familiarized Europe with the idea of national education and who was invited to England by the Long Parliament in 1641. The Civil War terminated any peaceful activities. The Commonwealth had its educational proposals; the Restoration ensured the triumph of ignorance.

when the end came, England burst into a wail of lament; nor was it long before the contagion of sorrow spread to the Continent.

As *Clarissa* had grown out of *Pamela*, so *Sir Charles Grandison* grew out of *Clarissa*. Richardson's female friends would not rest satisfied with his portrait of a good woman; they desired him to give them a good man. He addressed himself to the task with eagerness and yet with difficulty. Richardson could depict women; he could not depict men. But the success of Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1749), with its "low" morals, seemed a kind of challenge; so the artist took up the moralist's burden, and *The History of Sir Charles Grandison: in a Series of Letters published from the Originals by the Editor of Pamela and Clarissa* came out between November 1753 and March 1754. His contemporaries enjoyed it, Jane Austen loved it, but posterity has rightly refused to read it, for here the moralist triumphs over the artist. Nevertheless, the book is richer in characters than either of its predecessors, Charlotte Grandison, in particular, being a triumph of a new kind.

Richardson's minor productions do not call for notice except as examples of the eternal delusion that the moralist is more important than the creative artist. He lives as author of *Clarissa*; but though this has abundant life and not mere historical importance, the novels of Richardson will never recapture their former popularity. It is not his length or his form, but the nature of his mind that repels. Finer shades have been added to our notions of conduct, and Richardson's "values" seem lopsided. Sexual respectability, however important, is not the whole and final concern of human life. Richardson's prose, considering his lack of personal culture, bears witness to a remarkable natural gift. Though occasionally "genteel", it displays the strength of racy idioms and the charm of native English simplicity. Richardson's influence upon the course of English and European literature cannot be overestimated. He produced the first novels of sentimental analysis and made everyday manners and [illegible] in fiction. The French found in him a herald of the revolt which enthroned natural feeling in the place of romantic rhodomontade. All three novels were translated by the eminent author of *Manon Lescaut*; *Clarissa* itself was closely imitated by Rousseau in *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, and Diderot's *Éloge de Richardson* (1761) presented him as a great creative spirit. It is odd to think that the prim, priggish little English printer became one of the literary forces in the moral and social unrest which culminated in the Revolution. Hardly less profound or extensive was his influence in Germany. Goethe felt it and became indirectly Richardsonian in *The Sorrows of Werther*. Even in Italy, two plays adapted from *Pamela*, by no less a man than Goldoni, made a great sensation.

indeed by its [illegible] in adherence to facts. Time-schemes are

[illegible]

lective emotion. Though Richardson intended Pamela herself to

[illegible]

be his own answer to *Pamela*. The "hero" of *Pamela* was a rake reformed by marriage, and the moral author saw some danger in

[illegible]

1748. That *Clarissa* is eminently Richardson's best work cannot be questioned. It has great breadth and great depth, and the moral

[illegible]

fact is that Fielding, already skilled in dramatic parody, was tempted to parody *Pamela*, and set to work. Whether *Shamela* was a trial effort we are not sure. If it was, Fielding was immediately drawn to something on a larger scale; and the parody, like *Pamela* itself, grew beyond the author's first intention till it became his first published novel, *The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews, and of his Friend Mr Abraham Adams. Written in Imitation of the Manner of Cervantes, Author of Don Quixote* (1742). As Pamela was tempted by her master, so her brother, Joseph Andrews, is tempted by his mistress. And then, as happened in *Pickwick*, the book came alive and insisted on going its own way. Lady Booby the mistress practically disappears; Joseph slips into the second place, and the chief character in the story is the poor clergyman, Parson Adams, an immortal creation. The reference to Cervantes on the title page is a clear indication that Fielding found the easy narrative form of *Don Quixote* as natural to him as Richardson had found the descriptive and analytic epistle.

In 1743 Fielding issued three volumes of *Miscellanies*. The first contains some verses which are negligible. The second contains the long fragment in the manner of Lucian, *A Journey from this World to the Next*, one of Fielding's happiest satirical inventions. The third contains the most brilliant piece of work that he had yet achieved, *The Life of Mr Jonathan Wild the Great*. Hitherto his irony had but flashed. In *Jonathan Wild* it burns with a fierce flame. Few more terrible satires on "greatness" have been written. To-day the book has an uncomfortable appositeness. The "Forty-five" inspired him to composition of a different kind, and in *The True Patriot* and *The Jacobite's Journal* (1748–9) he sought to arouse a better national feeling. The sincerity of his public spirit was proved when he became a magistrate in 1748, and endeavoured to remedy at the root the evils due to ignorance, poverty, and drink.

The History of Tom Jones, A Foundling appeared early in 1749. Fielding had called *Joseph Andrews* a comic epic poem in prose; the title is better deserved by *Tom Jones*. The general plan of the story is steadily coherent and follows a clear epic course. That some parts of it, as fiction, are less good than others may be allowed; but, in spite of all its imperfections, *Tom Jones* is the first long English novel conceived and carried out on a plan that secured artistic unity for the whole. The peculiarly English charge of "immorality" made against *Tom Jones*, as against some other attempts in fiction and in drama to see life steadily and see it whole, cannot be sustained. No Continental country would make itself ridiculous by calling such a book immoral. A book must be judged by its general tendency, not by particular details. So judged, *Tom Jones* is a wholesome, human book. That Tom himself is sometimes despicable and sometimes disgusting will

II. FIELDING AND SMOLLETT

The English novel, firmly established by Richardson, was further

con-

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successors to invent. In a magnificent allusion to Fielding's supposed illustrious ancestry, Gibbon predicted that *Tom Jones* would outlive the palace of Escorial and the imperial eagle of the house of Austria. It has outlived both. The monastery is a museum and the empire a

craze for opera and pantomime; but much more important is *Tom*

humorous in itself and apt in its apprehension of dramatic absurdity. Good, too, is *The Covent Garden Tragedy* (1732), a burlesque of Ambrose Philips's *The Distrest Mother.* In 1732 Fielding adapted Molière's *Le Médecin Malgré Lui* as *The Mock Doctor* and in 1733 *L'Avare* as *The Miser.* This was followed (1734) by *The Intriguing Chambermaid* and *Don Quixote in England.* Early in 1736 he took the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, formed a company of actors, and in this and the following year produced *Pasquin* and *The Historical Register for the year 1736.* But Fielding's

called into

as a dramat

later page. Having dismissed his company, Fielding forsook the theatre and turned to law and journalism. In 1739 appeared the first number of The Champion, published thrice a week. Fielding, like his great successor Dickens, was a natural crusader, and his social in-

the Dickens we know if he had not been engaged to write humorous letterpress to pictures of Cockney sportsmen? Would Richardson

yet unexploited. He is the first novelist of the navy and the literary father of the "British tar". Smollett's taste for farce, horseplay and violence enabled him to depict faithfully a crude and violent kind of life. He writes with the frank brutality of the old naval surgeon, and modern readers find his physical insensitiveness disconcerting.

Roderick Random made Smollett famous, and he at once proceeded to publish his unfortunate tragedy *The Regicide*, with a preface full of railing at those who would not see its merits. He made—or revised and corrected—an English translation of *Gil Blas*, which was published in 1749. Two years later appeared *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* (1751), the most vigorous and vivacious of his works and the most successful in comic characterization. Hawser Trunnion, Lieutenant Hatchway and Tom Pipes are genuine creations. Smollett disfigured his first edition with an attack on those whom he considered his enemies, including Fielding, and disgraced himself by a further literary assault on Fielding, though the first attack was withdrawn from later editions of the novel. The "go-as-you-please" form of the picaresque novel permitted the inclusion in *Peregrine Pickle* of the once-admired but now utterly tedious *Memoirs of a Lady of Quality*.

Smollett attempted to set up a medical practice in Bath, and, having failed, reviled the celebrated waters of that city, and returned to London, where he established a literary factory at Chelsea, employing several hacks whom he regaled at the Sunday dinners described in *Humphrey Clinker*. His next novel was *The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom* (1752), which owes something to *Jonathan Wild*, but lacks the clear perception which Fielding had of the difference between greatness and goodness. The products of the factory included a translation of *Don Quixote* (1755), a *History of England* (1757, etc.), a *Compendium of Voyages* (1756), and a translation of Voltaire's works (1761, etc.). Smollett was also engaged in work for various magazines, in one of which appeared *The Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves* (1762), a wretched imitation of *Don Quixote*.

Like Fielding, Smollett was driven abroad in search of health, and his experiences produced the *Travels through France and Italy* (1766), an entertaining book, which lacks, however, the fine spirit of Fielding's *Voyage to Lisbon*. It is in epistolary form. Sterne, who met Smollett on the Continent, describes him with pungent truth as "Smelfungus", in *A Sentimental Journey*. Once more at home, Smollett displayed his most rancorous and Rabelaisian mood in *The History and Adventures of an Atom* (1769), a brutal satire on British public affairs.

Bad health drove him again from England, and at Leghorn he wrote his last and most agreeable novel, *The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker* (1771). The tone and temper of the book are much sweeter,

[illegible] made his hero fallible [illegible] other writer, Fielding [illegible] and lovable Sophia; he could not have drawn the exquisite and tragic Clarissa. A spiritual [illegible]

[illegible]

hardly concern us; but we may note that in *A Clear State of the Case of Elizabeth Canning* (1753) he was on the wrong side in a celebrated piece of deception. His health was now entirely broken down, and in the summer of 1754 he was ordered south. On the way he wrote *A Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* (1755), which is full of his peculiar [illegible]

prose, which he used with unostentatious art in a form and pattern of narrative that the English novel was to follow ever afterwards.

[illegible] oduction [illegible] produce [illegible] Having [illegible]

then turned to work [illegible] published his novel [illegible] named *Don Quixote* [illegible]

created a style more subtle and a form more flexible than any found before him. And yet other writers have denied him form, humour or style. The public, however, knew better. The success of *Tristram Shandy* was never in doubt. Here, as is often the case, the popular judgment has proved sounder than the craftsman's or the critic's. The novel, as left by Fielding and Smollett, might have settled into a chronicle of contemporary life and manners. Richardson had struck memorably into tragedy, but his one great story stood alone. Sterne invented for English literature the fantasia-novel, which could be a channel for the outpouring of the author's own personality, idiosyncrasy, humours and opinions. Instead of form, there was apparently formlessness; but only apparently, for Sterne was the master of his own improvisations. Sterne may therefore be called a liberator—even the first of the "expressionists". His success left the novel the most flexible of all literary forms.

Sterne's odd humour appears in the very title of his book, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*; for it has been remarked that the "life" is that of the gentleman's uncle and the "opinions" those of the gentleman's father. Tristram, titular hero and narrator, remains unborn during much of the story and plays no part in the rest. The undying trio, Walter Shandy, my uncle Toby and Corporal Trim are humorous both in the narrow or Jonsonian sense, and in the larger or Shakespearean sense. My uncle Toby and Corporal Trim are variations of genius upon Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. They are on a lower plane, but the relation between them is full of beauty, as well as of humour.

Of Sterne's alleged indecency too much can be made. That he has not the broad humour of his other master, Rabelais—that his fun in this kind provokes the snigger rather than the hearty laugh, can be at once admitted. What is unfortunate about Sterne is that much of his own personal life seems to give unpleasant point to the least pleasant parts of his writing. We should like a priest to be more priestly. But actually the most offensive quality in Sterne is the new "sensibility" or "sentimentalism". When the "spot-lights" are manipulated with design so palpable as in the death of Le Fevre or the story of the dead ass, the author goes far to defeat his own purpose; for he at once calls in question his own artistic sincerity. The pathos of Dickens is naturally poured out; the pathos of Sterne is unnaturally put on. But his few artistic sins can be forgiven for the sake of an insinuating, irresistible humour in which no English writer has excelled him.

Traces of his influence can be found in Mackenzie and Brooke, to whom we now turn. It should be added that Sterne's sermons and letters have only secondary importance. Those who have pored assiduously over the letters have usually been searching for something unconnected with literature.

and almost for the first time Smollett appears as a genial humorist [illegible] deftly. *Humphrey Clinker* was his last effort, and, like Fielding, Smollett died in exile.

[illegible] expressed itself in the novel. Fielding was the essayist novelist of character, Smollett the exuberant novelist of incident. From one or the other most later novelists have derived much of their form and some of their inspiration. Thackeray and Dickens are their direct descendants. It is a curious fact that all four of these vigorous inventors died at ages which we should now call young. Only Thackeray and Dickens passed—and that by very little—the age at which Richardson began his first novel.

III. STERNE AND THE NOVEL OF HIS TIMES

During the twenty years that followed the death of Richardson new elements were added to the novel, and of these the chief is "sentiment" or "sensibility", the master in that kind being Sterne. Apart from [illegible] novelists [illegible] (2) the novelists of home life, typified by Fanny Burney, and (3) the novelists of "Gothick" romance, typified by Horace Walpole and Clara Reeve.

Laurence Sterne (1713–68) took holy orders and was made perpetual curate of Coxwold in Yorkshire in 1760; but he was not the kind of priest in whom the Anglican Church can feel any pride. [illegible] the delightful literary product. [illegible] not abroad, it will be noticed : [illegible] Fielding-Smollett pattern. The [illegible] copyist of other men as he was, must be accepted as an original and originating power in literature. He showed that there were untried possibilities in the novel. He opened new fields of humour. He

recapture romance was made. If Horace Walpole and Clara Reeve had done no more than claim that the boundaries of the novel might be extended to include the glamour of the past and the thrill of the supernatural, they would deserve remembrance; but their actual performances are not entirely contemptible.

With the novels of Frances (Fanny) Burney (1752–1840) we pass into another world. Fanny was the daughter of Dr Burney, the amiable historian of music. During her youth, and until some years after the publication of her second novel, she lived in the most brilliant literary society of her day. In 1786 she was appointed second Keeper of the Robes to Queen Charlotte, a post which she held for four years, to her own great discomfort, but to the delight of those who read her fascinating *Diary*. After her release, she married (1793) General d'Arblay, an emigrant of the Revolution, and from 1802 to 1812 she lived in France, returning only to publish her last novel, *The Wanderer* (1814). In *Evelina* Fanny Burney wrote the first English novel of home life. The motherless Evelina goes out into the world, and her adventures are related in a series of letters with a vivacity and swift succession of incident entirely original. Her way is beset with comic characters who are new creations in English fiction and foreshadow the far-off Dickens. Johnson aptly called Fanny Burney his "little character-monger". She was the first to give flesh and blood to sheer vulgarity. Her best qualities are seen in *Evelina* (1778). *Cecilia* (1782) and *Camilla* (1796) have stiffened into something unnatural, and *The Wanderer* (1814) scared even Macaulay, who was not easily frightened by anything in the shape of a book. Spontaneity is among the best gifts of the novelist; and few books are more spontaneous than Fanny's first novel. The same gift appears in her *Diary* with its brilliant and easy succession of characters and incidents. Fanny Burney was the first writer to see that the ordinary embarrassments of a girl's life would bear to be taken for the main theme of a novel. Macaulay justly saluted her as the first English novelist of her sex; he forgot that she was the first English novelist of her kind, without respect of sex.

IV. THE DRAMA AND THE STAGE

We have noted in former chapters various signs of change in the drama—Collier's attack on Restoration indecency, the battle of the "rules" between those who demanded the correctness of the French classics and those who defended the freedom of Shakespeare, the coming of sentimental comedy in D'Urfey, Cibber and Steele, the coming of sentimental melodrama in Southerne, and the coming of sentimental tragedy in Rowe. During the eighteenth century there

Henry Mackenzie ([illegible]
into the nineteenth. [illegible]
1771, the year of Sc[illegible]
leader of Edinburgh s[illegible]
is noteworthy as a reversion to the Coverly type invented by Addison. The story is purely episodic. It is completely without humour, and owes nothing in form or in spirit to Fielding or Smollett. Mackenzie was, as Scott called him, "the northern Addison", though he comes near to Sterne in his working of the [illegible]

of the few tragedies to be found in the early stages of the English novel.

More genuinely important is Henry Brooke (1703–83), an Irishman, whose best known book *The Fool of Quality* (1766) has already been mentioned (pp. 477, 495) Brooke was a man of many activities, and deserves more serious study than he has yet received. In *The Fool of Quality* the "free fantasia" form of discussion, diversion and sentiment indicates a debt to Sterne; the substance of the social discourses shows clear understanding of Rousseau; and the strain of exaltation comes from Law and the mystics. It is a remarkable compound. Brooke's other novel, *Juliet Grenville* (1774), does not call for notice.

[illegible]

who wrote several stories of which only one is remembered, *The Champio*[illegible]
was hap[illegible]
(1778). [illegible]
called *Memoirs of Sir Roger de Clarendon, a Natural Son of Edward the Black Prince* (1793), it will be seen that Clara Reeve thought she had her feet firmly in the past, though, in fact, her fifteenth century conducts itself singularly like the eighteenth. Still, the attempt to

something better; Addison's *Cato* could beget nothing. In England the chief follower of Lillo was Edward Moore (1712–57). His early comedy, *The Foundling* (1748), has some suggestion of Steele's last sentimental comedy; but Moore's tragic and moral bent unite most forcibly in *The Gamester* (1753), which is prose domestic tragedy with a definite advance towards naturalness of diction. Henry Brooke disdained the domestic story and took northern history as his province in *Gustavus Vasa* (1739), a theme handled with a great gesture, though the verse is mere theatrical diction.

While Moore and Lillo were experimenting with naturalistic tragedy, Voltaire was endeavouring to re-assert the classical standards. We have already discussed his attitude to Shakespeare. What is usually unnoticed is that Voltaire borrowed far more from Shakespeare than he was ever willing to acknowledge. In 1726 he began a long residence in England, and between 1734 and 1776 about a dozen of his plays were acted here in adaptations, three by Aaron Hill, who denounced his attacks on Shakespeare. Hill's *Merope* (1749) and Arthur Murphy's *The Orphan of China* (1759) were the most successful. Voltaire exerted some influence on a few unimportant playwrights, and he and his doctrines were cried up, mainly by the ultra-literary, who, as usual, found artistic salvation in something foreign. To them, Shakespeare was rather like what Dickens was to the literary exquisites of a later age; nevertheless Shakespeare, in editions and productions however faulty, was the most popular and most powerful figure in eighteenth-century drama. Interest in the earlier French classics, which had languished since Ambrose Philips's *The Distrest Mother*, was momentarily revived by William Whitehead's *The Roman Father* (1750), a version of Corneille's *Horace*; but we hear of little else in that kind. The French classical drama was never anything but a transient, embarrassed phantom on the English stage. English drama has always been English.

The vein of dramatic burlesque struck by Gay in *The Beggar's Opera* was developed by Fielding and Carey. The spirit of Fielding's *Tom Thumb* is maintained in Henry Carey's *Chrononhotonthologos, the Most Tragical Tragedy that ever was Tragediz'd by any Company of Tragedians* (1737), and, less effectively, in *The Dragon of Wantley* (1734), a slighter piece, which displays, in the words of its dedication, "the beauty of nonsense, so prevailing in Italian opera". Fielding did not disdain the composition of short works. The eighteenth century liked an "after-piece", usually a farce or a pantomime, to follow the major entertainment. As we have already seen, Fielding helped to make theatrical history by his bold satire on Walpole in such pieces as *Pasquin* (1736) and *The Historical Register for 1736* (1737); for the result was the Licensing Act of 1737, which reduced the theatres to two (Drury Lane and Covent Garden) and brought

were further movements in the directions indicated. Collier was succeeded by Law, who published in 1726 *The Absolute Unlawfulness of the Stage Entertainment fully demonstrated.* The battle of the plays continued with apparent, if not actual, vigour, though the author of *Cato* and the translator of Voltaire put out remarkable defences of [illegible]

[illegible] ever succeeded. There was much movement, but there was no advance. The theatre was steadily losing its power as a serious criticism of life, and lost it entirely when the Licensing Act of 1737 established a censorship of plays. Fielding the suppressed playwright became Fielding the unsuppressed novelist. The supremacy in creative entertainment passed from the acted drama to prose fiction.

Something of the Restoration spirit can be found in the comedies of Susannah Centlivre (1667–1723), which show skill in comic intrigue, in fluency of prose dialogue, and in the provision of mechanical characters that provided good parts for the comedians. *The Wonder! A Woman keeps a Secret* (1714) gave Garrick one of his best parts, and *A Bold Stroke for a Wife* (1718), with its "false" and its "true Simon Pure", long held the stage. Mrs Centlivre's effort at blank verse tragedy shows her incapable of either verse or tragedy.

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presently heard; f [illegible]
Barnwell (1731), [illegible]
first domestic trag [illegible]
the English stage [illegible]
Kindness are both tragic and domestic; but they are noble; *George Barnwell* sinks to the level of the booth. For his old story of the apprentice ruined by a courtesan, Lillo not only forsakes verse but uses prose that is a travesty of human speech. In *Fatal Curiosity. A True Tragedy of Three Acts* (1736), he essays domestic drama in blank verse. His other works do not call for mention. Ridiculous as he appears to-day, Lillo was preparing the way for serious prose drama; and his "bourgeois" tragedy had influence upon Diderot in France and upon Lessing in Germany. *George Barnwell* could beget

tunes) and travelled towards the comic opera (set to new). Charles Dibdin, later a prolific playwright, supplied some of the music.

More important is George Colman the elder (1732–94), who shows some feeling for genuine comedy. *The Jealous Wife* (1761) is an early example of a dramatized novel, for it is based on *Tom Jones.* With the collaboration of Garrick, Colman produced a genuine comedy in *The Clandestine Marriage* (1776). The "source-mongers" have tried to find an original of Mrs Malaprop in the Mrs Heidelberg of this play; but Mrs Heidelberg is merely illiterate, and has nothing of Mrs Malaprop's pure but unrequited passion for polysyllables. Colman's activities were numerous and creditable.

Sentimental drama retained its popularity. Six days before Goldsmith's *Good-Natur'd Man* finally achieved its belated production at Covent Garden, Garrick triumphantly produced at Drury Lane Hugh Kelly's *False Delicacy* (1768). In contrast with the moderate favour accorded to Goldsmith's piece, *False Delicacy* won a theatrical triumph. Kelly's only other play deserving mention is *A School for Wives* (1773). The period was barren of great or even of good plays.

V. THOMSON AND NATURAL DESCRIPTION IN POETRY

If it is remembered that James Thomson was born in 1700 and died in 1748, and that Pope was born in 1688 and died in 1744, it will be seen that they were almost exact contemporaries, and that the picture, sometimes drawn, of Thomson leading a revolt or reaction against Pope is quite as remote from fact as a picture of Hardy leading a revolt against Meredith. Pope and Thomson were interested in different poetical "matters", but they spoke the same poetical language. Thomson, unsuspicious, never supposed that he was writing against Pope, and Pope, ultra-suspicious, never supposed that Thomson was writing against him. In reverting to older models like Spenser and Milton, Thomson was not innovating, he was obeying a natural impulse felt by numerous other contemporary poets.

Thomson belonged by birth to the Scott country, and came to London in 1725 to seek his fortune as a writer. His first "Season", *Winter*, appeared in 1726. *Summer* appeared in 1727, and *Spring* in 1728. *Autumn* completed the collected volume published as *The Seasons* in 1730. His connection with various patrons involved him in politics, and his *Britannia* (1729) eulogized the Prince of Wales, although the *Poem sacred to the Memory of Sir Isaac Newton* (1727) had been inscribed to Walpole himself. In 1730 he went abroad as travelling tutor. He complained that the Muse did not cross the Channel with him, and his ambitious poem *Liberty* (1734–6) confirms

plays, prologues and epilogues under the censorship of the court. State control of the drama, originally a political device, still exists, and now pretends to be moral.

The greatest name in the dramatic history of the eighteenth century is not that of a playwright, but that of a player, David Garrick (1717–79), born, like Johnson, at Lichfield. His "natural" method of acting not merely gave special interest to his Shakespearean revivals, but stimulated the writing of less "stagey" plays. Garrick (like many later producers of Shakespeare) felt at liberty to "modernize" the old author whom he presented to "modern" audiences; but his masterly acting outweighed the infelicities of his acting versions. Moreover, a fact often forgotten, Garrick's versions were purity itself compared with the seventeenth-century perversions which they displaced.

In contrast to many conventional dramas of the period, John Home's *Douglas* (first acted at Edinburgh in 1756 and in London in 1757) strikes a romantic note. It was so successful that patriotic Scots believed they had discovered a northern dramatist superior to Shakespeare. Age has withered *Douglas*, and custom staled the declamation of Young Norval. Yet the play had a fresh quality in its native background and romantic atmosphere, and it held the stage for many years.

The growing poverty of English drama is evident in comedy as well as in tragedy. Formal comedy was displaced by farce, a form of drama exploited by Samuel Foote (1722–77), an Oxford man turned comic actor, who evaded the Licensing Act by establishing himself in 1747 at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket and inviting people to come to a "Concert of Musick" or an "Auction of Pictures". In the end he was given a patent, which, though limiting his activities, really created a third patent theatre. Almost the only remembered piece of "the English Aristophanes" is *The Mayor of Garret* (1764) Garrick himself wrote a number of lively farces, such as *The Lying Valet* (1741), *Miss in her Teens* (1747), *The Irish Widow* (1772) and *Bon Ton* (1775). James Townley's *High Life below Stairs* (1759) is another farce that long maintained its popularity.

Among the playwrights of the Garrick era, Arthur Murphy (1727–1805) may serve as a type of prolific industry. His dramatic [illegible]

pieces that could be acted well. Murphy was the first editor of Fielding and wrote an essay on Johnson. Another popular compiler of entertainments was Isaac Bickerstaff, a queer and dubious character, whose *Love in a Village* (1762), *The Maid of the Mill* (1765) and *Lionel and Clarissa* (1768) departed from the ballad opera (set to old

his memory, and by Gray, in whose work reminiscences of the elder poet can be traced. One writer, older in years, who took Thomson's blank verse as a model, is William Somervile—this form is more correct than Somerville—(1675–1742). His poem, *The Chace*, not written till 1735, discusses hunting in its various forms, with due poetical divagations, and leaves a pleasing picture of an English country gentleman with rural convictions, bookish enthusiasm and a tendency to composition in verse. Two of its lines give us a pair of familiar phrases. Somervile's other poetical effusions contain a good deal of what may be called "stock". *Field Sports* (1742) is a short poem in the vein of *The Chace*. *Hobbinol, or the Rural Games* (1740), dedicated to Hogarth, is a blank verse burlesque inspired by "the Cider Poem and Splendid Shilling" of John Philips. The prose preface strikes a social note of some interest, for it is "anti-bourgeois" and "pro-farmer" in true John Bull fashion.

In the *Edge-Hill* of Richard Jago (1715–81), a strong taste for moralizing was combined with appreciation of "Britannia's rural charms, and tranquil scenes". Warwickshire, a fertile nurse of poets, was his native county and provided him with his subject. The poem illustrates the influence of Milton upon a reader of slight poetic habit.

A constantly recurring name in the literature of the time is that of George Lyttelton (1709–73), first baron of the name, the friend of Thomson, Pope and Shenstone, and a power in politics. The most pleasing of his poems is the *Monody* of 1747, a long elegy to his wife, which suffers by its frequent reminiscences of *Lycidas*, with which it cannot endure comparison. The influence of French literature is felt in Lyttelton's imaginative prose works: the very titles of the satiric *Persian Letters* (1735) and *Dialogues of the Dead* (1760) are copied from Montesquieu and Fénelon. He was Thomson's editor, and, in that capacity, reduced the lengthy *Liberty* from five books to three, without making it any less unreadable.

VI. GRAY

Thomas Gray (1716–71) was born in London, son of a selfish, despotic and violent man of business in the City. His mother had two brothers, Robert and William, the first a fellow of Peterhouse, the second a master at Eton. It followed naturally that Gray went first to Eton and then to Cambridge. At Eton his two chief friends were Horace Walpole, son of the Prime Minister, and Richard West, grandson of Bishop Burnet. These three, with a fourth, Thomas Ashton, formed "the quadruple alliance". West was a scholar with a thin vein of poetry and a tendency to melancholy (like Gray himself), and his premature death in 1742 was a deep sorrow to his friend. The quadruple alliance was broken up in 1734. West went to Oxford, Gray to Cambridge, and an attractive correspondence was

the accuracy of his judgment. He fell in and out of place, always lightly, and his later days were not without reverses of fortune. His tragedy *Coriolanus* was produced during the year after his death. The story of the emotion shown by Quin in the delivery of the prologue is a testimony to the affection which Thomson inspired in his friends.

Of Thomson's poetical work *The Seasons* and *The Castle of Indolence* alone have any importance. That he chose blank verse for *The Seasons* may have been due to the influence of Milton, but is much more probably due to his own feeling. Even minor poets have natural and underived inclinations; and, as a matter of fact, Thomson never used the couplet in any lengthy poem. The urban poetry of Thomson's time was more concerned with man than with nature. It is Thomson's peculiarity that the description of natural

pervades,
Adjusts, sustains and agitates the whole

pleasing is *The Castle of Indolence*, written in the manner and stanza of Spenser; but it has none of Spenser's poetic gravity and virtue. Thomson was incapable of suffering, and could not, like Spenser, teach in song. As a tribute from a lesser poet to a greater, it deserves sincere esteem.

Thomson's dramatic work includes five tragedies and the masque

a Preface

younger
generation of poets—by Collins, who dedicated a beautiful *Ode to*

women in his life. It is a little curious that Horace Walpole, too, though his female friends were many, remained the complete bachelor. In June 1750, Gray sent from Stoke to Walpole a thing with an end to it (we paraphrase his words), a merit that most of his writings have wanted, and one whose beginning Walpole had seen long ago. This was the famous *Elegy*, and Walpole appears to have circulated it freely in manuscript, with the result that the magazines got hold of it: and Gray, to protect himself, made Walpole send it to Dodsley for immediate printing. The elegiac quatrain had been used before, e.g. in D'Avenant's *Gondibert* and Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*; but in Gray's hands, it acquired a new beauty and a music of its own. After the *Elegy* came the humorous *A Long Story*, which had a personal cogency now difficult to discern. Of the *Stanzas to Richard Bentley* (1752), with one specially fine passage, only a mutilated copy survives. Bentley (son of the scholar) was the artist responsible for *Designs by Mr R. Bentley for Six Poems by Mr T. Gray* (1753), the first approach to any collection of Gray's poems.

On 26 December 1754 Gray completed the ode entitled *The Progress of Poesy*; it had been nearly finished two years before. It was not published until 1759, when Walpole secured it for the Strawberry Hill Press, together with *The Bard*. Between *The Progress of Poesy* and *The Bard* comes, chronologically, the semi-Wordsworthian fragment called (probably by Mason) *Ode on the Pleasure arising from Vicissitude*; but it should not be allowed to separate the two long poems, which Gray had printed together as Ode I and Ode II with a motto from Pindar. They form an original literary experiment in which historic or legendary fact is presented romantically. *The Bard* bears traces of the northern studies which found expression in *The Fatal Sisters* and *The Descent of Odin*. A curious evidence of the influence of *The Bard* can be detected in the Ossianic impostures, which in certain places definitely imitate that poem.

In 1757 Gray was offered the laureateship in succession to Colley Cibber, and contemptuously refused it. During 1759–61 he spent some time in London studying the Old English manuscripts of the newly opened British Museum, and recording observations probably intended for the history of English poetry which was never executed. From 1762 till his death in 1771 he made several tours through the more romantic scenes of England and Scotland, and wrote delightfully about them to his friends. In 1768 he was given the professorship of modern history at Cambridge and in 1769 wrote the *Installation Ode* when the Duke of Grafton was made chancellor of the university. He died suddenly and was buried by the side of his beloved mother at Stoke Poges.

Some poets survive by a few grains of precious metal extracted from the mass of their work; Gray has the metal without the mass.

begun. Gray professed himself out of sympathy with Cambridge; but as he lived in the university for most of his life, the profession was not without some youthful affectation. No form of learning came amiss to him. His uncle Robert had given him not only a [illegible] northern studies.

In 1739 Gray set out for a European tour with Horace Walpole. We know nothing of the relations or arrangements between them. In Paris they met the author of *Manon Lescaut* and saw Racine's *Britannicus*, which Gray began to imitate in a blank verse tragedy, *Agrippina*, of which two hundred lines survive. During the passage to Italy over the Mont Cenis, Gray received his first deep impressions of mountain grandeur. After reaching Italy, Gray and Walpole quarrelled and parted. We do not know the cause of their difference, but it must have been serious. Gray was a man of strong, sincere and independent character, and when reconciliation took place some years later, he told Walpole with complete frankness that the old relations would not be restored. On his journey home Gray visited the Grande Chartreuse for a second time. It was probably on this occasion that he left in the album of the fathers the beautiful alcaic ode *O tu severi Religio loci*. In 1741 the death of his father narrowed the family resources, and Gray lived for a time with his mother at Stoke Poges, where she made her home. West, with whom he had continued his correspondence and to whom he had sent the *Ode to Spring*, died in 1742, and at Stoke Poges Gray wrote his *Sonnet on the Death of Richard West*, the *Hymn to Adversity*, *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College* and a splenetic *Hymn to Ignorance* (a fragment). The death of West deeply affected him. In Florence Gray had amused himself with writing for West a Latin version of Locke's famous *Essay*. To this production he gave the sounding name *De Principiis Cogitandi*, but referred to it humorously as "Tommy Lucretius". Having written over two hundred lines (it is the longest piece of verse by Gray we have) he gave it up, but the death of the friend to whom it had been addressed moved him to add in 1742 what he calls *Liber Quartus*, an affecting fragment of thirty lines worthy of being set beside Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis*.

Gray returned to Cambridge, where he found it comfortable to live on a small income. He sent Walpole the amusing *Ode on the Death of a Favourite Cat* (Walpole's), and interested himself in various friends, including William Mason, his first (and worst) editor, and the wild and reckless Christopher Smart. Gray had a great gift for friendship; but apart from his deeply loved mother we hear

VII. YOUNG, COLLINS AND LESSER POETS OF THE AGE OF JOHNSON

Various collections from *Dodsley* to *Chalmers* have given the lesser poets of the eighteenth century favourable opportunities of establishing themselves in the affection of the public. Only one, Collins, can be said to have succeeded. Young enjoyed for long an almost European celebrity; Shenstone, Dyer, Green, Blair, Armstrong, Akenside, Beattie and Smart had their numerous admirers; but of these Dyer and Smart survive in single poems, and the others survive hardly at all, save as names on disregarded volumes or as lives in the Johnson collection. But they have all something to say about the literary fashions of their time.

Edward Young (1683–1765) spent a long life in a vain quest for advancement. He sought popularity as a dramatist, tried to enter Parliament, and generally attempted to attain the public success of Addison. Even the Church, to which he finally looked, did not give him any spectacular place. Addison's administrative, and Prior's diplomatic, honours were not unmixed blessings to their possessors; but they made Grub Street intolerable to the younger generation of writers, who now assiduously looked for sinecures. Young began with poetical solicitations and compliments to those in power, produced his play *Busiris*, and wrote a needless *Paraphrase on Part of the Book of Job* in couplets. In 1721 appeared his one famous play *The Revenge*, and, a little later (1725–8), the seven satires forming the *Love of Fame, the Universal Passion*. During the years 1728 to 1730 were published the amazingly ridiculous pieces called *Ocean* and *Imperium Pelagi*. *The Complaint, or Night Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality* in blank verse began to appear in 1742, other parts following in 1743, 1744 and 1745. A third play, *The Brothers*, appeared in 1753, and his last work of importance, *Resignation*, in feeble ballad stanzas, in 1762. The immense and long-enduring popularity of *Night Thoughts* will not return. It is hard reading, nowadays, even for the most energetic lover of poetry; and the rest of Young, except the seven satires, which occasionally strike fire, is harder. That Young had poetic feeling is evident; that he had no poetic artistry is equally evident. Yet some of his lines have become household words. If Young were judged by his best short passages he would seem to be a real poet; in the mass he achieves no more than verbiage. But it should be remembered that the seven satires of Young preceded those of Pope, and that some of the lesser poet's lines are good enough to be attributed to the greater.

William Collins (1721–79) was a most unhappy man, for he was the prey of intermittent imbecility, and was for long denied even

The total bulk of his poetical work, including that in languages oth than English, is very small, and of that small amount very little w printed in his lifetime. He made no attempt to collect his writing or to prepare them for publication, or to make them generall known His prose is enormously larger in quantity than his verse and includes familiar letters that are among the most delightful i the language. His poems aroused the critical hostility of Johnson, who suspected him of Whiggism, and found his verse "licentious". An example of the "licence" that displeased Johnson is the use of "honied" as an adjective formed from the noun "honey". Both Shakespeare and Milton had used it But Johnson's life of Gray, like his life of Milton, is one of his major blunders Later, Gray encountered the hostility of Wordsworth and Coleridge Gray would have thought the former's ponderous analysis of his early sonnet to West amusing; and he would have set down Coleridge's complaint that nouns like "Confusion" and "Conquest" (printed with the eighteenth century capitals) were faulty personifications as little better than ignorance The occasional attacks of succeeding critics, precious or perverted, upon the *Elegy* in particular may be ignored. That which reposes securely near the heart of a multitude of readers of many ages and generations will always provoke the outcries of those anxious to be heard More deplorable, because uncritical, has been the attempt made by devotees of Collins to turn the merits of the two writers into a matter of poetical party politics. There is no antagonism. The most remarkable and least remarked fact about Gray's few poems is their strong idiosyncrasy They are not only the best of their kind, but they have no rivals The *Elegy* and the two great *Odes* are unique.

Almost everything that Gray wrote remained in manuscript at his death, and he suffered the misfortune of having for an editor William Mason, an inflated poet of the feeblest kind, who conceived it his luty to publish, not what Gray wrote, but what he thought Gray ught to have written. It has taken a long time to clear the text of ray, especially his letters, from the adulterations of Mason. Gray's rojected history of English poetry was never written The loss is urs, for his sympathy with the early poets was intense His feelings ere powerful, but he never wore his heart on his sleeve His early was clouded by parental dissent, and his immense capabilities e hampered by sheer poverty, which he refused to mitigate by solicitation of patronage. Like Macaulay he was a mighty er; yet though almost every phrase of the *Elegy* has a classical llel, it is both original and unique. Gray was always himself In ove for the old and his adventures into the new, he anticipates e that was to develop both his romantic instincts and his classical int.

Blake illustrated Blair. The close coincidence of *The Grave* and *Night Thoughts* need occasion no dispute about indebtedness. The two poems are quite independent. Mortuary reflections were in the air.

John Armstrong (1709–79), a Scottish doctor, wrote one notable poem, *The Art of Preserving Health* (1744). It was very popular, but is now one of the curiosities of literature, interesting as a triumph of Miltonic form over intractable matter.

Richard Glover (1712–85) belongs like Armstrong to the "tumid and gorgeous" blank-verse division; but, unlike him, he offers not the slightest provocation to direct or indirect amusement. His celebrated ballad, *Admiral Hosier's Ghost*, may be called an accidental success in the broadside manner. Glover did nothing else like it. His "great" Miltonic performances, *Leonidas* and *The Athenaid*, once highly praised, will never be read again, save by the hardier students of poetry.

William Shenstone (1714–63) comes happily next in chronological sequence to Glover, for he had genuine poetic gifts. He was a gentleman-farmer, born in the Somervile-Jago country, on the Leasowes estate which he adorned in the most lavish fashion of artificial landscape. His *Moral Pieces* include lengthy poems in a variety of metres—blank verse, couplets and octosyllabics. The one outstanding success is *The Schoolmistress*, "in imitation of Spenser". It parodies the Spenserian manner in kindly fashion; it has real poetic feeling and catches very happily the difficult note of rustic simplicity. His *Inscriptions* begin with one poem known to everybody: "Here, in cool grot and mossy cell"; the others fail to reach that standard. *The Levities; or Pieces of Humour* contain a few good things; the twenty-four *Elegies* contain scarcely any. The four parts of *A Pastoral Ballad* are notable because they attempt the three-foot anapaestic metre illustrated by the familiar opening of the second, "My banks they are furnished with bees". Best known of his short poems is one in the *Levities* entitled *Written at an Inn at Henley*, with its excellent last stanza.

Mark Akenside (1721–70), unlike Shenstone, who might have written better in the seventeenth or the nineteenth century, belongs emphatically to the eighteenth. He is conventional, rhetorical, artificial. His one long poem appeared as *The Pleasures of Imagination* in 1744, and was rewritten as *The Pleasures of the Imagination* in 1757. It is little more than a frigid catalogue, with the items decked out in rhetorical figures. Akenside's *Hymn to the Naiads* can be cited as a good example of eighteenth-century blank verse. His best performance is *An Epistle to Curio*, which, as an example of the satiric couplet, has some merit.

Christopher Smart (1722–91) offers a striking contrast to both Akenside and Shenstone. Akenside hardly knew what real poetry

the relief of complete lunacy. He has suffered, too, the misfortune of becoming a cudgel in the hands of critics like Swinburne, who, believing him "to reannounce with the passion of a lyric and heroic rapture the divine right and god-like duty of tyrannicide", used him to beat the poets, especially Gray, who had shown no public inclination for the murder of kings. The bulk of Collins's poetry is small, and the circumstances of his life made an authoritative collection impossible. When Collins is at his best, as in the exquisite *Ode to Evening*, the *Dirge in Cymbeline* and *How sleep the brave*, he is a poet, not a minor poet; but in the *Persian Eclogues* (1742)—later called *Oriental Eclogues* (1757)—he is little more than a poetaster of the eighteenth century. Even in some of the odes the poetaster appears and obscures the poet. The splendid outburst of the *Ode to Liberty* sinks at the end into bathos, the *Ode to Peace* and the *Ode to Pity* have the stock epithets and the stock images of the poetaster. *The Passions, an Ode for Music* maintains a wild coherence among its dim personifications, and the posthumous *Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland*, faulty in text, lacks neither spirit nor poetic quality. At his best Collins is a true lyric poet of exquisite quality.

John Dyer (1699–1757), though his claim to memory rests upon one short piece only, must be recognized as a true poet. *The Fleece* and *The Ruins of Rome* are interesting in themselves, but are now more perilously interesting as examples of high-flown verse applied o subjects not calling for Miltonic eloquence. *Grongar Hill* (1725), owever, is one of those poems which occupy a place of their own. is really a little wonder in subject and in form alike. It uses squisitely the octosyllabic couplet of Milton's famous pair of poems d it expresses the genuine feeling for nature which was to be the ecial greatness of Wordsworth. It is slight, but it is irresistible.

Of Matthew Green (1696–1737) the best account is that given in *dsley*, which contains his one enduring poem, *The Spleen, an stle to Mr Cuthbert Jackson* (1727)—not to be confused with the ndark Poem" of that name by Lady Winchilsea. Green was a uker-freethinker" and discharged his duties at the Custom use, we are told, with the utmost diligence and ability. His syllabic couplets move with ease and his matter is expressed with our and acuteness. Epicureanism of the lighter kind has seldom better illustrated in verse.

bert Blair (1699–1746), contemporary with ... cheerful hew Green, was neither hearty nor cheerful. He, too, was the of one poem, *The Grave* (1743), which was instantly popular ill survives. The blank verse has a certain rugged massiveness, casionally flings itself down with real momentum. It would be o find two poets of more different schools than Blair and Yet it was not a mere association of contradictories when

pretend to read the essays of Addison do not attempt to read the essays of Johnson. The loss is theirs. Johnson's contributions to miscellaneous literature offer many examples of excellence, but they are so numerous that they cannot be cited here. Those who desire details should consult *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature.*

Samuel Johnson (1709–84) was born at Lichfield, the son of a bookseller. As a schoolboy he exhibited his characteristic ease of acquisition, tenacity of memory, and lack of application. In his father's shop he learned how to tear the heart out of a book without laborious reading, and what he once possessed he never lost. He was intended to follow his father's business, but after two years at home he contrived to proceed to Oxford. His residence was irregular and he left without taking a degree. Of his early manhood there are few records. He did some schoolmastering, but his instincts led him early to writing. The first of his books was the translation of *A Voyage to Abyssinia by Father Jerome Lobo* (1735). The main interest of the volume now lies in the short preface, for the matter and the style are already Johnson's own.

Two years after his marriage to a widow in 1735, he forsook the Midlands for London, which was thereafter his home. Having no profession, he became by necessity an author. He looked to find employment on *The Gentleman's Magazine*, which had been founded by Edward Cave in 1731, and which had steadily grown in public favour. Johnson's first contribution appeared in March 1738. From that time he was regularly employed. He at once asserted some sort of literary control, and helped to guide the fortunes of the publication through a grave crisis. Reports of the proceedings in Parliament had been given in the *Magazine* since 1732; but in 1738 the House of Commons declared such reports to be a breach of privilege. The *Magazine* retorted by producing "debates in the Senate of Magna Lilliputia". Johnson at first assisted in editing these, and was sole author of those which appeared from July 1741 to March 1744. What he did was to write up the reports from notes supplied to him. When they were taken as actual reports he ceased to write them. To the *Magazine* he also contributed several biographies. In 1744 Johnson published his life of the unfortunate poet Richard Savage, a work important for the glimpses it gives of Johnson's own early life in London. Savage was not an attractive character, but Johnson is both impartial and generous. His *Life of Savage* is a model of how to tell the truth in biography. With a few alterations it was included later in *The Lives of the Poets.* After bibliographical work with William Oldys on the Harleian library—the occasion of two very interesting essays (1742–4)—Johnson proposed a new edition of Shakespeare (1745); but Warburton's edition (1747) spoiled his plan, and he turned to another even more laborious, a dictionary. The

was or where it was to be found. Shenstone knew it and nearly found it. Smart found it once for all, and once only; and that was when he was in a madhouse. *A Song to David*, first completely repetition and verbiage; but the tide of poetry carries the poem right through, and the reader with it; the old romance-six or *rime couée* once more acquires soar and rush, so that the whole crowd of stanzas) and the Seatonian Prize poems (in blank verse) on various attributes of the Supreme Being have no genuine poetical life. His *Fables* and lighter pieces in a Hudibrastic or Swiftian vein are sometimes really capital. The lately recovered *Rejoice in the Lamb* or *Jubilate Agno*, another madhouse piece, has some deeply moving lines, extraordinarily suggestive of Blake

William Falconer (1732–69) was a man of the sea who wrote one poem famous in its time, *The Shipwreck*. It will not recapture its fame. Much of it is "stock", and the few personal touches are of the faintest. The sailor found in the end a sailor's grave.

James Beattie (1735–1803) was a much larger figure. He retains historic interest as a pioneer of romanticism and the most consider- knights and witches—but without the Spenserian virtue or the Spenserian music. His minor poems have no importance He tried the manner of Gray in ode and in elegy, and he failed in both. Beattie was professor of moral philosophy at Aberdeen, and wrote prose works that once were famous.

The eighteenth century expressed itself, not in one kind of poetry, but in many kinds. The faded romances of these half-forgotten poets are some of the kinds.

VIII. JOHNSON AND BOSWELL

The Johnson whom everybody knows is the Johnson of the Reynolds portrait and the Boswell life. But the first was painted when he was

Johnson purposely omitted technical terms, and thought not so much of the reader as of the writer and the purity of the language. The inclusion of quotations was Johnson's most notable innovation in English lexicography. He wanted to make clear the actual literary use of words, and he was able to employ a supreme talent for definition. He was not merely a scholar of immense reading, he was a born man of letters with an instinct for the finest shades of meaning. The respect accorded to him by his successors can be taken as the highest tribute to the value of his great linguistic survey. The famous letter to Lord Chesterfield, which disclaimed that nobleman's patronage, and perhaps gave the death-blow to literary patronage altogether, was first made public by Boswell. The *Dictionary* appeared honourably without any dedication. Johnson often reproached himself for idleness, and, indeed, he was slow in beginning any task, but to the labours of the eight years between the inception of the *Dictionary* in 1747 and its publication as *A Dictionary of the English Language* in 1755 it would be hard to find a parallel.

In June 1756 he issued new *Proposals* for an edition of Shakespeare, and he hoped to have the work completed by the end of the following year. But even Johnson's gigantic powers now felt the strain of his long labours. He began to suffer from mental depression, and he sought relief, not in medicine, but in company. Talk was his best tonic. Only the need for money impelled him to write. We leave unmentioned certain journalistic adventures and pass to his second series of essays, *The Idler*, which appeared every Saturday from 15 April 1758 to 5 April 1760 in *The Universal Chronicle, or Weekly Gazette.* In one respect *The Idler* is better than *The Rambler.* It is lighter in touch; moreover, the character of Dick Minim the critic achieves the kind of personal success the weightier essays had lacked. While *The Idler* was in progress Johnson's mother died, and her death was the occasion of his grave story, *The Prince of Abissinia, A Tale* (1759). The name *Rasselas* did not appear on a title-page till the posthumous edition of 1787. It is a parable rather than a tale, and it stands apart from the general course of the English novel; but it is a consistently beautiful and moving little book, written in prose of a singular dignity. *Rasselas* may be called the prose *Vanity of Human Wishes.* Wise readers will frequently refresh themselves with its ripe wisdom and its noble rhythms.

The promised Shakespeare was not forthcoming, and subscribers began to be discontented. A pension of £300 a year awarded to him in 1762 set him free from hack-work and the Shakespeare appeared at last in 1765. This has already been mentioned and need not be discussed again; but we may repeat that the great *Preface*, which settled for ever the battle of the "rules", is a permanent addition to the literature of criticism. A generation later, the French

Plan of a Dictionary of the English Language was issued in 1747, an at the desire of Dodsley, was addressed to the Earl of Chesterfiel We have no record of his employment between 1745 and 1747 Johnson did not confine himself to the labours of the *Dictionary* During the eight years of its preparation he wrote his greatest poem, and gave new life to the periodical essay.

Johnson's early verses have very slight interest Indeed, apart from the touching lines on Levett, he wrote only two considerable poems, *London* and *The Vanity of Human Wishes*. The first of these, *London: a Poem, in Imitation of the Third Satire of Juvenal*, was published anonymously in May 1738, on the same day as Pope's *One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty-Eight, a Dialogue something like Horace*, and thus, accidentally, invited a comparison which appears to have gone in Johnson's favour. *London* is good, but is easily surpassed by *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, written in imitation of Juvenal's tenth satire, and published, with Johnson's name, in 1749 The poem is completely satisfying as a statement of its theme It is not less valuable as a personal document. Johnson was not a pessimist, but he believed that there was more to be endured than enjoyed in the general condition of human life, and he said so, with his habitual sincerity. Of his early tragedy *Irene*, not produced by Garrick till 1748, it is enough to say that its moral dialogues, its correctness of plan and its smoothness of verse do not suffice to give it any rank as a drama.

Johnson's next great undertaking was *The Rambler*, which appeared every Tuesday and Saturday between 20 March 1750 and 14 March 1752 (208 numbers). The least satisfactory part of this periodical is the title *The Rambler* never rambles It pursues its way in a steady, unswerving march Times had changed. Between the appearance of *The Tatler* in 1709 and the appearance of *The Rambler* in 1750 there had been an almost unparalleled development of journalistic enterprise The periodical essay no longer offered the attractions of novelty. That *The Rambler* succeeded is a tribute to Johnson's force of literary character Its only rival is still *The Spectator*, from which, however, it differs essentially. Steele and Addison gave their essays a semi-novelistic interest. Johnson is purely stylistic. The prose of *The Spectator* is light and easy; the prose of *The Rambler* is majestic and sonorous. No one is required to affirm the exclusive superiority of either for all occasions and all themes In writing *The Rambler* Johnson had specifically sought to establish a correct and worthy literary language. That aim he pursued more directly in compiling his great dictionary. Most of the earlier dictionaries had been mere vocabularies, giving explanations of difficult words Nathan Bailey's *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1721) had attempted to record all words used in English.

chief authority. The merits of Mrs Piozzi and Hawkins were united and augmented by Boswell. He had been collecting material since his first interview in 1763. After Johnson's death he set to work in earnest and spared himself no trouble.

It is often thought, and nearly as often said, that Johnson owes his immortality to Boswell. The certain and obvious fact is that Boswell owes his immortality to Johnson. Boswell's life is the story of a failure turned to success by a strong devotion. James Boswell (1740–95) was the son of a Scottish judge, and was destined for a legal career, in which he might have succeeded; but what he really desired was a sudden and splendid success in literature or politics. He wrote minor verse and published in 1763 the *Letters between the Hon. Andrew Erskine and James Boswell, Esq.* in which his characteristic vanity is redeemed by his disarming frankness. He returned to Edinburgh in 1766 from his Continental travels, during which he had met Voltaire, Rousseau, and General Paoli of Corsica. In 1768 he published his *Account of Corsica*, which won what he called "amazing celebrity" and which might have kept his name in the memory of a few dauntless readers. He edited a collection of twenty letters by himself and others, and published them under the title *British Essays in favour of the Brave Corsicans* (January 1769). He had made Johnson's acquaintance in 1763, and cultivated the great man's friendship during visits to London. He was called to the English Bar, but had no success. His admiration for Johnson inspired him to the one great achievement of his life. Boswell was unsatisfactory as a son, as a husband and as a father. His faults were numerous and almost shockingly unconcealed; but it is absurd to suppose that he had neither character nor intelligence. He was liked; he was, next to Pepys, the frankest of diarists, and in biography he was a great artist. Boswell's *Johnson* is incontestably the greatest biography in the English language; it is almost incontestably the greatest biography in any language; moreover, it is elaborately planned and elaborately built. A fool would have magnified his own importance in the story, and this Boswell never does. The rediscovery of Boswell has been both gradual and dramatic. The first find was that of his letters to William Johnson Temple, published in 1857. Seventy years later a mass of letters and manuscripts, including that of the *Tour to the Hebrides* 1785, the companion piece to Johnson's *Journey*, was discovered at Malahide Castle, and in 1930 a further hoard was found at Fettercairn House. The material thus recovered clearly demonstrates the sedulous artistry of a great biographer. The *Life of Samuel Johnson LL.D.* appeared in 1791, and was revised and augmented by Edmund Malone in the third edition (1799). It is unmatchable and inexhaustible.

"romantics" found their case stated in Johnson's *Preface*, and they did not better what they borrowed

Hereafter, Johnson did not, on his own initiative, undertake any other large work. He was employed in what we may term creative conversation. In 1763 he met Boswell; in 1764 he founded with Reynolds "The Club"; in 1765 he gained the friendship of the

an edition of the poets which should have the attraction of biographical prefaces by a writer of authority. Johnson was invited to to do this work and he accepted. He had nothing whatever to do

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completeness of interest is the explanation of his few notorious failures. A romantic "Church and King" Tory could not feel at home with a regicide republican like Milton, nor could an old

severity in criticism. With the revision of *The Lives of the Poets*,

written, gives a clear picture

contrast is the *Life* (1787)

"unclubable" magistrate

and antiquary, with great knowledge and little intuition He had known Johnson for over forty years and, on many points, he is our

page. A volume called *Essays. By Mr Goldsmith* was issued in 1765 containing some of his best papers from *The Bee, The Public Ledger* and other magazines, together with some fresh specimens of verse. It then occurred to the joint proprietors that this might be a fitting opportunity to bring out *The Vicar of Wakefield*, the manuscript of which had been bought by them in 1762. The book was accordingly published in two small volumes in March 1766. Why it was not issued before is not clearly known; but evidently the publishers thought little of their bargain, and were justified in their doubts by its lack of immediate success. But its sale, if slow, was steady, and has never ceased. *The Vicar of Wakefield* is a perfect example of the permanently self-reproductive book. It has never had to be rediscovered or written up, and its success has been international. The apparent artless simplicity of its manner can deceive only those who think that to be easy and natural in writing is open to any novice with a pen. What is often unnoticed in *The Vicar* is its power—its unforced range from the world of idyllic simplicity to the world of complete rascaldom. Not merely in the character of Dr Primrose does *The Vicar* anticipate *Pickwick*.

Goldsmith went on working at the compilations which paid better than masterpieces; but towards the end of 1766 his ambitions began to move in the direction of the stage, with its prospects of ready cash. He had already essayed a Voltairean tragedy, now happily lost. The success of Garrick and Colman's *The Clandestine Marriage* as a counterblast to the craze for sentimental drama encouraged him, and in 1767 he completed *The Good Natur'd Man*. All that remained was to get it acted. Garrick maltreated both play and author, who withdrew his piece and gave it to Colman at Covent Garden. After many delays it was produced by a desponding manager and with a depressed cast; nevertheless it had very fair success. But it is not a play that endures. We hear next of other compilations—Roman and English Histories for Davies and *A History of Animated Nature* for Griffin.

In 1768 Goldsmith lost his brother, and the flood of memories aroused carried into being a new poem, *The Deserted Village* (1770), his finest work in verse. It is unnecessary to inquire curiously whether the village is Irish or English, or, indeed, any definite spot. The way of poetry is to transfigure particulars and recreate them into abiding truths. The essential Goldsmith is in this poem—the Goldsmith of the character sketch and the Goldsmith of sweet and persuasive writing. Again he returned to desk work with a life of Bolingbroke and an abridgement of his Roman History. It was about this time that he threw off the delightful medley of literary recollection and personal experience known as *The Haunch of Venison*, in which the ease and lightness of Prior are wedded to the best measure of Swift.

IX. GOLDSMITH

[illegible] appears to have been a helpless, engaging, ingenuous simpleton, the born prey of even the least accomplished rascals. He went to Trinity College, Dublin, as a sizar, and bitterly resented the humiliation. He was refused ordination. He acquired, no one knows how or where, the degree of M.B., which he proudly appended to his name. That he ever had any patients can hardly be known, for they could not have survived. He wandered on foot about the Continent, yet recorded no details of his passage. We would gladly surrender most of the compilations he did write for one book he did not write, an account of the way in which "he disputed his way through Europe". In 1756 he arrived in London, quite destitute. He tried [illegible] some possible medical employment he issued by subscription *An Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe* (1759), which, despite its portentous title, is racy and readable in passages where Goldsmith is writing from personal experience.

In a little periodical called *The Bee* (6 October–24 November [illegible] He [illegible] John [illegible] luch during 1761 his *Chinese Letters*, afterwards collected as *The Citizen* [illegible] es of [illegible], the [illegible] *The Citizen of the World* a high place in our prose literature. It seems impossible that writings so sagacious should be the work of a man so ineffectual. Various compilations of no importance occupied him from 1761 to 1764. But in 1761–2 he was writing *The Vicar of Wakefield*, and in 1764 he published *The Traveller, or a Prospect of Society*, his first important poem. The didactic purpose of the poem [illegible] eighteenth-century poetaster.

The success of *The Traveller* made readers inquire for other works by the "Oliver Goldsmith, M.B." whose name appeared on the title

measures, which thrive so naturally through the nineteenth century that people forget how much their revival owes to the eighteenth, with *The Ancient Mariner*, greatest of modern ballads, coming at its very end. The eighteenth century, eager for romance, found it in the "vaulted aisle" of Congreve's *Mourning Bride*, in "the long-drawn aisle and fretted vault" of Gray's *Elegy*, and in the "ruin" of the first, and the "time-hallowed pile" of the second, version of Collins's *Ode to Evening*. What the eighteenth century found in medieval literature was not wild romance, but classic simplicity. Dryden and Pope found this in Chaucer; Gray found it in other old English poets; Addison found it in *Chevy Chace*, and used it as a stick to beat the followers of Donne. Addison does not call the old ballads "Gothick"; he calls the elaborate imitators of Cowley "Gothick".

The seventeenth and eighteenth century scholars who broke into medieval antiquities and discovered much poetry by the way were chiefly concerned with chronicles and state-papers. What appeals to the reader of Tennyson or Rossetti or Morris as peculiarly medieval was not apparent to Hickes or Hearne or Rymer. They were not in search of "glamour". The first great find was the old northern heroic poetry— "Islandic" as Percy spells it. When Gray wrote *The Descent of Odin* and *The Fatal Sisters*, he drew from sources which the antiquaries had made known in the seventeenth century; and his poems are the first example of the literary influence of the Middle Ages.

Of course, in one sense, literature was full of the Middle Ages. Ariosto, type of the Renascence, drew his matter from the old romances. Through Chaucer and Spenser, through Sidney's *Arcadia*, through many chapbooks and through the unprinted living folklore of England, the Middle Ages formed the minds of Dryden and Pope and their contemporaries. But for a distinct and deliberate revival of the past one must go to Sir William Temple's remarks about the Death Song of Ragnar Lodbrok in his essay *Of Heroic Virtue*. With this begins the vogue of "old unhappy far-off things, And battles long ago" as the theme of romantic literature. The honourable, courageous viking was launched to try his fortune in romance; and he started with the great advantage of having really lived, as the fabulous heroes of Ariosto had not. When Temple again took up "runic" literature in his essay *Of Poetry*, he was consciously pursuing the real progress of poesy from its early life among historical barbarians.

Temple derived his knowledge, not from English scholars, but from northern scholars whom he met at Nimeguen; but northern studies were already flourishing in England, especially at Oxford, where Junius (Francis Dujon) had left not merely the great Junian

But his last triumph was at hand. Once more he essayed a "comic" comedy as a counterblast to Cumberland's sentimental *West Indian*, just produced, and once more he endured the stage's delays; but the play, first called *The Old House a New Inn*, was at last produced at [illegible] matter is sound. Many a man rendered mute by respectable company becomes a swaggering blade when at ease in his inn; the repressed self expands and blossoms into vivacity. Goldsmith's great comedy has never failed to hold the stage.

Goldsmith's last metrical effort was the shrewd and delightful [illegible] critic; the Scotsman was jealous of the Irishman. The fact is that Goldsmith's poems, essays, novel and comedies could not have been written by the pitiful Tom-fool Goldsmith is made out to be. His most striking characteristic is the individuality of his genius. He resembled no one, he belonged to no school, and he founded none To look for "origins" is vanity; all the stuff of his work is pure Goldsmith—Goldsmith's philosophy, Goldsmith's heart, Goldsmith's native grace, simplicity, sweetness He was but forty-six when he died; and he was maturing to the last.

X. THE LITERARY INFLUENCE OF THE MIDDLE AGES: MACPHERSON'S OSSIAN, CHATTERTON, PERCY AND THE WARTONS

[illegible] conscious imitation or parody, the one exception being the ballad

author of *Douglas*, who was full of the romantic interest in the Highlands, which he passed on to Collins, and which was shared by Thomson. Macpherson really knew something about Gaelic poetry, but his literary taste was very decided, and he honestly thought that the traditional Gaelic poems were not very good. He saw the chance for original exercises on Gaelic themes. Home wanted stories with the true Gaelic spirit, and Macpherson supplied them. In 1760 appeared *Fragments of Ancient Poetry collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Gaelic or Erse language*. Then Macpherson went travelling in the Highlands and Western Isles, and the result was *Fingal: An Ancient Epic Poem in Six Books* (1762). In this volume was also published, among shorter pieces, *Temora, An Epic Poem*. In 1763 this poem, too, was completed in eight books. Macpherson promised to publish the originals; but it is clear he intended to take from Gaelic verse no more than suited his own literary purposes. He spoke slightingly of the Irish tales of Finn, and called his hero Fingal. In fact, he meant his poems to be not merely romantic, but patriotic, like the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*. His fabrications are intended to glorify the history of his native country, and Fingal and Oscar (like King Arthur in *The Brut*) are victorious foes of the invaders. Moreover, Fingal is made to appear a better man than Cuchullin. Macpherson thus provoked Irish scholars and English sceptics equally. Among the latter the stoutest was Dr Johnson, whose letter to Macpherson is one of his most characteristic utterances. Macpherson declined to produce his originals. He had found a public and he gave the public what it happened to want—romantic love and romantic scenes of a large, vague and misty kind, together with patriotic feeling and a respect for the standard epic ideal. "Sensibility" had come in a new and attractive form. Macpherson was not a deliberate fabricator, like Chatterton. He based his productions upon actual matter. He began with apparently harmless imitations and then found himself compelled by circumstances to go on. The real point, often overlooked, is that people liked Ossian for its own sake, not for its supposed faithfulness to barbarous originals—neither Goethe nor Napoleon, for instance, had the faintest interest in the language of Highland savages. They wanted poetry, not philology. The Ossianic pieces are as little to the taste of to-day as modern productions of the "Celtic twilight" are likely to be to later generations; but Ossian offered an eager age "huge cloudy symbols of a high romance"; and the Biblical language, with its parallelisms drawn from the major prophets, gave the needed air of familiarity to the remote matter. Macpherson was original enough, in a peculiar way, to touch and thrill the whole of Europe, and he takes his place in the history of literature as well as in the history of imposture. His other works need not be cited here.

Codex, but the founts of type from which were printed his Gothic and Old English Gospels, as well as the grammar of Hickes (1689) afterwards included in the magnificent *Thesaurus* (1703–5) of that astonishing scholar. Hickes's *Thesaurus* is a great miscellaneous work on the antiquities of all the Teutonic languages. One page in it (Vol. 1, 192) has now the authority of an original Old English document, for there he printed the heroic lay of *Finnsburh* from a manuscript at Lambeth which is not at present to be found. On the opposite page and immediately following is an Icelandic poem: Hervor at her father Angantyr's grave. This poem is translated into English prose, and it had considerable effect on modern literature. It is repeated, under the title *The Incantation of Hervor*, by Percy, as the first of his anonymous *Five Runic Pieces* (1763); and, after this, it became a favourite subject for paraphrase. Percy's second piece is *The Dying Ode of Ragnar Lodbrok*, which had also caught the attention of the elder Thomas Warton. It will be seen that Old English [illegible] their heroic and passionate qualities. The merits of Old English were less obvious.

Gray's two translations from the Icelandic are the finest result of these antiquarian studies. To Gray himself the Icelandic poems specially appealed, because they exactly correspond to his own ideals of poetic style—concise, alert, unmuffled, never drawling or clumsy. But Gray felt there was nothing more to be done with them. He was not a Macpherson. He did not "improve" them or even imitate them; but he sought to recapture something of their spirit in *The Bard*—a British, not a Scandinavian poem.

The interest in the ballads was not specially medieval. Their long popularity is attested by the praise of Sidney and Addison and by imitations that pre-date Percy's re-discovery. Between ballads and "runic" pieces it seemed as if English poems earlier than Chaucer were neglected; but we know from Pope's scheme of a history of English poetry that they were not forgotten. Pope's liberality of judgment may be surprising to those who take their opinions ready made. He never repudiated his debt to Spenser; and when he compares Shakespeare to "an ancient and majestick piece of Gothick architecture" he intended high praise. But before the medieval poetry of England could be explored, there came the triumph of Ossian, which overwhelmed the scrupulous experiments of "runic" translators, and carried off the greatest men in a common enthusiasm.

James Macpherson (1736–96) did well at the university of Aberdeen. His literary tastes and ambitions were keen. In 1758 he published a poem, *The Highlander*. In 1759 he met John Home, the

author of *Douglas*, who was full of the romantic interest in the Highlands, which he passed on to Collins, and which was shared by Thomson. Macpherson really knew something about Gaelic poetry, but his literary taste was very decided, and he honestly thought that the traditional Gaelic poems were not very good. He saw the chance for original exercises on Gaelic themes. Home wanted stories with the true Gaelic spirit, and Macpherson supplied them. In 1760 appeared *Fragments of Ancient Poetry collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Gaelic or Erse language*. Then Macpherson went travelling in the Highlands and Western Isles, and the result was *Fingal: An Ancient Epic Poem in Six Books* (1762). In this volume was also published, among shorter pieces, *Temora, An Epic Poem*. In 1763 this poem, too, was completed in eight books. Macpherson promised to publish the originals; but it is clear he intended to take from Gaelic verse no more than suited his own literary purposes. He spoke slightingly of the Irish tales of Finn, and called his hero Fingal. In fact, he meant his poems to be not merely romantic, but patriotic, like the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*. His fabrications are intended to glorify the history of his native country, and Fingal and Oscar (like King Arthur in *The Brut*) are victorious foes of the invaders. Moreover, Fingal is made to appear a better man than Cuchullin. Macpherson thus provoked Irish scholars and English sceptics equally. Among the latter the stoutest was Dr Johnson, whose letter to Macpherson is one of his most characteristic utterances. Macpherson declined to produce his originals. He had found a public and he gave the public what it happened to want—romantic love and romantic scenes of a large, vague and misty kind, together with patriotic feeling and a respect for the standard epic ideal. "Sensibility" had come in a new and attractive form. Macpherson was not a deliberate fabricator, like Chatterton. He based his productions upon actual matter. He began with apparently harmless imitations and then found himself compelled by circumstances to go on. The real point, often overlooked, is that people liked Ossian for its own sake, not for its supposed faithfulness to barbarous originals—neither Goethe nor Napoleon, for instance, had the faintest interest in the language of Highland savages. They wanted poetry, not philology. The Ossianic ieces are as little to the taste of to-day as modern productions of the Celtic twilight" are likely to be to later generations; but Ossian ffered an eager age "huge cloudy symbols of a high romance"; d the Biblical language, with its parallelisms drawn from the major ophets, gave the needed air of familiarity to the remote matter. acpherson was original enough, in a peculiar way, to touch and ill the whole of Europe, and he takes his place in the history of rature as well as in the history of imposture. His other works d not be cited here.

The contribution of Thomas Percy (1729–1811) to the medieval revival was much more genuine and durable. Percy was an Oxford

by the success of Ossian, produced the *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry* (1763); his fortunate discovery and rescue of an old folio manuscript volume at the house of Humphrey Pitt of Shifnal produced the famous *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765). This manuscript, like the older and finer Thornton MS. at Lincoln, was a family collection of poems new and old. Percy merely made a selection, and, seeking to interest readers rather than to instruct scholars, gave his choice

really came to have an influence in modern poetry, and this was an effect far greater than that of Ossian (which was not medieval) or that of *The Castle of Otranto* (which was not poetical). Percy's other work does not call for notice.

It is strange that there should be so little of the *Reliques* in the work of Thom

ceivers. F

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Canynge's coffer in the muniment room had fascinated him. From them he made a dream-world of his own. The childhood of Sordello in Browning's poem resembles Chatterton's. He was a real poet, and, as he grew up, employed his old phantom company to utter his new poetry, the chief figure being that of a priest, Thomas Rowley. There are two Chattertons, the one who wrote his own poems and the one who invented the Rowley poems. But they are essentially one. The Rowley poems are not an imitation of fifteenth-century English verse; they are really *new* poetry of the eighteenth century, with one remarkable experiment in the rhythm of *Christabel*. All that is old about them is the spelling, freely imitated from the worst fifteenth-century practice, and the vocabulary, taken from available dictionaries

there is nothing essentially wicked. But later he attempted to impose his frauds as genuine—he tried to take in Horace Walpole with *The Ryse of Peyncteynge in Engl*

T. Rowleie 1469 for Mastre Canynge, a fraud very properly refused by Walpole. In April 1770 he had come to London to try his fortune as an author and journalist. With time and better luck he would have succeeded; but he reached the last depth of destitution, and, rather than beg or sponge, he poisoned himself in his room off Holborn. Chatterton was slightly influenced by Macpherson; but Macpherson was merely a capable writer, and Chatterton was a poet, with a true shaping mind. His impersonality is amazing; he does not make poetry out of his pains or sorrows, and when he is composing verse he seems to have escaped from himself. The intrinsic value of his work is not great; but no history of English literature can omit the name of this marvellous boy, who perished in his pride before he was eighteen.

The Wartons were devoted to the Middle Ages through their appreciation of Gothic architecture. It began with Thomas Warton the elder (1688–1745), who let his two sons Joseph (1722–1800) and Thomas (1728–90) understand what he himself admired in Windsor and Winchester. The elder Thomas was made Professor of Poetry at Oxford in 1718, and deserved the post for his praise of the neglected early poems of Milton. His medieval interest is shown by his Ragnar Lodbrok paraphrase. The younger Thomas had his father's tastes, and proved this in his work on Spenser and Milton, in his projected history of Gothic architecture, as well as in his history of English poetry, for which the *Thesaurus* of Hickes had prepared the way. He represents the easy-going university life embodied in the famous miscellany which he edited, *The Oxford Sausage*. His works are numerous. He was Professor of Poetry from 1757 to 1767, Camden Professor of History from 1785 and Poet Laureate in the same year. His *History of English Poetry* (in three volumes, 1774, 1778, 1781) was severely criticized not only for inaccuracy but for incoherence. But it was (and is) a mistake to expect from a history of poetry the same kind of coherence as from a history of a country. In a history of literature, desultory reading and writing are far from useless; and Warton's *History* has justly outlived the writings of critics more thoroughly disciplined. Thomas Warton was the first to expose the Rowley poems. Joseph Warton did not care for the Middle Ages as his brother did, but he saw more clearly than Thomas how great a poet Dante was, and he had that appreciation of Spenser and Milton which was the chief sign and accompaniment of medieval studies in England. His judgment of Pope and of modern poetry agrees with the opinions expressed by Richard Hurd, Bishop of Worcester (1720–1808), whose volume called *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (1762) praised the "fine fabling" of Ariosto, Tasso and Spenser for giving to the "charmed spirit" something more grateful than the polished poetry of good sense could offer.

At the same time as Thomas Warton, another Oxford man, Thomas Tyrwhitt (1730–86), with vast and varied learning, was working at Old English poetry. His *Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer* and his *Introductory Discourse to the Canterbury Tales* are the complement of Warton's *History*. Warton is not very careful about prosody; Tyrwhitt, like Gray, was interested in the history of verse, and, by a remarkable effort of grammatical detective work, he made out the rule of Chaucer's heroic verse which had escaped notice for nearly 400 years. Tyrwhitt is the true restorer of Chaucer. Though the genius of Dryden had discovered the classical spirit of Chaucer's imagination, the form of his poetry remained obscure and defaced till Tyrwhitt explained it. The art of the grammarian has seldom been better justified than in Tyrwhitt's great contribution to medieval scholarship.

Mention should be made of some other revealing volumes, the *Specimens of the Early English Poets* (1790) and the *Specimens of the Early English Metrical Romances* (1805) compiled by George Ellis (1753–1815), friend of Canning and Scott, and joint founder of *The Anti-Jacobin*. The romance volume is still valuable for the general reader unlikely to read ancient texts "in the original".

That the eighteenth century was not an "age of prose" darkly interposed between two "ages of poetry"; that it sought and found in romance the beauty which has strangeness in it; and that there was no subsequent sudden "romantic revolt" with a consequent rediscovery of nature, or wonder, or feeling, should be clear from the facts here noted.

XI. LETTER WRITERS

Horace Walpole (1717–97)—christened Horatio—is the prince of letter writers. There is no need to [illegible] ... [illegible] as the son of Sir Robert Walpole he was born with a right, which no one then disputed, to the ease of sinecures. He became a Member of Parliament in 1741, and was in the House till 1768. He was a regular attendant at the sittings, his descriptions of [illegible] ... [illegible] life was the acquisition of Strawberry Hill, near Twickenham, which he made into an imitation Gothic castle, and filled with artistic treasures and curiosities. Unfortunately he had little genuine artistic

T. Rowleie 1469 for Mastre Canynge, a fraud very properly refused by Walpole. In April 1770 he had come to London to try his fortune as an author and journalist. With time and better luck he would have succeeded; but he reached the last depth of destitution, and, rather than beg or sponge, he poisoned himself in his room off Holborn. Chatterton was slightly influenced by Macpherson; but Macpherson was merely a capable writer, and Chatterton was a poet, with a true shaping mind. His impersonality is amazing; he does not make poetry out of his pains or sorrows, and when he is composing verse he seems to have escaped from himself. The intrinsic value of his work is not great; but no history of English literature can omit the name of this marvellous boy, who perished in his pride before he was eighteen.

The Wartons were devoted to the Middle Ages through their appreciation of Gothic architecture. It began with Thomas Warton the elder (1688–1745), who let his two sons Joseph (1722–1800) and Thomas (1728–90) understand what he himself admired in Windsor and Winchester. The elder Thomas was made Professor of Poetry at Oxford in 1718, and deserved the post for his praise of the neglected early poems of Milton. His medieval interest is shown by his Ragnar Lodbrok paraphrase. The younger Thomas had his father's tastes, and proved this in his work on Spenser and Milton, in his projected history of Gothic architecture, as well as in his history of English poetry, for which the *Thesaurus* of Hickes had prepared the way. He represents the easy-going university life embodied in the famous miscellany which he edited, *The Oxford Sausage*. His works are numerous. He was Professor of Poetry from 1757 to 1767, Camden Professor of History from 1785 and Poet Laureate in the same year. His *History of English Poetry* (in three volumes, 1774, 1778, 1781) was severely criticized not only for inaccuracy but for incoherence. But it was (and is) a mistake to expect from a history of poetry the same kind of coherence as from the history of a country. In a history of literature, desultory reading and writing are far from useless; and Warton's *History* has justly outlived the writings of critics more thoroughly disciplined. Thomas Warton was the first to expose the Rowley poems. Joseph Warton did not care for the Middle Ages as his brother did, but he saw more clearly than Thomas how great a poet Dante was, and he had that appreciation of Spenser and Milton which was the chief sign and accompaniment of medieval studies in England. His judgment of Pope and of modern poetry agrees with the opinions expressed by Richard Hurd, Bishop of Worcester (1720–1808), whose volume called *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (1762) praised the "fine fabling" of Ariosto, Tasso and Spenser for giving to the "charmed spirit" something more grateful than the polished poetry of good sense could offer.

At the same time as Thomas Warton, another Oxford man, Thomas Tyrwhitt (1730–86), with vast and varied learning, was working at Old English poetry. His *Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer* and his *Introductory Discourse to the Canterbury Tales* are the complement of Warton's *History*. Warton is not very careful about prosody; Tyrwhitt, like Gray, was interested in the history of verse, and, by a remarkable effort of grammatical detective work, he made out the rule of Chaucer's heroic verse which had escaped notice for nearly 400 years. Tyrwhitt is the true restorer of Chaucer. Though the genius of Dryden had discovered the classical spirit of Chaucer's imagination, the form of his poetry remained obscure and defaced till Tyrwhitt explained it. The art of the

Early English Metrical Romances (1805) compiled by George Ellis (1753–1815), friend of Canning and Scott, and joint founder of *The Anti-Jacobin*. The romance volume is still valuable for the general reader unlikely to read ancient texts "in the original".

That the eighteenth century was not an "age of prose" darkly interposed between two "ages of poetry"; that it sought and found in romance the beauty which has strangeness in it; and that there was no subsequent sudden "romantic revolt" with a consequent rediscovery of nature, or wonder, or feeling, should be clear from the facts here noted.



XI. LETTER WRITERS

Horace Walpole (1717–97)—christened Horatio—is the prince of letter writers. There is no need to compare him with Gray or Cowper or Lamb. In sheer quantity and variety Horace Walpole takes first

As the son of Sir Robert Walpole he was born with a right, which no one then disputed, to the ease of sinecures. He became a Member of Parliament in 1741, and was in the House till 1768. He was a regular attendant at the sittings, his descriptions of which have great interest. It should be recorded that he tried hard to save the life of the unfortunate Admiral Byng. The most important event in Walpole's life was the acquisition of Strawberry Hill, near Twickenham, which he made into an imitation Gothic castle, and filled with artistic treasures and curiosities. Unfortunately he had little genuine artistic

feeling, and collected the wrong things. Most of his first knowledge of the arts he owed to the purer sense of Gray; left alone he became "Gothick" in the worst sense. The one really important part of the "Castle" was the printing press, the *Officina Arbuteana*, which he installed in 1757, and upon which he printed the *Elegy* and the two *Odes* of Gray. Walpole was a dabbler in literature from his early life. His first substantive work was *A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England*, printed at the Strawberry Hill press in 1758. His next book, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, printed at the Strawberry Hill press in 1762, still maintains a kind of life. But neither is important and both are full of errors. His next works were *The Castle of Otranto* (1764–5), a romance, and *The Mysterious Mother* (1768), a tragedy. Byron affirmed that Walpole was "the father of the first romance and the last tragedy in our language", and praised both highly. *The Castle of Otranto* has already been mentioned. *The Mysterious Mother* may be dismissed at once as intolerably dull and pretentious. *Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of Richard III*, written about the same time as *The Mysterious Mother*, offers a fair example of Walpole's literary work. He had a good subject, but was too languid to undertake research, and so his book is valueless.

Horace Walpole's real works are his letters, which he took seriously, because, being an admirer of Mme de Sévigné, he thought good letters worth the trouble of writing. They have almost every good quality but one, and that is charm. The very sincerity of his letters—and sincerity must be allowed him without question—reveals the fundamental lack of character which prevented his undoubted talents and unrivalled opportunities from having any creative effect on the world. There is no need to follow Macaulay in denouncing him as a kind of monster. A man may be an affected, frivolous, fantastical and over-fastidious placeman without being wicked. Rich though Walpole's letters are in anecdote, their vital interest is autobiographical, and what may be called his general thesis is found in a letter of 1772 to Horace Mann, his chief correspondent: "this world is a comedy to those who think, a tragedy to those who feel".

The next famous letter writer of the age, Philip Dormer Stanhope, fourth Earl of Chesterfield (1694–1773), was one of the foremost English statesmen of his age. He is unfortunate in being remembered first as the object of Johnson's tremendous rebuke and next as the original of Sir John Chester in *Barnaby Rudge*. But there is much to be said in his favour. He was a highly cultivated man and a capable minister. His oratory, though as studied as his wit, was much admired. He was generous and enlightened, and accepted Johnson's denunciation without malice. His general correspondence is natural, kindly and witty. Chesterfield's fame as a letter writer rests mainly on his *Letters to his Son* (1774) and those *to his Godson* (1890). His

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Mention should be made of some other revealing volumes, the *Specimens of the Early English Poets* (1790) and the *Specimens of the Early English Metrical Romances* (1805) compiled by George Ellis (1753–1815), friend of Canning and Scott, and joint founder of *The Anti-Jacobin*. The romance volume is still valuable for the general reader unlikely to read ancient texts "in the original".

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Gilbert White was as limited as a life can be, for he was born and died at Selborne; but the charm of his book is unfading and Selborne is remembered still as his home.

Special interest attaches to a group of letter writers who may be called the Warwickshire coterie, as they lived in or about that county. The two chief ladies in the case are, first, the half-sister of Bolingbroke, Henrietta Knight, afterwards Lady Luxborough, and next, Frances, Duchess of Somerset. Barrels, the home of Lady Luxborough, became the centre of a literary society which included Shenstone, Somervile, Jago and Richard Graves. The correspondence of these friends and others of note has unusual interest. Shenstone himself wrote letters which some think better worth reading than his poems. But he wrote too much and too often. He is not free from affectation.

Richard Graves (1715–1804) was a poet, a translator, a diligent correspondent and a model country parson. *The Spiritual Quixote* (1772), his most famous story, is a picture of early Methodism and of the road-life of its time. *Columella, or the Distressed Anchoret* (1776) has much the same kind of interest. More delicate than *Columella* are the two charming little volumes entitled *Eugenius or Anecdotes of the Golden Vale* (1785), which not only suggest the beauties of the Wye valley but indicate a knowledge of the sufferings of the poor almost as intimate as Crabbe's. Graves has sincere and unaffected charm.

XII. HISTORIANS

1. *Hume and Robertson*

When Voltaire, writing acidly in 1724, said of the English: "As for good historians, I know of none as yet; a Frenchman (Rapin) has had to write their history", he was but repeating what Addison and Bolingbroke had said before him and anticipating what Johnson and Gibbon said after him. Yet actually the interest in historical works was very great. Political disputants could appeal to Clarendon and Burnet for judgment on particular periods, and to useful, if unliterary, compilations for general historical narrative. The publication, at the expense of the State, of *Foedera et Conventiones* (1704–35), edited by Thomas Rymer and Robert Sanderson, laid a new foundation for historical study by presenting actual public documents. Rapin knew the value of this collection and made much use of it.

A change in the character of British historical writing began in the middle of the century. That Hume and Robertson, two of the three great historians, were Scottish, is capable of some ingenious explanations, but is probably no more than a coincidence. The important fact is that all three were influenced by French literature, two of them,

devotion to these two young men is an indication of his fundamental sincerity. It ought never to be forgotten that Chesterfield's letters [illegible]

[illegible]

not now widely read. Her *Essay on the Writings and Genius of* [illegible] *Mons.* [illegible]

[illegible] two [illegible] have [illegible]

he honoured and adorned. The assertion that he was helped in composition by Johnson and Burke may be disregarded; for the character that emerges is that of the sincere, modest Reynolds.

Hannah More (1745–1833) has lost her fame as a formal author, but still retains her importance as a writer of letters. She came to [illegible]

Gilbert White (1720–93) is an interesting example of a man who became an English classic writer without intention or desire. His [illegible]

taining his observations on natural phenomena and the habits of animals. In 1770 Barrington suggested publication; but White was indifferent, and waited for eighteen years before preparing anything for the press. Not till 1789 did the book actually appear. The life of

XIII. HISTORIANS

2. *Gibbon*

The supremacy of Gibbon among English historians is beyond dispute. He was long in discovering what he wanted to write, but he had no doubt about the kind of knowledge he wanted to acquire, and this he sought with unfaltering determination. He was fortunate enough to achieve the great work which proved the sum of his life's labours and to identify himself and his fame with one great book. Macaulay, the only English historian whose literary genius can be compared with Gibbon's, left but a noble fragment of his great design. Gibbon, as he tells us in a passage which can never be read without emotion, laid down his pen on a beautiful summer night in 1787, conscious that his life's work was done and that his life itself was nearing the end. His sense of having accomplished something great was perfectly just. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* is an enduring monument of research, an imperishable literary possession and one of the highest encouragements to intellectual endeavour to be found in the history of letters. But it is an odd fact that the historian of the Roman Empire did not succeed in completing a short sketch of his own life. He made six or seven attempts, from which his friend John Baker Holroyd, first Earl of Sheffield, assisted no doubt by his lively and observant daughter Maria Josepha, extracted the delightful *Memoirs of My Life and Writings*. Gibbon's own sketches have since been reprinted (1896); his *Letters* (1896) and his *Journal* (1929) extend our knowledge materially.

Edward Gibbon (1737–94) was born at Putney, his grandfather being a city man who became wealthy during the South Sea "boom", was impoverished when the "Bubble" collapsed, and acquired and again lost a respectable fortune. With a liberality of mind rare in company-promoters, he engaged the saintly William Law as spiritual director of his household. Gibbon's father was taught by Law; Gibbon's aunt Hester became one of Law's devotees. Another aunt, Catherine Porten, was more to the child Gibbon than either of his parents, who seem to be shadowy and unimportant. Gibbon spoke of Law with respect and of his Aunt Porten with deep affection. These facts are not irrelevant: they refute the charge that Gibbon was a chilly sceptic with anaemic feelings. Actually, he was an affectionate child and an almost passionate friend. He had little education save that which he gave himself by incessant reading. At Westminster School he was unhappy; and before his boyhood was really over, he was entered as a gentleman-commoner at Magdalen College, Oxford (1752). Few passages of his *Memoirs* are better known than that in

Gibbon and Hume, having spent some years abroad. David Hume (1711–76) regarded history with the eye of a philosopher. He believed in something called "man", which reacted in the same way to the same conditions, and he therefore held that a study of the past would reveal principles of action valid in all ages. History is thus a record of experiments in living. His appointment as librarian to the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh in 1752 gave him command of a large library, and he at once began work on his *History of England*. As a philosopher he was attracted to the constitutional side of history and he therefore chose the reign of James I as his starting point, because it was then that the House of Commons first constructively attacked royal prerogative. The first volume of his *History of Great Britain*, containing the reigns of James I and Charles I, appeared in 1754. It failed to attract a public; but the second volume (1756), which ended with the Revolution of 1688, appealed to Whig sentiment, and not only sold well, but stimulated a demand for its predecessor. Hume worked backwards, and published in [illegible] two volumes on the Tudor reigns, completing the work in [illegible]

composition.

William Robertson (1721–93), a Presbyterian Minister of Edinburgh, published in 1759 his *History of Scotland during the Reigns of Queen Mary and James VI until his Accession to the Crown of England* The *History of Charles V* followed in 1769 and the *History of America* in 1771. Much later came the *Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India* (1791). Robertson's style, in its lucidity and ease, bears a strong likeness to that of Hume. His narrative pc[illegible] landing of [illegible] in modern [illegible] deserves his fame as the first British historian to attempt a wide general view of history. The success of Hume and Robertson had shown that there was money in history; and there followed numerous compositions which need not be named here. We pass therefore to the greatest of all English historians.

not begin a systematic study of that language till he was twenty-four. That his purpose was to write history he knew; but what history he could not decide. He made and abandoned several projects. The dedicated historian still awaited his call. It came clearly to him on a definite day, the 15th October 1764. After the disbanding of the militia, Gibbon set out on a continental tour. He crossed the Italian frontier in April 1764, and reached Rome in October. *Then it was*, as he relates in a memorable and thrilling passage, that the call came; and he knew that he had found his theme.

In the present sketch we need not mention Gibbon's minor writings, which are interesting solely because they are his. The death of his father left him with lessened means (the grandfather's second fortune having vanished), but he was able to establish himself in London in 1772 and give himself up to work and to duty; for in 1774 (the year in which he became a member of Johnson's "Club") he entered Parliament, supported Lord North with silent votes, and was rewarded in 1779 by a Commissionership of Trade and Plantations, which he held till its abolition in 1782. The salary of the office was of much importance to him; and, disappointed in his hopes of other official employment, he felt he could no longer afford to live in England.

But though his political career ended in failure, the first instalment of his great historical work, of which Vol. I was published in 1776, took the town by storm. Three editions were rapidly exhausted. He was already famous. But he had infuriated the orthodox. What positive views on religion Gibbon held it would be difficult to define; but he was certainly not an orthodox Christian, and in his history he took a detached and historical view of the rise and growth of Christianity in the Empire. Distrusting "enthusiasts" of any kind, he felt no natural sympathy with those who in any period wrote and acted in the belief of a special divine possession. His famous fifteenth and sixteenth chapters therefore gave great offence; but though the gravely ironic note is intentional, Gibbon, writing for the "enlightened" of his age, certainly did not mean to displease quite so deeply and extensively as, in fact, he did. Most of the furious attacks made upon him by the orthodox have now no value of any kind, and we need not discuss them. Gibbon himself was unperturbed.

His indifference to criticism is shown by the fact that, though the popular welcome extended to his second and third volumes (1781) was, at first, fainter, it was only then that he finally resolved to carry on the work from the fall of the Western to that of the Eastern Empire. About this time, too, he resolved to abandon the distractions of social existence in London for a literary life abroad, and in the autumn of 1783 he settled at Lausanne. Here, in a retirement

which he indicts the Oxford of his day. The monks of Magdalen, dissolved in port and prejudice, ignored him. Lonely and friendless, Gibbon, like othe[illegible] religion; but the [illegible] Bewildered by h[illegible] which seemed to end in unbelief, he fled, as many have done, to the other extreme, and was received into the Church of Rome, which not only gave him certitude but appealed to him as the historic Church of Europe. He fell by a noble hand; for it was the reading of Bossuet that finally determined him. An Oxford man going over to Rome in 1853 might seem to be following the course of nature; an Oxford man going over to Rome in 1753 was flying [illegible] were [illegible] that [illegible], first consigned him to David Mallet, poetaster, deist and editor of Bolingbroke, but in a few weeks sent him off to Lausanne into the household of a Calvinist minister named Pavillard, who was astonished to meet a thin little youth [illegible] best arguments ever used in favo[illegible] Oxford was the salvation of Gib[illegible] little but harm. At Lausanne he became a European. He had to [illegible] ench literature, [illegible] good Pavillard [illegible] Gibbon away [illegible] *over.* Escaped from Rome, he fell captive to the bright eyes of Suzanne Curchod, daughter of a Protestant pastor. Having no means, they naturally contemplated marriage; but the proposal, being referred to Gibbon's father, was peremptorily vetoed. He "sighed as a lover, but obeyed as a son"; and though not yet a historian, helped, by his great refusal, to make history; for Suzanne married the future statesman Necker, whose dismissal precipitated the outbreak of the French Revolution. It remains to be added that their daughter was the celebrated Mme de Stael. Gibbon's abdication may be considered justified.

He returned from Lausanne in April 1758, now a mature man, an exact Latin scholar, a widely read student, and an actual author; for he had written an *Essai sur l'Étude de la Littérature*, published in its [illegible] another [illegible] which, [illegible] jor and colonel. The Hampshire colonel proved useful to the historian of the Roman Empire. It may be observed, not without astonishment, that Gibbon, whose many historical authorities were to be Greek, did

XIV. PHILOSOPHERS

Hume, Adam Smith and Others

Two friends, David Hume and Adam Smith, have had a powerful influence upon human thought. David Hume (1711–76), whom we have already met as a historian, combined a passion for literature with a desire to seek in human nature itself for an explanation of the means whereby truth is established. He believed that philosophers had concerned themselves too much with abstractions like "virtue" and "happiness". In 1734 he retired to study in France, and returned in 1737. The first two volumes of *A Treatise on Human Nature* appeared in 1739, though they were written after the third, published in 1740. A series of *Essays, Moral and Political* came out at intervals between 1741 and 1748. *Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding* (1748) was republished as *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding* (1758). *An Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals* (1751) was thought by Hume to be the best of his writings. Later works included *Political Discourses* (1752), *Essays and Treatises on Various Subjects* (1753–4) and *Four Dissertations* (1757). Besides his extensive work as a philosophical writer, Hume did much service as an official abroad and at home. He was received with great favour in social and literary circles in France; and in England he befriended Rousseau, who repaid his kindness with violent suspicion and ingratitude. His character bears the signs of true greatness.

Hume's philosophical writings are numerous and important, but he was not the constructor of a philosophical system, he was rather the sceptical critic of philosophical systems. For him the explanation of the problem of knowledge is the human way of knowing and feeling. In other words, his approach to understanding is psychological. According to Locke, the material of knowledge comes from two different sources, sensation and reflection. Hume's primary data are all of one kind, "impressions" and "ideas", the latter being a weaker state of the former. The law of gravitation has a parallel in the law of association of ideas. The commonest example of association is cause and effect, and this association is a mental habit, not an ultimate necessity. Belief is simply a lively idea associated with a present effect. Hume's political speculations are of less importance; but he is the philosophical father of the Utilitarians, and he anticipates something in Adam Smith. His essay *Of Miracles* (contained in an *Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*) and *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* (1779) aroused most discussion in his time because of their sceptical tendency. His general philosophical criticism had great influence at home and abroad, Kant being one famous

and made up his mind—once more setting an example which but few men of letters have found themselves able to follow—to undertake no other great work. In 1791 the bereavement of Lord Sheffield brought Gibbon back to England, which, in the disturbed condition of Europe, he did not attempt to leave again. He was characteristically careless of his health, and died in London three years later. He was buried in the Holroyd tomb in the quiet little church of Fletching, in Sussex, close to the gates of Sheffield Park, the hospitable home of his friend—almost his brother by adoption. Gibbon, who had a genius for friendship, never married. We are curiously reminded of Hobbes and Locke, Gray and Walpole.

The Decline and Fall is not only the greatest historical work in the English language, it is perhaps the greatest piece of literary architecture in any language. It is faultless in design and in detail, and its symphonic narrative power is superb. That something in it remains to be corrected simply means that historical research has not halted for the last century and a half; but in the main Gibbon is still the master, above and beyond date. Some of his chapters have never been excelled as historical essays. He followed truth, as he understood it, wherever truth was to be found, and his honour as a historian cannot be impugned. Further, he is one of the great masters of English prose. His power of narrative is equalled by his gift of [illegible]

a writer cannot have every quality. He has some qualities at the cost of others. To have been passionate and prophetic, like Carlyle, would have spoilt the story as Gibbon has told it. To lack enthusiasm and conviction is, no doubt, a defect; yet the possession of both has not saved Macaulay from equally adverse criticism.

There were numerous other writers who attempted works in ancient history; but we need mention only one, William Mitford (1744–1827), whose *History of Greece*, suggested to him by Gibbon, appeared in ten volumes (1784–1810). This held the field until it was superseded by the works of Thirlwall and Grote.

or restriction, and he maintained that they were uniformly pernicious. He was, in fact, the real apostle of free trade; but he was not a "doctrinaire", for he held that natural liberty must sometimes be restrained. Many of Adam Smith's principles seem so obvious that we forget how new they were when he propounded them. Some of them are already forgotten; and a time may come when they will have to be reaffirmed. Even though, as a text book, *The Wealth of Nations* must be called out of date, it remains a genuine contribution to literature in its vivid pictures of the life and commerce of its day, and in its power of stating difficult abstractions in a way convincing even to mercantile minds. The oddest fact is that this practical treatise was the work of an engagingly absent-minded man unable to spend or to save a shilling profitably.

A few notes may be appended on other philosophical writers of the time. Among the psychologists, the most important place belongs to David Hartley (1705–57), a physician, whose *Observations on Man: his Frame, his Duty, and his Expectations* appeared in 1749. The rapid march of philosophical thought in the previous forty years was apparently unknown to him. The theological part of his book was antiquated even when it first appeared; but the first or psychological part of the book has two striking features: it is a systematic attempt at a physiological psychology, and it develops the theory of the association of ideas in a way which influenced, far more than Hume did, the views of the later associational school of James Mill and his successors. Hartley, as we know, attracted Coleridge, who gave the philosopher's name to his eldest son.

Abraham Tucker (1705–74) was a psychologist of a different temper. He was a critic of Hartley's physiological doctrines, and he excelled in that introspective analysis which has been practised by many English writers. Tucker was a country gentleman whose chief employment was a study of the things of the mind. The first fruit of his reflection was a fragment *Freewill, Foreknowledge and Fate* (1763), published under the pseudonym "Edward Search"; certain criticisms of this piece produced, also in 1763, *Man in quest of Himself: or a Defence of the Individuality of the Human Mind*, "by Cuthbert Comment". Thereafter he did not turn aside from his larger task, *The Light of Nature Pursued* (1765–74). Though Tucker cannot be taken seriously as a philosopher, his great work is full of interest. Most people know something of Tucker from Hazlitt's excellent preface to an abridgment of the seven volumes of *The Light of Nature Pursued*.

Richard Price (1723–91), a Welsh Unitarian minister, was a much more considerable man than Burke's contemptuous denunciation of him in the *Reflections on the French Revolution* would cause a reader to suppose. His *Observations on Reversionary Payments* (1771) made a

thinker stimulated by him. Hume's writings are remarkable for their perspicuity and ease of style. Philosophy, in his pages, bears herself with grace as well as gravity.

Adam Smith (1723–90) of Kirkcaldy went first to the university of Glasgow, and then to the university of Oxford, which, though he condemned it as comprehensively as Gibbon, he made his home for six years. Smith became professor of logic (1751) and of moral philosophy (1752) at Glasgow, and in 1759 he published his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, which brought him immediate fame. Like Hobbes, he travelled abroad as a tutor. In Paris he was received into the remarkable society of economists commonly known as the "Physiocrats", whose leaders were Quesnay and Turgot; but Smith was not seriously indebted to the Physiocrats. The views he had in common with them he had formed before he knew them. After his return from France in 1766, Smith settled down quietly at Kirkcaldy and devoted himself to the composition of his great work, *An* [illegible] *Wealth of Nations*, which was [illegible] ved to Edinburgh as Com- [illegible]

Adam Smith survives as the writer of two unequal works, the first produced by a scholarly professor, the second produced by a man who had seen something of the world. Books of ethical theory usually have no long life, and *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* cannot now be regarded as important. Adam Smith is frequently spoken of as the founder of political economy. But in the attempt to isolate economic facts he was anticipated by Sir James Steuart's *Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy* (1767), though the book has no merit either as literature or as science. Still, it existed. *The Wealth of Nations* is a great advance upon the *Moral Sentiments* in literary art and construction. Adam Smith wastes no time on preliminaries, but plunges at once into his subject, and considers the nature of Wealth. Wealth consists not in the precious metals, but in the goods which men use or consume; and its source or cause is labour The philosopher thus isolates the fact of wealth and makes it the subject of a science. But he sees this fact in its connections with life as a whole. Further, in the division of labour he sees the first step taken by man in industrial progress. His treatment of this subject has become classical. Like other philosophers of the time, he assumed that there was a natural identity of public and private interests It is a comfortable belief that society would be served best if everybody looked after his own interests. But the belief itself is incapable of verifica- [illegible]

XV. DIVINES

The orthodox theological literature of this period has no very remarkable qualities and calls for little discussion here. Self-satisfied pronouncements by comfortable Church-and-State bishops have no relation either to literature or to religion. Mystics like William Law were strange exceptions to the prevalent complacency. Not till Count Zinzendorf and the Moravians completed the impression which *A Serious Call* had made on the heart of John Wesley did the literature of religion receive a new impetus and inspiration. Butler, of course, the one exception, lives in an intellectual world of his own. A few outstanding works may be briefly named.

Among the orthodox scholars, William Wake (1657–1737), Archbishop of Canterbury, left one valuable contribution to theological literature in his translation of the Apostolic Fathers (1693). The touching story of a young non-juror's life, told by his father, is related in *A Pattern for Students in the University, set forth in the Life of Mr Ambrose Bonwicke, Sometime scholar of St John's College in Cambridge* (1729). Joseph Bingham (1668–1723), the greatest ecclesiastical antiquary of his time, published his *Origines Ecclesiasticae, or The Antiquities of the Christian Church* in successive volumes from 1708 to 1722. Thomas Wilson (1663–1755), who refused preferment and was made Bishop of Sodor and Man against his will, lived for nearly sixty years in his see the life of a primitive saint. His *Maxims* and *Parochialia* (1791) show a knowledge of human nature not very common among saints or clergymen, and his *Sacra Privata* (1786), which indicates how this knowledge was obtained, places him with Bishop Andrewes among the masters of English devotional literature. Daniel Waterland (1683–1740) produced, in *A Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist* (1737), a treatise that long remained a classic of Anglican theology.

The Methodist movement, like the "romantic revolt" supposed to have been begun by Wordsworth and Coleridge, was a protest against formalism. Fervour had gone out of the English Church. In its formularies there was life, but the formularies were a dead letter, and the life needed awakening. The young Oxford students who founded Methodism sought to revive the old devotion. There was no idea of separation. The movement was distinctly a Church movement, and Wesley's own spiritual inspiration came from Jeremy Taylor. John Wesley (1703–91) and his brother Charles (1707–88) both went to Oxford, where Charles founded a group or society of young men who desired to follow the Church's rules of fasting, almsgiving and prayer, and to receive the Holy Communion weekly. The Oxford divines were amused, amazed, annoyed. One

distinct advance in the theory of life assurance. His *Appeal to the*

ponent of "new" ideas. His *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, the Principles of Government, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America* (1776) made him famous in two continents. The Revolution in France was the occasion for *A Discourse on the Love of our Country* (1789), which provoked Burke's *Reflections*. Price cannot now be

philosophical views were expressed and defended in *Disquisitions relating to Matter and Spirit* (1777), in *The Doctrine of Philosophical Necessity* (1777) and in *A Free Discussion* (1778). Of greater interest than these, however, is the short *Essay on the First Principles of Government* (1768). Priestley anticipated Bentham in taking utilitarian considerations as the basis of a philosophical radicalism, instead of the prevalent dogmas about "the natural rights of man".

William Pale

the Evidences of

a theologian.

Horae Paulinae, more original, was notoriously less successful. Paley's power of marshalling his arguments gave his works a longer life as academic text-books than they deserved as original compositions. He is now almost forgotten.

The most powerful reply to Hume came from a group of scholars in Aberdeen. Of this group, Thomas Reid (1710–96) was the most notable member, and he was the founder of the school of Scottish philosophy known as the "Common Sense School" With him were

Immutability of Truth (1770) is not a work of originality or of distinction, but it is vigorously written, and it brought him as much fame as did his poems Reid's *An Inquiry into the Human Mind on the*

Essays

tively.

ss the

part he ascribed to in the

interpretation of experience is beyond the purpose of this volume.

aggressive. The Free Churches claim to have asserted the principle of religious toleration. Historically, the claim is untenable, for, during its transient triumph under the Commonwealth, Dissent was intolerant and repressive. There are few uglier stories in the history of religion than the persecution of the Quakers. Dissent cried aloud for toleration when it was not tolerated; when it found that toleration was to include Romanism it refused toleration even for itself. Toleration is not a religious virtue. Toleration comes with social strength and individualism in a state. It is a lay, not a clerical attitude of mind. There may be toleration where there is an alliance between church and state; there is no toleration when the church is the state, or when the state is the church.

The history of English Nonconformity between the Restoration and the Oxford Movement is much more interesting than the history of the Church of England during that period. The subject is beyond our scope, but we can briefly remark the tendency to division and sub-division. The "religion of the Bible" became many religions. After a brief period of concord Presbyterians and Independents drew apart. From the Independents came the Congregationalists. The Baptists divided among themselves. Anti-Trinitarian views had been current among Protestants during the sixteenth century, but were not tolerated. Calvin burnt Servetus in 1553, nevertheless Socinus, i.e. Sozzini (1539–1604), boldly affirmed ultra-rational views about the divinity of Jesus and the doctrine of the Atonement. Milton, Locke, Newton and Watts were all unorthodox. Liberal views about the Trinity and the nature of Jesus began to appear in the Church in the seventeenth century and affected the Nonconformist bodies, from which there drew apart a separate band calling themselves Unitarians. Unitarianism represented a full revolt against the Calvinism still strongly held by many of the Dissenting bodies of the time. Among the Unitarians appeared some remarkable men, from Price and Priestley in the eighteenth century to Martineau and Channing in the nineteenth. We need not name any of the warring treatises provoked by any of the movements. Those desiring details about the literature of Dissent should consult the corresponding chapter and bibliography in the larger *History*.

The eighteenth century owes a great debt to Dissent for its wholesome educational zeal. The attitude of the Anglican Church towards the dissenting academies was most hostile. They were held to be nurseries of schism and rival institutions to Oxford and Cambridge themselves. The bent towards Unitarianism shown by the more enlightened tutors tended to frighten away first lay pupils and next pupils preparing for the ministry. The Anglican public schools and universities continued their ancient routine; the modernist dissenting academies gradually dwindled into decay. They had no root of authority, civil or religious.

of the earlier members was George Whitefield (1714–70), perhaps [illegible]

Calvinism which seemed to be dying a natural death in the Church of England till his influence revived it. In 1740 Wesley severed his connection with the Moravians and in 1743 the followers of Whitefield became distinguished as Calvinistic Methodists. Wesley [illegible]

58), whose disputes with Wesley do not concern us. His *Meditations Among the Tombs* and [illegible] extraordinary success i[illegible] may be called the debas[illegible] The fiercely controversial Augustus Montague Toplady (1740–78), who attacked Wesley in the now forgotten *Historic Proof of the Doctrinal Calvinism of the Church of England*, is immortal as the writer of the hymn "Rock of Ages".

Of John Wesley himself as a writer it need only be said that he was, with the pen as with the tongue, a master of strong, simple, direct English. His *Journal* has something of the charm of Pepys. No abridgment does it justice. Everywhere in it one meets the straightforward, clear-eyed observer, enthralled by the Divine vision [illegible]

poet; but Charles, among his six thousand hymns, has left some verses that will never die. These two remarkable brothers give Methodism an honoured place in the history of English literature.

XVI. THE GROWTH OF DISSENT

[illegible]

were forced by the persecutions of the Restoration to assert themselves with political vigour. Dissent long remained true to its beginnings. If the Church of England was lethargic, Dissent was

diate and extraordinary. For the rest of his life Churchill was involved in acrid literary warfare. His reputation made him known to Wilkes, and in the orgies at Medmenham Abbey the last remnants of his clericalism vanished. Quite half of *The North Briton* was written by him. Judged by the ordinary standards he was a thoroughly bad man; but his devotion to Wilkes was whole-hearted, and no mean action is anywhere recorded of him. Churchill's verse is truculent and loud, but it has spirit and strength. His *Apology* (1761) was a savage reply to reviewers of *The Rosciad*—one of whom he supposed was Smollett. The main object of his best satire, *The Prophecy of Famine* (1763), was to decry and ridicule Bute and the Scots, though there is also an undercurrent of deserved mockery at the reigning fashion of pastoral poetry. Mere mention is all that need be accorded to *An Epistle to William Hogarth* (1763), *The Conference* (1763), *The Duellist* (1763), *Gotham* (1764), and *The Times* (1764), the last having the kind of interest that booksellers in their catalogues style "curious". A poet praised by Cowper may seem worthy of esteem; but Cowper was his schoolfellow at Westminster. In actual value the satires of Churchill are far below those of Dryden and Pope, simply because his originating creative power is of an inferior order. In spite of much slashing and violent writing he has left only one phrase that remains current, the casual allusion to "apt Alliteration's artful aid". Churchill is interesting and easy to write about, and so he has been over-praised.

Prose was more effective than verse in the political controversies that followed Bute's resignation. The flood of pamphlets continued, and we should note the appearance of attacks in the form of letters, signed with semi-classical names. Henry Sampson Woodfall, editor of *The Public Advertiser* since 1758, had made a feature of political correspondence signed by such names as "Anti-Sejanus", "Cato Redivivus" and so forth, none of which was exclusively applied to any one writer. It was in October 1768 that "Junius", the most celebrated of all the political correspondents of *The Public Advertiser*, made his first appearance, though, by his own account, he had already written under various names. He was an old-fashioned Whig, and a warm, almost an impassioned, adherent of the former Prime Minister, George Grenville, and for some reason the violent enemy of the Duke of Grafton. The series of letters of Junius proper began in January 1769. Under his signature (or its alternative "Philo-Junius") he assailed the ministers and judges responsible for the prosecution of Wilkes. Actually Junius effected nothing. He states sound Whig principles with remarkable lucidity; yet the letters when read in collected form disclose a personality fundamentally evil. That, perhaps, is the strongest evidence for the major complicity of Sir Philip Francis in the business; for Philip Francis was a very bitter

XVII. POLITICAL LITERATURE, 1755-75

The political literature of the period between the death of Henry Pelham in 1754 and the accession of George III in 1760 is not of sufficient general interest to need discussion here. Full information can be found in the larger *History*. The accession of George III entirely changed the political situation. That sovereign, determined not to be a "Doge", but to be a king in fact as well as in title, hastened to rid himself of the great Pitt and to instal his Scottish friend Lord Bute as head of the government. To Englishmen of the eighteenth century a Scotsman was the "undesirable alien"; and Bute's obvious incapacity increased the odium aroused by his nationality. Bute felt the need of a journalistic ally, and naturally chose a brother Scot, Smollett, who in 1762 began to issue a weekly pro-Bute paper called *The Briton*.

The Briton was a pitiful failure, and would not be worth mentioning if its title had not given a sting to the title of an anti-Bute paper *The North Briton*, edited by John Wilkes (1727-97). That demagogue, like some later specimens of his kind, was a complete rascal, but he was an able rascal, and he was a born journalist. In 1755 he obtained a seat in the Commons as member for Aylesbury. No profits accrued, so he naturally became a patriot, turned to journalism, and attacked the Government. He began with articles against "foreign" favourites; and when *The Briton* appeared in May 1762 he retorted in June 1762 with *The North Briton*, an obvious gibe at Bute's nationality. Week by week the new periodical continued its attacks on the Government, printing the ministers' names in full, without the usual subterfuge of dashes and stars. Bute could find nothing actionable in the paper until No. 45 impugned

[illegible]

Parliament over the Middlesex election belong to history and not to literature. Wilkes was a bad man and a good journalist who had [illegible] knew how to tune [illegible] gave scope enough [illegible] yor. The twentieth would have made him a peer.

Wilkes had for coadjutor a more eminent man of letters, the poet and satirist Charles Churchill (1731-64). Churchill was the son of a clergyman. Although in orders he devoted himself to the pleasures of the town and was soon in financial difficulties. He attracted [illegible]

[illegible]

CHAPTER XI

THE PERIOD OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

I. BURKE

Edmund Burke (1729–97), the writer who used most completely the oratorical style in English prose, was a Dublin Irishman, born of a Protestant father and a Catholic mother, and educated as a Protestant at Trinity College. He came to London and entered the Middle Temple in 1750, but was never called to the Bar. To casual eyes Burke seemed the usual needy Irishman who drifts to England to pick up a living. His genius being left out of the question, Burke might be justly described as such a man; some of his relatives and associates were disreputable and dishonest, and his own financial condition was always desperate. This may not excuse, but it helps to explain, both the persistent animosity of his foes and the reluctance of his political friends to appoint him to any great office of state. Though at first he seemed to accomplish nothing, Burke had not been wasting his time. His first tentative excursions into literature were an ironical answer to Bolingbroke in *A Vindication of Natural Society* (1756) and an essay in aesthetics after Addison in *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1756). They are not important, though we get from them intimations of Burke's personal convictions. Throughout his life, feeling, and not reason, was the power that moved him.

Burke's public career began in 1759 when he became editor of *The Annual Register* and secretary to William Gerard Hamilton—"Single Speech Hamilton"—Chief Secretary for Ireland. In 1765 he entered the House of Commons and became Secretary to Lord Rockingham, then in power. During the short life of Rockingham's first ministry and the sixteen years of opposition that followed, Burke was the animating spirit of the Rockingham Whigs. He fought for the freedom of the House of Commons against the subsidized interests of the "King's friends", and the freedom of the American colonies against the claims of the King's friends to tax them directly. The writings in which his views are most fully preserved are *Observations on a late publication entitled "The Present State of the Nation"* (1769), *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents* (1770), the speech *On American Taxation* (1774), that *On moving his Resolutions for Conciliation with the Colonies* (1775) and *A Letter...to...[the] Sheriffs of... Bristol* (1777). As the American war drew to an end, Ireland and India became Burke's chief concern. By his support of Irish trade,

antagonist. It is possible to overrate the actual value of the letters as the prose of invective; but they are certainly well written; the sentences, brief, pithy and pungent, exhibit a delicate equilibrium in their structure. The anonymity which he marvellously preserved enabled Junius to maintain that affectation of superiority which distinguished him; but we should not forget that this lofty gentleman was engaged in the lowest methods of controversy. The wildest guesses as to his identity were made in his own day and after. The [illegible] or invented all the matter. At the present day, when popular [illegible] steady perusal of them in a volume, than from a more occasional reading, as if they were letters appearing in a serious newspaper of to-day attacking the reigning sovereign and the most prominent members of the current government. The letters ceased with a searching attack on Lord Mansfield in January 1772. Later in that year appeared the first authorized collected edition. No clue was given to the identity of the writer or writers.

Sir Philip Francis (1740–1818), the reputed author of the letters of [illegible] a member of [illegible] and there with [illegible] his return to [illegible] ost [illegible] his bitterness. The strongest argument urged against his identity with Junius is the failure of his other correspondence to attain the Junian level. But too much can be made of this. It is well known, both in journalism and in psychology, that some people can write better [illegible] of journalism. *Stat nominis umbra.*

Langrishe (1792) and the earlier *Speech at the Guildhall, in Bristol* (1780) the theme is simply this: stupidity has lost us America, stupidity will lose us Ireland. Events have justified the indictment.

The problems of Indian government are ever with us. Burke felt strongly that India should be governed for the good of its inhabitants, and not for the profit of the East India Company and its servants. Warren Hastings was to him the type of misrule, and against that unhappy man he directed all his power of invective. But Hastings, whatever his faults may have been, was a great ruler, and we cannot help feeling, when we read the ferocious denunciations, that Burke was engaged, not in prosecution, but in persecution; and so in the eyes of posterity he not only lost his case but lost his credit.

Burke's violent opposition to the French Revolution of 1789 seems unnatural, but is not inexplicable. The eloquent champion of the American farmer and the Indian ryot appeared to have nothing to say for the French peasant. All his eloquence was reserved for the oppressors. The cause of his antagonism was twofold and was deeply inherent in his nature. He could no more believe in "the rights of man" than he could believe in the rights of kings; further, he was sure that any assertion of such rights savoured of atheism. Burke's instinct was true. The Revolution was a challenge, not only to kingship, but to all establishments. A change was coming in the way of human thought. He felt it, he feared it, he opposed it. With the *Reflections* should be read *An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs* (1791), published anonymously and written in the third person. These two pamphlets form the most complete statement of Burke's anti-revolutionary philosophy. Unsound as he seems in his veneration of mere prescription, Burke was thoroughly sound in his suspicion of "Reason" enthroned as the sovereign power. Burke's revolt against the Revolution is almost exactly parallel to Wordsworth's revolt against Godwinism. From "political justice" Wordsworth turned to the emotions and the prejudices of the peasant, and found himself a poet again. It is easy to dislike Burke on the Revolution; but it is not difficult to be warned by him against the perpetual menace of the doctrinaire. He died before any final issue was even in sight, and there is no evidence that he foresaw the shape and course of events.

Two productions of Burke stand apart from his great crusades; they are the speech on Economical Reform (1780) and the *Letter to a Noble Lord* (1796). The first is the most quietly persuasive and genial of his writings; the second is a formidable piece of controversy. Burke had been granted a pension, and none had better deserved it. The grant was bitterly attacked, especially by the Duke of Bedford, who appeared to consider that any grants, pensions or places should

[illegible]

of his courage, independence and wisdom in the hour of defeat. Burke had given much time to a study of Indian affairs, and in 1785 he entered upon the campaign against Hastings which was to occupy him for ten years. To 1785 also belongs the famous *Speech on the… Nabob of Arcot's Private Debts* His last crusade was that against the

[illegible]

(1795–7). Burke died in 1797 with his last hopes for justice to Irish Catholics shattered, and believing that England was about to make dishonorable peace with the enemy across the Channel.

Of the tracts named above, the first in which Burke's principles

[illegible]

assertion of royal prerogative took us back to the fatal days of Charles I. No modern student of history bases any convictions about the American struggle on the mere taxation question. The great point at issue was the right way of securing the loyalty of any overseas dominion to the home government. In Burke's view, acts of state should be guided by three main principles which can be indicated in three questions· Is this expedient or worth while? Is this good for the persons most affected? Is this justified by experience? He alone seems to have understood the problem of governing and maintaining the empire which Chatham's successful wars had called into existence. Of his American speeches, the greatest, as it is the most elaborate, is the second, *On Conciliation*; but the first, *On American Taxation*, combines in a wonderful manner simplicity and directness of reasoning with ardour and splendour of eloquence.

The obstinate stupidity which Burke deplored in the policy of George III and his ministers towards America he found undiminished in their policy towards Ireland. His Irish tracts are among the least read of his pieces, but they deserve attention, both for the excellence of their matter and for the temperateness of their utterance. In the letters *To a Peer of Ireland on the Penal Laws* (1782), *To Sir Hercules*

When Pitt boldly faced the aggressiveness of French republicanism abroad and of its partisans at home, he found a lively and trenchant ally in *The Anti-Jacobin* (1797–8), founded by George Canning. It remains the best thing of its kind. The deadly conviction of its attack was made more effective by its witty manner. Among the writers were the many-sided, brilliant Canning, George Ellis, by this time a fervent Tory and repentant of *The Rolliad*, and John Hookham Frere, country gentleman, diplomatist, traveller, translator of Aristophanes, and the first to imitate in English the satiric Italian epic. The editor was William Gifford (1756–1826), whose literary brutalities have blackened a character admirable in many ways. He was one of those luckess persons born with the instincts of scholarship in penurious circumstances that denied him a scholar's education. After a miserable boyhood he was sent to Oxford, and was able to make something of a name by his satires, *The Baviad* (1794) and *The Maeviad* (1795), directed against the ridiculous "Della Cruscan" school of poets and the small dramatic fry of the day. When *The Anti-Jacobin* was set on foot, his sledge-hammer style and industry made him a suitable editor; but he was mainly concerned with its prose. He did his task well, and in 1809 became first editor of *The Quarterly Review* and held his post for fifteen years. He seemed to find relief for the bitterness engendered by his menial years in savage attacks upon all suspected of Liberalism. The shameful onslaught in the *Quarterly* upon Keats can be neither forgotten nor forgiven. The verse of *The Anti-Jacobin* "guys" very gaily the early revolutionary bleatings of Southey and his friends. The "Knife-Grinder" sapphics in imitation of Southey are immortal.

One of the butts of *The Anti-Jacobin* was "Mr. Higgins of St. Mary Axe"—in real life William Godwin (1756–1836), a political philosopher and novelist, to whom harsh justice was measured out in life, and to whom true justice will never now be done, because he is not quite important enough to pay for resuscitation. He is remembered as the husband of Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–97) and the father-in-law of Shelley; he ought to be remembered as a sincere thinker in whose character there was not a trace of self-seeking or self-display. Much conscientious, ephemeral work was done by him in history and literature; but he was brought into sudden prominence by a book of startling opinions, *Political Justice*, published in 1793. The influence of this book was great among the younger generation. Godwin was a born system-maker; philosophy and politics were, for him, indistinguishable, and of his views on both he was an eager advocate in public and private. So we find him writing proselytizing novels, *Caleb Williams* and *St Leon*, which he hoped would insinuate his views in the general mind. During these years, he met and married another writer of innovating beliefs. Mary Wollstonecraft, to use

be reserved for those who did not need them, did not deserve them, and did not come from obscure families. Burke's *Letter* is not merely a great example of invective, it is a great example of a very rare thing, invective that is creative.

Burke's eloquence belonged to a past age. The splendour of his [illegible] what is greatest in our drama and in our poetry.

II. POLITICAL WRITERS AND SPEAKERS

In 1784 the King once more triumphed over the Whigs, and young Pitt became master of Parliament. The devotees of Fox formed the [illegible] had tried to cough down Burke. He was provided with an ancestor, the Norman Duke Rollo, whose imaginary adventures supplied matter for a burlesque of the *Aeneid*. The new style of skit proved [illegible] all these pieces was not very high, but at least they were more civilized than the political satires of Churchill. The only one of the authors worth mention is George Ellis, the scholar.

One outstanding figure among the verse satirists on the Whig side is "Peter Pindar", the pseudonym adopted by John Wolcot (1738–1819) at fir [illegible] genius of [illegible] with him. [illegible] 1787 produced another skit, *Ode upon Ode*, which attained great popularity. The absurdities of the yearly official odes to the King invited reprisals; and Wolcot, hampered by few convictions and fewer scruples, found a ready market among indignant Whigs for his small scandal. He is, perhaps, the best of English caricaturists in verse. *Bozzy and Piozzi* (1786), the title of which explains itself, is another excellent piece of caricature.

upon later reformers was powerful and creative. *A Vindication of the Rights of Men* (1790) is a footnote to Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* and should be read with that work. Mary Wollstonecraft's letters are attractive and moving.

Godwin's *An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* was a Bible to young revolutionaries like Wordsworth in the days when he could write:

> Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
> But to be young was very heaven.

Some of the blissful youths of that dawn, in Hazlitt's ironical sentence, lost their way in Utopia and found it in Old Sarum. But with massive placidity Godwin continued to believe in man. His weakness (and it is the fatal weakness of all the "planners") is that he believed mankind had only to be given good reasons for a better life and Utopia would follow. His faith was boundless. All that was necessary for the success of his system was a perfect world inhabited by perfect beings. Godwin's *Political Justice* must not be judged by the criticisms of those who found it profitable to apostatize. Even Coleridge repented of the harshness he had dealt out to a book he once had loved. Hazlitt remained faithful, and his sketch of Godwin is still excellent. Godwin's style deserved some success. He was always clear and forcible; his sentences convey his exact meaning without effort, and display a kind of composed oratorical effect. He gained a larger audience for his novels, but the only one that can be said to survive is *The Adventures of Caleb Williams, or Things as They Are*, published in 1794. Another, *St Leon*, is memorable for its portrait of Mary Wollstonecraft.

From Godwin, who, in his worst days, kept round him a tattered cloak of magnanimity, it is an abrupt change to his fellow-revolutionary, the coarse-grained, shrewd Thomas Paine (1737–1809). Yet Paine's public spirit led him to disregard all profit from his widely sold political works. He was a born pamphleteer, never happy unless he was divulging his opinions for the welfare of the human race as he conceived it. He spent all his earlier years in the struggle to make a decent livelihood, and at last emigrated to Philadelphia. In 1776 he became famous by his pamphlet, *Common-Sense*, which consolidated American opinion in favour of war. Peace brought him moderate rewards and a retirement which he could not endure. He returned to England and soon became involved again in politics. The French Revolution proved a new turning-point in his career. In 1791–2 he attacked Burke in the two parts of *The Rights of Man.* To escape arrest he fled to France, where he became a member of the Convention, and, barely escaping the guillotine, founded the new sect of Theophilanthropists. In 1802 he went once more to America, only to find that his *Age of Reason*, published in 1794–5, had lost him

her maiden name, is a far more attractive person than her placid husband. After beginning as a teacher she passed several years as a publishers' hack, till her *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* made her [illegible]

ment, which, in accordance with their principles, was free; but they [illegible]

wife was less fortunate and conduced to the unhappy experiences of his latter days. Always in difficulties of one kind or another, Godwin lived out a courageous philosophical life of eighty years. William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft were gallant rebels of immense courage; but they were most unfortunate advertisements of a new social order. They committed the crime of failure. Tragedy was bound up in the texture of their lives. Mary died just as hope and [illegible]

Allegra. To exclaim with Matthew Arnold "What a set!" is tempting, but utterly unjust. Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft rank high, and deserve to rank high, among those who have tried to solve the eternal problem "How ought man to live?" That their way was not Matthew Arnold's way does not prove they were wrong. And it was a thorny path they trod.

In one respect Mary's way was quite wrong. Whether marriage is, or is not, a kind of servitude is a debating-society topic; but whether a girl is, or is not, a kind of boy is a practical question. Mary was a complete educational rebel. She wrote *Thoughts on the* [illegible]

to re-discover that a woman ought to have a woman's education, and that a good girls' school is not necessarily an exact imitation of a good boys' school. Her most famous book, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, is a brave piece of pioneer work, and its influence

read either for enjoyment or enlightenment. Like the great actor, the great orator survives as a memory. Burke stands apart, for he did not succeed as an orator; he spoke his written compositions, and his auditors hurried out to dine.

III. BENTHAM AND THE EARLY UTILITARIANS

Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) is famous as the leader of a school of thought and practice which is known sometimes as Utilitarianism, sometimes as Philosophical Radicalism. He was a prodigy from his childhood. His first publication, *A Fragment on Government*, published anonymously in 1776, attracted much attention. Between 1785–88 he travelled in the east of Europe and spent some time in Russia, where his brother held an important industrial post. There he wrote his *Defence of Usury* (published 1787); there also, from his brother's method of inspecting his work-people, Jeremy derived the plan of his "Panopticon"—a scheme for prison management, which was to dispense with Botany Bay and transportation; but the government failed in the end to adopt it.

In 1789 Bentham published the work (already privately printed) which gives him a place among philosophers, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*. In this he uses for the first time the now hard-worked term "international". Bentham's methods of writing were unusual. He wrote what he had to say and left his editors or collaborators to fit the matter into his scheme. His most considerable helper was Étienne Dumont, who gave literary form to many of the principles which the master propounded in notes and conversation. But the most famous associate of Bentham was James Mill (1773–1836), whose mind was almost as spacious as his master's and whose genius was more practical. Bentham knew man; Mill knew men. Although full of projects for reform, Mill was a successful man of affairs, and rose to high office in the East India Company's service, where one of his colleagues was Thomas Love Peacock, the novelist. Mill helped to give the new philosophy a party, a programme and an organ. The party came to be known as Philosophical Radicals. Their organ was *The Westminster Review*, founded by Bentham in 1824. Their programme was a demand for constitutional reform as a preliminary to legislative and administrative improvements. Mill gave much literary assistance to Bentham; he edited *A Table of the Springs of Action* (1817); he prepared, from the author's manuscripts, an *Introductory view of the Rationale of Evidence*; and his brilliant son, John Stuart Mill (1806–73), edited *The Rationale of Evidence* in five volumes (1827).

Bentham's *Fragment on Government* is the first attempt to apply the principle of utility in a systematic and methodical manner to the

nearly all his friends. Paine was a prince of pamphleteers, and his work rarely rises above the pamphleteering level. He was shallow, but he was shrewd; his style was always clear, and though it had no charm, it appeared to have sincerity. He was not, like Godwin, a social philosopher: nevertheless he expounded a radical constructive policy, including parliamentary reform, old age pensions and a progressive income tax.

The heir to the pamphleteering eminence of Paine was a much

a soldier. He went to France, learnt the language, emigrated (like Paine) to Philadelphia, and took up the pamphlet-writing trade. Under the apt pseudonym of Peter Porcupine he conducted a pro-British and anti-French campaign, until he was ruined by libel cases and obliged to return to England in 1800. He was welcomed in Government circles, and started work as a Tory free-lance. His first venture, *The Porcupine*, failed, but his second, *Cobbett's Political Register*, a weekly newspaper which he began in 1802, gained the public ear. At first Tory, then Independent, at last strongly Radical, he maintained till his death an influence of which no persecution and no folly could deprive him. Besides other publishing ventures, including *Parliamentary Debates*, later undertaken by Hansard, and *State Trials*, he combined business and pleasure as a model farmer. All went well until, in 1810, he received a sentence of two years' imprisonment on account of an invective against military flogging. Throughout the reign of George IV he was a leader of political opinion. He knew the marketable value of books combining instruction and exhortation with a strong flavour of personality, and his *Advice to Young Men* (1829) and even his *English Grammar* (1817) are still thoroughly readable. By 1830 his fortunes were re-established; the Reform Act opened the doors of Parliament to him, and he sat in the Commons till his death in 1835. Cobbett's enormous personal

country, he knew it, and he was master of a style in which to express his knowledge. The *Rural Rides* (1830), which depict the England of his day, have an assured permanence. Others might paint rural scenery; Cobbett scans the looks and manners of the labourers and ... make life bearable. No other ... William Cobbett.

... ry was maintained by Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, Canning and Grattan, but their speeches are not now

English writers on agriculture. His remarkable talent is best shown in *Political Arithmetic* (1774), *Tour in Ireland* (1780) and the famous *Travels in France* (1792). Young had the good fortune to visit France shortly before the Revolution, as well as after it had broken out, and his observations are invaluable. His writing is of excellent quality, exhibiting both ease of manner and epigrammatic power.

Thomas Robert Malthus (1766–1834) was counted among the Utilitarians, but he questioned the over-estimate of the intellectual factor in conduct, and doubted the fashionable doctrine of perfectibility. He saw the obvious "snag", almost invariably ignored, namely, that even if perfection were attained, it could not be stable. Population would expand beyond the means of subsistence, and the result would be inequality and misery. He expressed his views in *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798). A storm of controversy followed its publication; but its teaching made notable converts. Malthus studied the matter further, and five years later (1803) replied to his critics in a new edition, which is, in fact, almost a new book. The first edition shattered the ideal of a future golden age; the second shattered the ideal of any past golden age. Even though the theory of an arithmetical progression for food and a geometrical progression for population may be inexact, the general doctrine is sound. Malthus was not blind to considerations of a more favourable kind. He saw that the "struggle for existence" (the phrase is his) was a great stimulus to labour and a cause of human improvement. At a later date, Darwin and A. R. Wallace, working independently, found in his book a statement of the principle which, in their view, explained biological development. Malthus was the first to make a clear demonstration of the fact that human existence depends upon a working balance between population and food. An age of wild and windy beliefs in the perfectibility of human existence if only certain forms of government replaced other forms of government eminently needed the stern corrective arithmetic of Malthus. There is still a use for it.

During the period of Bentham's supremacy, the tradition of a different type of philosophy was carried on by Dugald Stewart (1753–1828). For twenty-five years (1785–1810), he was Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh. Of his numerous writings a few only can be named. The first volume of his *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* appeared in 1792, the second in 1814, the third in 1827. His *Outlines of Moral Philosophy* was published in 1794 and *The Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers* in 1828. Stewart was a pupil and a disciple of Reid, though he avoided the use of the term "common sense", which, as employed by Reid, had produced the impression that questions of philosophy could be decided by an appeal to popular judgment. We turn now to the poets.

[illegible]

the course of his criticism constantly appeals to fact against consti- [illegible]

asserted a qualitative utility; but quantitative utility was Bentham's point—"It is the greatest happiness of the greatest number that is the measure of right and wrong." Like all famous "sayings", this is credited with numerous "origins". What is usually overlooked is that the true originator is not the man who makes, but the man who circulates. Bentham gave general currency to the phrase, and for him "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" was the criterion of utility in legislation and administration. *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* contains the fullest and clearest account of Bentham's main ideas.

Bentham's power was derived from the combination in his mind of two qualities, the firm grasp of a single principle, and a truly astonishing mastery of details. His "utility" principle and his re- [illegible]

the American Declaration of Independence of 1776 it became the foundation of a democratic reconstruction of government. Bentham's view was emphatic: rights are created by law, "*natural rights* is simple nonsense: natural and imprescriptible rights, rhetorical nonsense—nonsense upon stilts". The numerous works collected as Bentham's need not here be named or discussed. He ranged beyond politics, but his genius was comprehensive rather than profound. He could discuss the forces or values that can be measured in terms [illegible]

he sometimes failed to distinguish between a reason and a cause, and [illegible] and that they are [illegible] red modern ad- [illegible] of bureaucracy.

Certain of Bentham's occasional papers appeared in *Annals of Agriculture*, which, begun in 1784, extended to forty-five volumes. Its editor, Arthur Young (1741–1820), is the most celebrated of

When the doors of a private asylum closed upon William Cowper at the age of thirty-two, his life in the busy world of men appeared to have come to an end; but two years later he was well enough to pass into the care of Morley Unwin, a retired clergyman, and his wife Mary. When Unwin was accidentally killed, Mary devoted herself to the delicate poet, and their long association is one of the famous friendships in literary history. Unfortunately they moved from Huntingdon to the less pleasant Olney, in order to receive the religious ministrations of the celebrated John Newton, once in the slave trade, but now a convinced Evangelical, whose merits as preacher and pastor are declared by contemporary and later testimony. Cowper's tendency to a dark view of religion had shown itself before he had met Newton. One happy result came from the new association, namely, Cowper's collaboration with Newton in *Olney Hymns* (1779). When Newton left in the next year for a London living, Cowper found himself without occupation—the poet in him lacked a stimulus to expression. But Mary encouraged him to write. His first long poem *Anti-Thelyphthora* (1781) can be dismissed as having only temporary interest. Mrs Unwin next proposed as a subject the progress of error; and going eagerly to work, Cowper wrote eight satires: *Table Talk*, *The Progress of Error*, *Truth*, *Expostulation*, *Hope*, *Charity*, *Conversation* and *Retirement*. But the gentle recluse who had never lived in the world could not write bitterly, even with the unseen spirit of darkness prompting him. However, the clear, neat verses were achieved and were published in the volume called *Poems by William Cowper, of the Inner Temple, Esq.* (1782), which contained as well some of the short poems by which he is generally remembered.

A new friend, Lady Austen, came into Cowper's life in 1781 and touched his spirits and his poetry to finer issues. She was a woman of the world, and knew that Cowper needed diversion, not preoccupation with moral problems; and the subject she lightly suggested for a poem was the sofa in his room—perhaps she had been reading Crébillon. Cowper gaily accepted the challenge, and the result was one of the happiest and friendliest of English poems, *The Task*, in six books, *The Sofa*, *The Time-piece*, *The Garden*, *The Winter Evening*, *The Winter Morning Walk* and *The Winter Walk at Noon*, with their exquisite vignettes of landscape. Cowper's love of nature was the love that asks no questions and poses no problems. His poems are the simple artistic record of simple, genuine experience. Their versification is as exquisite as it is unaffected. The tendency to didacticism, natural to a man of Cowper's experience, is present in *The Task*, but we cheerfully accept his teaching, if only because it has been his own support in trouble. The love of man for man, the love of man for animals, for the meanest thing that lives—this is the principal moral message of *The Task*. Rousseau, no doubt, had said

IV. COWPER

William Cowper (1731–1800) was a sweet, simple, instinctive poet, whom we should refuse to accept, at anybody's bidding, as the leader, or forerunner, or anticipator of something called "the romantic revolt". Only bad poets deliberately strive for dissidence [illegible] for less learned generations. Cowper wrote just the sort of poetry that it was natural for him to write, as Pope wrote just the sort of poetry that it was natural for him to write. Pope and Cowper did [illegible] worth of what they wrote. Cowper, indeed, exclaimed, "God made [illegible]

> Made poetry a mere mechanic art,
> And every warbler has his tune by heart.

These obvious considerations need to be stated for the protection of unpractised readers against those who make absurd claims for Cowper and against those who make absurd claims for Pope.

The events in the life of Cowper were few but remarkable. He was born of a good family and was sent to Westminster School, where, like Gibbon, he was unhappy. One of his masters was Vincent Bourne, whose Latin poems he translated, and one of his friends was Charles Churchill, whose satirical poems he praised. From Westminster he passed in 1750 to a study of law, and led a normal and apparently happy life. He flirted with his cousins Harriet and Theodora, the latter of whom he wanted to marry; the former was to come into his life years after. The proposed marriage was forbidden by Theodora's father, first because of the con- [illegible] suicide.

V. WORDSWORTH

Readers will begin a study of Wordsworth most profitably if they dismiss from their minds the usual text-book ideas of Wordsworth as the leader of a "Romantic Revolt" and as the apostate from his early liberal ideas, and think chiefly of Wordsworth as a great English poet, tenacious, indomitable and unsubmissive, carving his own way slowly to understanding of himself, and winning, in the end, the love and admiration of the best readers, not by any moral message or theory of art, but solely by the penetrating beauty of his poems. Wordsworth has the divine "quantity", the "maximum" of inspiration that makes a great profound poet like Shakespeare or Milton, and not the lesser visitation of the spirit that makes a minor poet like Thomson or Crabbe. With a clear conviction of Wordsworth's absolute value as a poet of *any time*, readers may then usefully consider his particular relation to the movements of his own time.

Few poets have told us more of their early lives. *The Prelude* is not only the greatest of poetical autobiographies, it is also a source of positive information. William Wordsworth (1770–1850) was born at Cockermouth in Cumberland. His mother died when he was eight, his father when he was thirteen. Like Coleridge, Wordsworth was denied the blessing of a happy home. He was sent to school at Hawkshead and lived in poverty at the cottage of a village dame. He had no intellectual company and found creative solace in his precious books, and in personal freedom from restraint. Hawkshead was his home, except at holiday periods, from his ninth to his eighteenth year. There were financial troubles that we need not describe, for they did not deeply affect Wordsworth's youth. The real cause of his unhappiness was the harsh, unsympathetic treatment given to him and his sister Dorothy by the grandparents at Penrith where his wretched holidays were spent. From Hawkshead School William went in 1787 to St John's College, Cambridge, where he found little to interest him. He became very solitary and appeared to be uncompanionable and morose. The truth, unrecognized even by himself, is that he was suffering from the "growing pains" of a poet. The young Wordsworth never "lisped in numbers"; he had to fight for expression. In 1790 he made a tour through France to the Alps with a fellow student, travelling on foot like a pedlar. His *Descriptive Sketches* is a poetical record of the tour. After leaving Cambridge he settled in London for a time. His patrimony had been spent on his education, and he was without a profession or any qualifications for a profession. Before the end of 1791 he was back in France again, and there remained till the end of 1792, on the eve of the Terror.

something like it before, and Rousseau was in the air. But in Cowper it is the natural underived expression of his own tender, affectionate nature, and no English poet has given it such perfect utterance. When published in 1785, *The Task* was followed in the same volume by *Tirocinium* and *The Diverting History of John Gilpin*. In *Tirocinium* the attack on the brutality and immorality of public schools may have been just and is certainly vigorous; but this is not the kind of poetical composition in which Cowper excelled. Of *John Gilpin* there is no need to speak. Everyone knows that immortal story. [illegible] tender lines *On* [illegible] ad died when he [illegible]

In 1786 Cowper and Mrs Unwin moved from dreary Olney to a cheerful house and neighbourhood at Weston, and enlarged their circle of acquaintances, thanks, partly, to his cousin Harriet, now Lady Hesketh. Cowper's life continued to be happy; and during these pleasant years he wrote a number of his best short poems, which were not published till after his death. His translation of Homer (1791) is a kind of protest against Pope's, which he rejected as too artificial. But Cowper, in trying to make Homer dignified made him dull. The greatest merit of his version is that it kept him for a time from the despair which was to destroy him in the end. Mrs Unwin sickened in 1791 and her life of heroic devotion drew to its close in 1796. After that Cowper was past help, past cure. *Popularity, success, affection could do nothing to lighten the darkness within.* His last original work is the powerful and ghastly poem called *The Castaway*.

Cowper is a minor poet, but he is a poet who must be read. Not [illegible] "character", an engaging combina- [illegible]

thing else about him, they are unique. They are so simple that anybody could have written them; but the fact is that nobody has written anything like them. There is no need to compare or contrast [illegible]

versions. They were published in 1793 after his flight from France. Wordsworth had come back to England a revolutionist at heart and out of sympathy with the rising national feeling. When war began he did not conceal his hatred of King, Regent and Ministry. His prose *Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff*, his poem *Guilt and Sorrow* (or *Incidents on Salisbury Plain*) and the first text of *The Prelude* are clear evidence of his feelings. When the French Revolution passed into the Terror, Wordsworth lost his trust in immediate social reform. He turned to abstract meditation on man and society, and Godwin's *Political Justice* became a kind of Bible that comforted his distress. But the abstract anarchistic doctrine of Godwin was utterly useless to a creative poet; and the pessimism it produced bore fruit in his one dramatic work, *The Borderers*, written in 1795 though not published till 1842. He instinctively recognized—as the "perfectionists" even now do not recognize—that the ideal inhabitants of a Godwinian world are the fore-ordained prey of the wicked. *The Borderers* cannot claim intrinsic poetic or dramatic merit; but it enabled Wordsworth to write himself free from any perfectionist illusions.

Wordsworth had much to endure in life; but it is curious how frequently certain pieces of good luck befell him at critical moments. The war between England and France saved him from an unsuitable alliance. His return to England at the end of 1792 perhaps saved him from the guillotine in 1793. In 1795, when all his resources seemed exhausted and the life of a poet unattainable, salvation dropped from the clouds in the form of a legacy of £900, left him by a young friend who believed that immediate relief might help him to live for poetry. To the frugal Wordsworth £900 was a fortune. It enabled him to acquire at once two immensely valuable companions, his sister Dorothy and his friend Coleridge. Dorothy Wordsworth (1771–1855) is one of those engaging, selfless, and devoted women about whom it is difficult to speak without excess of enthusiasm. Probably she was, of all persons known to us, the nearest to being a poet without ever writing a poem. Her Grasmere and Scottish Journals are full of the raw stuff of poetry. Since 1788 she had been living with an uncle in Norfolk. The newly enriched William bore her off to Racedown in Dorsetshire, where they set up house together. Brother and sister were passionately attached to each other. Dorothy's letters make their mutual love known to us and show us depths of Wordsworth's nature scarcely revealed by his poems. The delight of brother and sister in each other and their daily rambles together were the first agents in his spiritual recovery. But that the poet's mind remained gloomy for a time is shown by his pastoral *The Ruined Cottage* (or *The Story of Margaret*), which afterwards found a place in the first book of *The Excursion*. It is a heart-

It is often forgotten, when the revolutionary sympathies of Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey are discussed, that Wordsworth actually lived in France during some of the most stirring scenes of the new order. He became a convinced revolutionist, and was eager to join the Girondists. Had

fallen with those of Condorcet and

save his fellow-poet André Chénier Wordsworth was removed from danger almost by luck. He had fallen in love with Marie-Anne Vallon, daughter of a family still Royalist and Catholic; but there could be no recognized marriage between her and an irreligious, revolutionary foreigner without rank, position, present means or future prospects. Nevertheless a daughter was born to them in December 1792. At the end of 1792 or early in 1793 Wordsworth came to England to publish his poems and find some means of living. Return was suddenly barred, for in February 1793 began the war which lasted till the short-lived peace of 1802. Wordsworth was cut off from personal communication with France for nine years. The later story of Annette and the "Dear child, dear girl" of the sonnet "It is a beauteous evening, calm and free", composed on Calais Beach in 1802, belongs to biography, not to literature. What is important for the reader to notice is the extraordinary implication of Wordsworth's early life with French affairs, and the powerful disturbance of his feelings during a critical period. The story of his early passion and the later business relations with Annette, fully known to several persons, nevertheless remained one of the best kept secrets of literary history and was not revealed till the present century. The disclosure of Wordsworth's strength of feeling was disturbing to those who had piously accepted him as a namby-pamby pastoralist; it can hardly have surprised any careful reader of *The Prelude*, even in the revised version which, till recently, was all we had.

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the of *The Prelude*. It was afterwards dissociated from the poet's

from his pen that is really

evidence of his power to "see into the life of things", though they are written in the poetic dialect of the eighteenth century. They should be read in the first and not in the revised

the close of 1805 he had written the one book of *The Recluse*, much of *The Excursion*, the whole of *The Prelude* and the best of his shorter poems and sonnets. The great *Immortality* ode was nearly completed. Had he died then, having lived as long as Byron and longer than Shelley or Keats, the work he left would have entitled him to renown almost as great as that which afterwards came to him. He was thirty-five—"nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita". In 1802 he had married Mary Hutchinson in whom he found an inestimable blessing. But trouble began to press upon his spirits. Coleridge, once the quickener of his life and brother of his soul, Coleridge, to whom the great outpouring of *The Prelude* was addressed, was already sunk in opium and had forsaken his high calling. The world was going wrong. Wordsworth was not a recluse. He was keenly sensitive to public affairs; and across the water in the land where new hope for mankin had seemed to dawn, an upstart Emperor was crowned by a captiv Pope in 1805. At the beginning of that year Wordsworth had sufferec a grievous and unforgettable loss when his noble brother John hac gone down with his ship in the waters of the Channel. A glory had passed away from the world; a power was gone which nothing could restore; and the poet turned, as we all must, to Duty. Wordsworth's *Ode to Duty* (1805) is not the preaching of a moralist; it is the utterance of a poet's resignation. He is no longer the exuberant son of joy; he is resigned to the burden of living. That note is heard most poignantly in the *Elegiac Stanzas* (1805) mourning the death of his brother. After that year Wordsworth was an altered man. He began to age, to look fearfully at the course of the world, and to cling to what had been from of old. Formal religion came to have a meaning for him. The changes in the man are discernible in the alterations he made in *The Prelude*. But he worked on. The wonderful *Poems in two volumes* (1807) may have seemed a poor harvest after seven years; but much of what he had written still remained unpublished, especially *The Prelude*, not known in its first form till the present century, and not known in any form till after the poet's death in 1850. Of *The Excursion*, published in 1814, we must admit that it is a noble poem ruined by its own excess. Though different speakers are introduced, their speeches are mere ventriloquism. Wordsworth himself plays all the parts and does not play them well. And so, in spite of many golden moments, *The Excursion* is a disappointing culmination of *The Prelude*, which, either in its early or its late form, is the greatest blank verse poem written since *Paradise Lost*. Everybody must read *The Excursion* once; the sagacious among readers will then know which parts of it need not be read again. But there are no parts of *The Prelude* that can be safely omitted.

The romantic and beautiful *The White Doe of Rylstone* (1807) shows the saddened Wordsworth tranquilizing a tragedy into some-

rending narrative, without any sign of the poetic message with which Wordsworth was soon to think himself entrusted.

The consciousness of a message came to him after he had removed from Racedown to Alfoxden in 1797 in order to be near Coleridge, who was then living at Nether Stowey. It is impossible to define exactly the share of each in the elaboration of those opinions which they seemed, for a time, to hold in common. Wordsworth was more intensively creative; Coleridge was more widely discursive. An *omnivorous reader and a tireless talker, Coleridge opened a new* world to one who [illegible] eighteenth century. [illegible] dilettante; nothing [illegible] monument exists in fragments of imposing magnitude—the first book of *The Recluse*, properly so called, written in 1800; *The Prelude*, written between 1798 and 1805; and *The Excursion*, which, though it includes passages composed as early as 1797, was not finished until 1814. The intercourse with Coleridge gave birth to less ambitious and more immediate verse, to the famous *Lyrical Ballads* of 1798, a [illegible] were supernatural, or, at any rate, romantic; Wordsworth's part was to be events of everyday life, by preference in its humblest form. So Coleridge sang *The Ancient Mariner*, while Wordsworth told the tales *Goody Blake* and *Simon Lee*. The latter are poems of literary revolt, intended to show that the Muse could stoop as low as mere clay. They are almost too successful; for they are so earthy and precise as to resemble science rather than poetry. Indeed, the famous [illegible] to the same period and is part of the same programme. Indeed, to Wordsworth, *Tintern Abbey* and *Goody Blake* were the same kind of poem.

The certainty that he had found his true purpose in life sustained and exalted Wordsworth through the years from 1798 to 1805. This was a period of plain living and high thinking, a period, too, of careful reading intensely devoted to the older English poets; and to it belongs nearly all that is supremely great in his work. After a visit to Germany (1798–9) he settled in his native Lake district, and before

power of giving artistic expression to what is true for him. We are not required to accept his beliefs as true for us before we can participate in the beauty of his revelation.

Wordsworth's peculiar originality is to be sought in his expression of what nature meant to him. He has no special beauty of minute particulars. Two poets as unlike as Crabbe and Tennyson surpass him in accuracy of observation. But no one has ever surpassed him in the power of giving utterance to some of the most elementary, and, at the same time, obscure, sensations of man confronted by the eternal spectacle of nature. These sensations, old as man himself, come to us as new, because Wordsworth was the first to find words for them. He is unique, too, when he puts man in a natural setting and makes him part of it, rather than the observer of it, as in the unsurpassable *Michael* and *Leech-Gatherer*. Indeed, the gallery of human portraits to be found in Wordsworth will astonish those who have never looked for it. His poetic music is completely his own, and it was most carefully and elaborately wrought. In verbal felicity scarcely any English poet has surpassed him at his best; and in verbal flatness no English poet of his rank has sunk so low. All creative artists must be taken for their best; their worst is the price they have to pay for their success. It should be added that Wordsworth's prose writings, of which his *Convention of Cintra* pamphlet (1809) and the celebrated prefaces and essays on the nature of poetic expression are the best examples, have great dignity of manner and strong, if fitful, critical power. That Wordsworth ever succeeded in giving convincing form to his view of poetic diction may be doubted; but that is a matter about which readers should be left to form their own conclusions, for a first-hand study of Wordsworth's essays in criticism and the relevant chapters of Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria* must be regarded as a necessary part of the discipline of letters.

VI. COLERIDGE

Coleridge survives as a poet unique in inspiration and unique, though uncertain, in achievement. But he was also philosopher, critic, theologian, moralist and talker. With the strongest will in the world, a man so variously endowed would have found it hard not to dissipate his genius; with a will exceptionally infirm, the wonder is that he should have left so much, rather than so little. Excepting a few poems of his earlier years, he completed nothing he began, and began little of what he proposed. Few men have paid so disastrously in moral bankruptcy for wealth of mental patrimony.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834) was born at Ottery St Mary, the son of a country clergyman, curiously pedantic, dreamy and unworldly, who died in 1781. Poor Coleridge, at the age of

[illegible]

of full, spontaneous creation were over. His public views grew less progressive. There was no apostasy, but only gradual change. The bare literal truth is that his long age sought security after much early adventure. His fame grew slowly but steadily and was attested by his appointment as Poet Laureate in 1843. Before the close of his life in 1850, Wordsworth could feel assured that he had become one of [illegible]

[illegible]

nothing published after the volumes of 1807 matters very much, should be regarded as uncritical. The absolute value of many later [illegible]

[illegible]

Memorials of a Tour on the Continent (1822), and *Yarrow Revisited* (1835), to say nothing of *The Excursion* with its magnificent passages and *The Prelude* with its triumphant revisions, would have given something near the first rank to any poet who had not written the earlier volumes. Indeed, it would be interesting to hear which poets would have stood higher. The second general remark is this, that we should beware of ascribing the "two voices" wittily discriminated in J. K. Stephen's sonnet to a weakness of Wordsworth's special creed about poetic diction. A poet's creed usually amounts to no more than this, that the kind of poetry he feels most able to write is the kind of poetry that ought to be written. After all, Wordsworth's creed, such as it was, justified his best poems and his best passages. The special defect of Wordsworth is not that he professed certain beliefs, but that, like many other creative artists, he had no power of self-criticism. He was so fully conscious of the feeling behind his utterance, that he was unable to know when he had transmitted the feeling and when he had failed to transmit it. No one could have convinced Wordsworth that *The Sailor's Mother* was a worse poem than *Lucy Gray*. The third general remark is that we must not be misled by enthusiastic assertions that Wordsworth is valuable as the "teacher" of this or that doctrine. Thus, the actual doctrine implied [illegible] value, [illegible] fering [illegible] who [illegible] elieve literally that every human infant arrives trailing clouds of celestial glory. The value of any creative writer's work depends upon [illegible]

end of his life Coleridge was incapable of understanding the duty of fulfilling an obligation, though his sense of an obligation as an "idea" would inspire him to torrents of eloquence. One of the unwritten tragedies in the history of English literature is the affection he inspired in Dorothy Wordsworth, whose tense and responsive mind was later to snap under the strain of repressed emotion.

The poetry of Coleridge's early manhood (1794–8) is a mirror of himself, eloquent, loose-girt, strongly inclined to preach. It lacks the individuality which is the soul of poetry. His earliest poetical volumes are *Poems on Various Subjects* (1796), *Ode on the Departing Year* (1796), *Fears in Solitude*, with *France, An Ode*, and *Frost at Midnight* (1798). There were earlier prose tracts. It is sometimes urged that Wordsworth's period of full inspiration was short; but Coleridge's was shorter still. For a year or two Coleridge spoke in poetry as mortal man had never spoken before; and then having wandered into his metaphysical Venusberg he could never get out, and his song was lost to men. William and Dorothy Wordsworth first revealed him to himself. In daily intercourse with them, first at Stowey (1797–8), then more fitfully in the Lake Country (1800–3), all his enduring poetry was composed. After his fatal visit to Germany he became hypnotized by what seemed his power of explaining the inexplicable; and in the frothy sea of German metaphysics, with opium as the beckoning siren, Coleridge the poet was engulfed.

Though the poet was dead, the philosopher might have accomplished a giant's work in criticism, had it not been for his moral debility; for Coleridge, oddly enough, had a journalist's ability to write when he had to. His attempt to revert in 1796 to an eighteenth-century type of periodical called *The Watchman* failed at the tenth number, but he was a contributor to *The Morning Post* between 1798 and 1802, and later produced *The Friend* which ran to twenty-eight numbers from 1809 to 1810, and was afterwards republished, much revised, in later years. He worked, too, for Dan Stuart on *The Courier*. His powers of spoken monologue were exhibited in various Unitarian pulpits (one appearance being immortalized in Hazlitt's essay *My First Acquaintance with Poets*) and afterwards in various courses of lectures on Shakespeare and other poets between 1810 and 1818, a venture which ought to have succeeded, but which failed through the incapacity of the lecturer to keep to time, to place or to subject. His moral debility was increased by the opium habit, the beginnings of which go back as far as 1797. Two things alone saved him from total shipwreck: first, the unwearied tenderness of friends, old and new, and, next, some remnants of the religious impulse which continued to exert itself against reiterated defeat. After ten years of debasement, he sought refuge with James Gillman, a physician of Highgate (1816), and remained an "inmate" till his

nine, was sent off to the rough life of Christ's Hospital, and was never to know again, as child or man, the meaning of domestic solicitude and creative love. When we are tempted to exclaim against the faults of the man, let us think of the forlorn, homeless waif, cast almost in infancy on the untender mercy of a charity school. However, Coleridge, who in later life developed an unappeased appetite for humiliations, doubtless found some protective tissue even in childhood. Books were his chief solace, and in a short time he became the amazingly erudite "inspired charity boy" of Charles Lamb's beautiful vignette. He was moved to the writing of English verse by the tepid and blameless sonnets of Bowles; but no explanation of this outburst should be looked for in Bowles. When the moment for incandescence has come, any book, any poem, any line of any poem will kindle the fire. *But there were other excitements.* He fell in love, as youths will, with the sister of a schoolfellow, just at the time when he should have been living the studious life of a penniless youth in search of a clerical career. He entered Jesus College, Cambridge, in [illegible], and in [illegible], under the spur of debt or [illegible]

[illegible] discharge and he was readmitted, with due penalties, to his college. Some two months later (June 1794) began that acquaintance with Southey, then an Oxford unde[illegible] the next few years of his life. [illegible] preferment in the church utte[illegible] [illegible] mmunity [illegible] was not a movement in tune with the universal fraternity of the age—it was to be an aristocratic, not a democratic, Utopia. One might call it a reading-party combined with a back-to-the-land ideal "What does Your Worship know of farming?" asked Lamb of Coleridge, but no doubt Coleridge had an "idea" of farming, as he had an "idea" of most things. His fervent advocacy of the Pantisocracy discovered [illegible]

[illegible] named Fricker as the appropriate wife for a *Pantisocrat*—Southey himself taking the second, and their associate Robert Lovell the third. Of course the luckless Coleridge got the wrong one, but almost any woman would have been the wrong one. Sara Fricker, who became Mrs Coleridge in 1795, had many deficiencies, but she is entitled to our pity, for Coleridge was probably the most disastrous husband (except Shelley) who ever lived. From the beginning to the

immediately after *The Ancient Mariner*, and shortly before the little band at Stowey was broken up, never again to meet under such "indulgent skies". Though the famous metrical scheme is not so new as Coleridge supposed, it is new as Coleridge used it, and in his use of it there is a magic that no former or subsequent writer ever captured. *Christabel* is the very poetry of poetry.

Part of the ill-luck that pursued Coleridge is the interpretation of his friendship and short partnership with Wordsworth into an identity of poetic aims and methods. The obvious fact is that they were poets of different essence. Wordsworth was as incapable of writing *The Ancient Mariner* as Coleridge was of writing *The Leech-Gatherer*. From William and Dorothy he learned to look at nature both largely and minutely; but in his poetry he presents natural details with a magic entirely his own. Wordsworth, by comparison, is realistic. Of his place in the poetic movement of his time there is no need to speak at length. It was the hour of romance; and of pure, ethereal romance, the poetry of Coleridge is the supreme embodiment. He was indifferent to the medieval properties dear to Scott. It was in the subtler, more spiritual, regions of romance that Coleridge found his home. Even the poetically moral conclusion of *The Ancient Mariner* is a sign of the spiritual presence which, in his faith, bound "man and bird and beast" in one mystical body and fellowship. Oddly enough, he showed some talent for the drama. *Remorse* (1813—an expansion of the earlier *Osorio*), in the style of Schiller's *The Robbers*, lacked the full courage of its theme and inclined to current stage sentiment, but it had a fair run. *Zapoyla*, "in humble imitation of *The Winter's Tale*", is less static, but less successful. More important are his translations (1799–1800) from Schiller's *Wallenstein* trilogy. *The Fall of Robespierre* by Coleridge and Southey can be dismissed as an efflorescence of revolutionary youth.

Of Coleridge's prose works the most important is *Biographia Literaria* (1817), and even of this only the beginning and ending are valuable. The middle part, containing philosophical matter foolishly taken without acknowledgment from Schelling, has no importance. The earlier part of the book has autobiographical value; the latter part, which gains immensely in interest if read with Wordsworth's collected poems and preface of 1815, which, together with *The Excursion* (1814), partly inspired it, contains some of the finest philosophical poetic criticism in the English language. The book, in a sense, is not a book. The helpless author merely put together whatever happened to be present to his mind on any occasion of effort, and filled it out to the required length with irrelevant matter. The parts are thus better than the whole. In fact, there is no "whole". In his critical judgment Coleridge was far more magnanimous to Wordsworth than Wordsworth was to him. The just enthusiasm of

death in 1834. This period of obligation finally evaded was the [illegible]

ful [illegible]

[illegible] *Khan*; *Th* [illegible] *Leaves* (1817). All that endures of his poetry could be contained in a score of pages; and, with few exceptions, it was written during the six years when he was in constant intercourse with Wordsworth (1797–1803). The influence of the two men upon each other is most remarkable. Neither wrote anything of permanent value till they had met. The immediate effect of Wordsworth on Coleridge was *The Ancient Mariner*, his one perfect finished poem, which should be [illegible] thought", he laments in a letter to Southey (11 December 1794); and a "body of thought" stiffens such early efforts as *Religious Musings* and the *Ode on the Departing Year*. After the meeting with Wordsworth the need for "a body of thought" disappears. Of all poems in the English language, the best parts of *The Ancient Mariner*, and the whole of *Kubla Khan* and *Christabel* are most free from "a body of thought". The prose rigmarole in which Coleridge tells the story of the coming and going of the vision called *Kubla Khan* is a characteristic piece of self-deception. So far from being an opium dream, *Kubla Khan* is the product of one unexpected lucid interval before the fumes closed up once more the expression of the spirit; moreover, it is complete. What could be added to it? It is pure poetry, and it is perfect.

[illegible] sense they are the least original of poems, in another sense they are the most striking example of what the creative imagination can do with mere matter of fact. Except Lamb, contemporary critics, friendly or hostile, missed the magic of the *Mariner* and found fault with it. [illegible] took fright, and this [illegible] ute *Christabel*, [illegible] *Lyrical Ballads*, and for his subsequent attempts to give his *Mariner* fantasy some logical coherence. The first part of *Christabel* was written almost

reminiscent of another famous master of the epistolary style, Wilkins Micawber.

When criticism has said its worst of Coleridge and biography has exposed his degradation, we still contemplate with admiration, and the pity that is akin to love, the inspiring though shattered figure of this once radiant being—not less than archangel ruined, and the excess of glory obscured.

VII. CRABBE

George Crabbe (1754–1832) was born at Aldeburgh, on the Suffolk coast. He began as a medical apprentice, but entered the world of letters in 1775 by publishing a poem called *Inebriety*, rawly and roughly imitated from Pope in versification, and frankly drawn from life in substance. Drunkenness was nasty and Crabbe bluntly said it was. His own father was an example of the vice and the young poet's life was very unhappy. To the years 1775–9 belong several religious poems and a blank verse composition entitled *Midnight*. In 1779 Crabbe took the bold step of abandoning his provincial medical work and seeking a literary livelihood in London. Few poets have more courageously endured privation and disappointment. His attempts at public verse attracted not the least notice. Having reached almost the last stage of destitution he wrote early in 1781 to Burke, who gave him personal and material aid and encouraged him to enter the church. He was ordained at the end of 1781.

Among the poems shown by Crabbe to Burke was *The Library*, published in 1781, an interesting and original, though not a very individual composition. His next poem was an attempt to contrast village life, as the writer knew it, with the Arcadian life described by authors of pastorals. When completed, the poem was published as *The Village* (1783), and it introduced a new poet of pronounced character to the English public. The work was needed. The pastoral, beginning in beauty, had become a piece of literary humbug. Gay's *Shepherd's Week*, with its parody of Ambrose Philips, had helped to kill it; and Crabbe owed something to the form and tone of this excellent poem. Disdaining literary idealism, he told the plain truth about the English village. "Nature's sternest painter, yet her best", Byron said of him, in a well-known line. But the picture is not all gloom. In poetic workmanship *The Village* reaches a point that Crabbe never surpassed. For over twenty years he was poetically silent. Then, in 1807, at the age of nearly fifty-three, Crabbe published another volume, which contained, besides reprints of the earlier pieces, some important new poems, *The Parish Register*, *The Hall of Justice* and *Sir Eustace Grey*. In these, and especially in the first, we find Crabbe the realistic verse-novelist of country life. His

his praise is equalled only by the respectful delicacy of his difference; and against Wordsworth's detractors he spoke fearlessly. As a critical [illegible]

made available to English readers of Shakespeare a view that was both new and precious, even though its romantic tendencies developed later in the nineteenth century into the sentimental "Bardolatry" from which the eighteenth century was free and from which the twentieth has still to escape.

[illegible]

gave more time and thought, from the days of *Conciones ad Populum* and *The Watchman* (1[illegible]
Constitution of Church [illegible]
of himself as the heir [illegible]
no constructive ideal.

The four volumes of Coleridge's *Literary Remains* (1838–9) contained some excellent matter since distributed in various collections [illegible]

the adventure. [illegible]
gathered from S[illegible]
because it prese[illegible]
[illegible] a true understanding of
[illegible] -accusation and self-pity
[illegible] expansiveness too oft [illegible]

deserves favourable mention. After various occupations he found that writing was the real work of his life, and he settled at Keswick. He was made Poet Laureate in 1813. We may feel that, compared with Coleridge, Southey is an unsympathetic figure; we may feel that he deserved the castigations he received from Byron and Hazlitt and even from Lamb; but we must not forget that Southey lived an honourable life, that while Coleridge talked, Southey worked—worked himself literally to death on the treadmill of "miscellaneous authorship"—and that he supported not only his own household, but the widow of Lovell and the wife and family of Coleridge, who, without him, would have been homeless and unhappy.

To discuss Southey's large-scale poetical works is hardly necessary, for they are not read, they never will be read, they do not deserve to be read. Presenting outwardly an imposing frontage, they are within entirely null and void. They are the product of literary industry, not of literary creation. Probably no man who wrote so much has contributed so little to the progress of poesy. Everyone knows the few popular short pieces, such as *After Blenheim* and the lines beginning "My days among the dead are passed"—unquestionably his finest poem; and they are all we need to know. For record we note the principal volumes: *Poems* (1794) by Southey and Lovell; *The Fall of Robespierre* (1794), a juvenile drama by Southey and Coleridge; *Joan of Arc* (1796), an epic; *Poems* (1797); *Thalaba the Destroyer* (1801); *Madoc* (1805); *The Curse of Kehama* (1810); *Roderick, the last of the Goths* (1814), and *A Vision of Judgment* (1831), famous as the laureate exercise in bathos which provoked Byron's retaliatory comic masterpiece with the same title. There is nothing to say about any of them. Excepting the last, they are not even bad, for then they might be amusing. Not one indicates so much as a transitory visitation of the creative spirit.

Upon most of Southey's prose compilations a similar judgment must be passed; though here the exceptions are more numerous. No one will ever read *The History of Brazil* (1810–19), or *The Book of the Church* (1824), or *Sir Thomas More: or Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society* (1829), adversely criticized by Macaulay, or *Essays Moral and Political* (1832). What remain? There is the excellent *Life of Nelson* (1813) and the less excellent *Life of Wesley* (1820). *Lives of the British Admirals* (1833, etc.) can be read in, rather than read. There is also *The Doctor* (1834, etc.), with a system of "chapters" and "interchapters", which some find fascinating and others find infuriating; but at least it contains the immortal story of the three bears. The posthumous *Commonplace Books* (1849–51) will set up any miscellaneous journalist with matter for the whole of his working life. The edition of Cowper and the selections from the poets are

next publication was *The Borough*, a poem in twenty-four parts or "letters", published in 1810, followed by *Tales* in 1812. After a lapse of seven years came the last volume published in his lifetime,

Village, appeared the first volume of Cowper. By the time of his death, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Scott, Campbell, Byron, Shelley and Keats had done their main work for English poetry. Neverthe-

though his medium was the elegant couplet of the eighteenth century. He had nothing of Wordsworth's vision, nor, in fact, did

VIII. SOUTHEY AND LESSER POETS OF THE LATER EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

It is easy to be unjust to Robert Southey (1774–1843), who, after

has the right to recant juvenile beliefs and to write even sternly in defence of different beliefs acquired by adult experience. The events

spoken. But the immediate destination of Southey was not the Susquehanna, but Spain and Portugal, where he was required to help

teristics by some earlier work, such as that of Helen Maria Williams (1762–1827), who narrowly escaped execution as a Girondin. But, in itself, it combined German romanticism, French sentimentality and Italian trifling into almost imbecile English balderdash and was inadequately rather than excessively chastized in the satires of Gifford and Mathias. One of the band, "Anna Matilda", i.e. Mrs Cowley (see p. 606), the author of *The Belle's Stratagem* (1782), was certainly not devoid of sense.

It is pleasant to turn to William Lisle Bowles (1762–1850), famous first because his blameless verses inspired two poets, Coleridge and Southey, and next because his edition of Pope inflamed a third poet, Byron. Feeble as they seem, his sonnets had a note of poetic truth indiscernible in Darwin, Hayley, and the Della Cruscans, and must have appealed strongly to those weary of mere diction. But it was Milton, not Bowles, who inspired Wordsworth's supreme compositions in the sonnet form. Bowles was courageous in faith as well as in practice; he chastized Pope for want of vision, and when Campbell and Byron stood out to defend Pope's craftsmanship, they found the Wiltshire parson no mean fighter. Perhaps both sides forgot that, in the best poetry, inspiration and expression unite into one creation.

IX. BLAKE

William Blake (1757–1827) has been so often re-discovered and so regularly identified with the fancies of the re-discoverers that the reader should be clear, at the outset, about certain facts. The first is that Blake was born when Johnson was at the zenith of his power, twelve years before Wordsworth and fifteen years before Coleridge came into the world. *Poetical Sketches* appeared a year before Johnson's death. These points of time may serve to remind us that Blake was not an ill-used and unrecognized contemporary of Swinburne. A second fact is that Blake received nothing resembling an ordinary education; and, being brought up in a Swedenborgian family inclined to the cloudier parts of religion, he had little acquaintance with the ordinary Englishman's religious ideas. A third fact is that his own reading, apart from the poets, included imaginative treatises on Gnosticism and Druidism. From discussions of Gnosticism he learned that the Supreme Creative God and the Just and Jealous God of the Mosaic law were different beings—that the God of Vengeance and the Devil were identified as evil spirits. A definite Oriental dualism of good and evil is an essential feature of Gnosticism. From Gnosticism, too, Blake derived his doctrine of the "Emanations" or cosmic female forms which are pursued by the corresponding "Spectres" or male forms. Another source of Blake's cosmogony is the curious "Celtic" or "Druidical" revival of the eighteenth century, as ex-

admirable. When Southey's prose is good, as in the story of Nelson's death, it is very good indeed. Hardly anything he wrote is so re-

below himself, and even after nearly fifty years of almost daily pro-

Among the smaller songsters of the century few only can be noticed here. Two belong to the pre-Southey period, Christopher Anstey (1724–1805) and John Hall-Stevenson (1718–85). Anstey, who had scholarship, produced the famous *New Bath Guide* (1766), a series of verse-letters, mainly in light anapaests of the Prior type, which at once became popular. Hall-Stevenson takes us back to Sterne, for he was "Eugenius", master of "Crazy Castle", and author of *Crazy Tales* (1782), *Makarony Fables* (1767), *Fables for Grown Gentlemen* (1770), together with some political skits.

Plants (1789) and *The Economy of Vegetation* (1792) are the constituent parts, is historically important as the work in which elaborate "poetic diction" is most incongruously applied to crude facts of science. The absurdities of *The Loves of the Triangles*—the witty *Anti-Jacobin* parody—are hardly greater than those of the serious original. Darwin's verse is almost faultless, yet it is everything that poetry is eminently not. In the controversy about Charles Darwin's theory of "natural selection", the simple evolutionary views of Erasmus Darwin, as expressed in his *Zoonomia* (1794–6) and *Phytologia* (1799), were re-affirmed, not altogether without malice, by Samuel Butler.

The egregious William Hayley (1745–1820) would be forgotten had he not made celebrated contacts with Cowper and Blake. *The Triumphs of Temper* (1781) and numerous other works in prose and verse are now utterly vacuous. Hayley was a kindly but oppressive and possessive man. He did really help some more gifted men, and that is the best we can say of him.

For the very nadir of the poetic art one must go beyond even

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sent to make drawings in ancient churches, especially Westminster Abbey, he fell under the influence of Gothic art, which became to him the supreme expression of truth, while classicism was the embodiment of error. Gothic art was but one of the influences upon the growing boy. Another was the compelling power of the poets he read and tried to imitate—as all true artists imitate. The imitations were not more than experiments to Blake himself; but in the eyes of friends they were performances; and so, in 1783, they were printed as *Poetical Sketches*—a shabby, mean little book, but one of the most astonishing first volumes ever produced. Very few of the lyrics date after 1778, and one is as early as 1769. There are, of course, several failures; but some of the pure lyrics are not only original in substance and daring in form, but exquisite in quality. To this juvenile production belong such perfect poems as *To the Evening Star, How sweet I rom'd from field to field* (written at fourteen), *My silks and fine array* and *To the Muses,* with its memorable last stanza. It is doubtful whether so precious a collection of *juvenilia* ever came from any poet.

Blake's mundane world began to widen. He studied drawing at the Royal Academy, where he never felt at home; he was a natural rebel, and an Academy is quite properly the guardian of tradition. The good Sir Joshua ventured to give Blake some very innocuous and even helpful advice about his drawing; and from that moment Reynolds was consigned for ever to the lowest circle of Blake's Hell. But Blake found new friends in Stothard, Barry, Fuseli and Flaxman. In those days all illustrations to books were produced by hand-engraving, and Blake had no difficulty in earning a living. By this time he had a wife to support; for with characteristic intuition he picked out an almost illiterate girl and married her. She proved an excellent wife. She knew her husband was a genius, and accepted him without troubling her mind with attempts at understanding. Blake's friendship with Flaxman brought him into cultured society, in which he felt so out of place that he expressed his feelings in a curious work called *An Island in the Moon*. When *An Island* does not anticipate the conversations of *Crotchet Castle* it anticipates the conversations of *Alice in Wonderland*. The book belongs to c. 1780, and it was unknown till the present century. It is the largest example of Blake's humour; but he was not educated enough to write literary absurdities with the firm touch of Peacock or Lewis Carroll. Inspiration could not help him there. The next publication of Blake was the enchanting little coloured volume called *Songs of Innocence* (1789), to which in 1794 was added as an example of "Contrary States" the collection called *Songs of Experience*. No separate edition of *Songs of Experience* is known. The full title of the complete work is *Songs of Innocence and of Experience shewing the Two Contrary States of the Human Soul*. The two sets of songs should be read together. They

hibited in such works as William Stukeley's *Stonehenge* (1740), Edward
Celtic Re
Britons (1
(1774), w
Musical a
of which he would learn that the ancient inhabitants of Britain were descended directly from Noah, who taught them the purest traditions of primitive faith and language reaching back to Adam and to God Himself. The Druids taught Pythagoras, who taught the Greeks. So Blake tells us that Adam was a Druid and that the Greeks were Druids. When Blake makes Jesus walk upon England's pleasant pastures, he speaks literally, not figuratively. A fourth fact is that

education or of good models. Education may not do much for a poet, but it can teach him what to leave out. Blake, like others of his time, accepted the language of Ossian as the language of sublimity, and in that cloudy idiom he endeavoured to transmit a personal mythology as alien to English mental habit as that of a Hindu. He failed because there was no common ground of matter or of manner on which writer and reader could meet. A fifth fact is that Blake's works were never published, in the ordinary sense of the term. *Poetical Sketches*, his first precious booklet, was a printer's job; the succeeding books were charming or elaborate artistic productions appealing to collectors, and incapable of wide diffusion among ordinary readers. Very few copies were produced. Sometimes the pictorial designs say something not clearly expressed in the text. Still, it is upon cold print and not upon glowing design that Blake must depend for his place in English literature. The circumstances of production prevented any wide knowledge of his work,

interpretations of defects, deficiencies and difficulties in Blake arising from the circumstances of his life. Blake is sometimes obscure

divine.

Blake was born in Soho, and apprenticed to an engraver.

restrictive Law. Blake's belief in physical freedom was part of his doctrine of enlightened liberty. One recalls with interest that during these years he knew Mary Wollstonecraft. Parallel with *The Visions*, and probably composed at the same time, is *America: a Prophecy*, dated 1793. It is a short, beautiful and beautifully engraved poem. The combat of America with England is taken as a symbol in the developing life of man, with Urizen as the source of all repressive codes.

Up to this point Blake's writings preserve the spontaneity and confident strength that mark *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell.* But now a more sombre note is heard. The exquisite, heart-taking poetry of the early songs gives place to the troubled utterance of prophecy. The *Songs of Experience* themselves mark a change of spirit; and in his true Lambeth books Blake is less the affirmer of faith and more the denouncer of errors—a woeful change in a poet. With that change came a change in his power of expression. The period of pure poetic inspiration had passed. What we demand of any kind of poem is that it shall succeed in its own kind. Blake does not succeed in the kind he now chose to write. His early poems came straight from his heart with perfect natural simplicity. In his later confusion of Gnosticism and Druidism, with additions from Swedenborg, Boehme and Law, and complications induced by the French Revolution, Blake was lost when he came to expression. The fault is not that his poetry became implicated with ideas, but that it became implicated with ideas imperfectly apprehended. To see visions is not enough; the poet must be able to say what he saw. An accomplished writer would have said what he fancied he saw; but Blake was not an accomplished writer, and he was fiercely honest. He tried hard to find truth for himself in the forms of his own mythology and he tried to transmit his convictions in the only dialect of sublimity he knew. But that semi-Scriptural, semi-Ossianic dialect is not the medium for an artist. It conceals rather than reveals "minute particulars"; it avoids the sharp demands of quality by resorting to clouds of quantity; and so, as Blake wrote on, the major poet is heard but intermittently in the long soliloquies of the minor prophet. Other poets have become bewildered "in the midway of this our mortal being", but few so stupendously as Blake, who, as engraver, could give almost monstrous energy to figures that, as poet, he could not make intelligible. He could not say all he wanted to say, and he was therefore driven to invent the mythology contained in *The Book of Urizen* (1794), with its complements *The Book of Ahania* (1795) and *The Book of Los* (1795). *Europe* (1794) and *The Song of Los* (1795), though they have the same mythological basis, approach rather nearer in tone to *America*. Milton now comes perceptibly into the story. Believing that the poet was of "God's party" and justified the evil that He did,

[illegible]

Holy Thursday we have the sweetness of charity; in the second the bitter crime of poverty. The poems are genuine evocations of the spirit of childhood, and they are real songs. The day was coming when to Blake the symbol was to be more than the song.

The first of the symbolical rhythmical chants, *Tiriel*, written in 1789, was not actually printed till 1874. The second, *The Book of Thel*, the next book to be issued in Blake's method of engraved and coloured reproduction, also belongs to 1789. The idyllic gentleness of its imagery and the not unpleasant blending of simplicity and formalism in the Ossianic diction, proclaim the mood of *Songs of Innocence*. Blake now began to meet persons, including Thomas Paine, favourable to the French Revolution. To this period belong the curious little sets of prose aphorisms, two called *There is no Natural Religion* and one called *All Religions are One*, as well as a work entitled *The French Revolution, A Poem in Seven Books*, alleged to have been "printed in 1791"; but only one book survives, in ordinary typography, and this was probably a proof. It was not really published till 1923. No more has ever been found. Whether more was written and destroyed as dangerous we do not know. The [illegible]

[illegible] marriage of Heaven and Hell [illegible]

[illegible]

Thomas Butts, bought regularly, and these transactions touch literature because of the valuable letters sent by Blake to his patron. *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* (1793) is the first of the lesser works among the "Lambeth Books". In it we meet Urizen, his God of the

the dead poet descends from his place in eternity and inhabits the living poet in order to annihilate the spiritual error to which *Paradise Lost* has given currency. Similar to *Milton* is *Jerusalem: The Emanation of the Giant Albion* produced between 1804–20. Here Man, or Albion, is the battle-ground wherein the forces of imagination contend against the forces of natural religion. Of the two *Milton* is preferable. Whether as poem or as design it is a great piece of work. *Jerusalem* is less easily comprehended.

The next period of Blake's life is sad. He laboured hard, and was not merely neglected, but openly derided. He was grossly cheated by the publisher Cromek over his picture of the Canterbury Pilgrims, but he endeavoured to place himself in public notice by an exhibition of his works held in 1809, the *Descriptive Catalogue* of which is an invaluable addition to his writings. The most violent criticism of Blake with definite assertion of his madness came from Southey. Charles Lamb, as usual, was on the side of the angels. A few other pieces demand mention. The theme and dramatic form of *The Ghost of Abel* (1822) were suggested by Byron's *Cain*. *Auguries of Innocence* may be regarded as a fragmentary poetic form of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. Many other fragments of great value were recovered from manuscripts, especially from that known as the Rossetti MS., of which a facsimile has recently been made. The reserve of poetic power in Blake is most clearly revealed in *The Everlasting Gospel*. Blake's prose has the directness and simplicity that distinguish his best poetry. Most of it is scattered as scribbled notes and *marginalia*. It is vigorous, epigrammatic, and at times peculiarly eloquent. His letters have intense interest and should be carefully read.

We sometimes forget, when we blame those who neglected Blake and left him to die in poverty, that his literary works were concealed rather than published. Wordsworth and Coleridge scarcely knew of his existence. While Wordsworth was still a schoolboy, Blake had found, and was using with consummate art, a diction almost perfect in its simplicity, aptness and beauty. His passion for freedom was akin to that which moved Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey in their earlier years, though, in its later form, it came nearer to Shelley's revolt against convention. The final note of Blake's career is not one of tragedy. His own works and the record of others show that he had subdued the world to his own unconquerable spirit. He died singing.

[illegible]

without knowing it". Hence *The Book of Urizen* contains obvious inversions of Miltonic episodes. In *The Book of Ahania* Blake further identifies Urizen, as the author of the Mosaic code, with Jehovah. [illegible]

[illegible] *and Judgement* [illegible] he altered this [illegible] *The Death and Judgement of Albion the Ancient Man. Vala* remained in manuscript and was never properly printed till the present century. The four Zoas are Urizen (Reason), Urthona (Spirit), Luvah (Passion) and [illegible] and incoherence; yet there are scattered passages of much imaginative power.

The prosperity of the Lambeth period drew to a close, and through the influence of Flaxman Blake was offered engraving work by William Hayley. In 1800 Blake and his wife went to live with that self-satisfied dabbler in the arts at Felpham, near Bognor. Hayley was well-meaning, but possessive, patronizing and philanthropical. Blake's growing resentment expressed itself in biting epigrams, and at last he escaped and returned to London in 1803. He had endured much, and was now to know poverty immediate and prospective. At Felpham he had revised *Vala* into *The Four Zoas* and had almost [illegible] of the same character and almost as attractive. In *Milton* the spirit of

Burns need no such elucidation. That he was such a man as could have written his poems should be enough for us.

Robert Burns, born at Alloway, was the elder of two sons of a pious Ayrshire farmer. The story of their hard struggle with the unremunerative soil of Scotland belongs to biography. Robert had to make long journeys to pursue his education. He was far from robust, and often enough his growing body suffered because he rarely had enough proper food. Quite early he began to show a rheumatic tendency. As he grew, he was impelled to write by his first affections. We cannot follow him in the moves he made in search of some useful agricultural acquirements—surveying, flax-dressing, and so forth. Everywhere he found companions of his own sex with whom he joined in clubs for debating, as well as friends of the other sex about whom he wrote verses. He saw more of life, some of it with sailors, who taught him to drink deep, and encountered books, such as those of Sterne, Richardson and Mackenzie, which taught him something of the larger social world. Better still, he discovered a modernized volume of Blind Harry's *William Wallace*, and was kindled to write of his native land. The projects for his advancement all failed, and the father died in 1784 full of dismal apprehensions about the future of his elder son.

On the advice of Gavin Hamilton, a genial lawyer, the two brothers took a farm at Mossgiel near Mauchline, and at Mauchline Burns was publicly condemned in open church for his transgressions. An old friend, John Rankine, having heard of Robert's ordeal, wrote to ask the truth. Instead of sending the usual prose reply, Robert replied in the *Epistle to John Rankine*. This was the true release of Burns the poet after his formal labours in the art of writing. The real Burns had arrived; that is, the Burns who wrote what he alone could write. *The Twa Herds* followed a falling out of two local pastors. The public reprimand of Gavin Hamilton for lax church attendance by an "Auld Licht" named William Fisher gave Burns an opportunity which he splendidly took in *Holy Willie's Prayer*. This and other poems enjoyed an immense manuscript circulation. But Burns was soon in desperate personal and domestic trouble and resolved to escape by emigrating to the West Indies. He naturally desired to leave behind some literary relic of himself, and, after taking the advice of friends, issued what is now one of the most celebrated "first books" in the history of English literature, *Poems, chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*, Kilmarnock, 1786. His hopes revived. Books might produce money even though farming had failed.

Edinburgh became interested in the new poet, and to Edinburgh he went in 1786. Almost his first act was to visit the grave of Fergusson. But there was no grave. The poor poet had been huddled into Scottish earth as a pauper; and Burns might have read in that

X. BURNS: LESSER SCOTTISH VERSE

Robert Burns (1759–96) and William Blake were almost exact contemporaries, Blake being two years older. There is some resemblance in the circumstances of their early life. Both were born into re-

Both were poor, yet escaped the

Blake received the elements of education at hôme, and thereafter made the great "seer-poets" and mystics his text books. Burns, better educated formally, thanks to the determination of a strong-minded father, found his natural

because he is a great poet, but because he is a Scottish poet. Burns

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portance to local patriotism, but its importance to Burns himself.

thing. One personal matter may here be mentioned and dismissed A history of literature is not concerned with the private lives of poets, unless the lives offer elucidations of the poems. The poems of

the noblest poem in the Kilmarnock volume of 1786 is *The Cotter's Saturday Night*, a fine piece, but a curious hybrid; for its stanza is the Spenserian, borrowed, not from the great original, but from Beattie, and, being almost free from dialect, the poem even suggests Goldsmith of *The Deserted Village*. Burns, like Brueghel, is strongest in rustic themes. He attains to the highest triumphs of his art in depicting the manners and circumstances of his fellow peasants, and in dealing with rustic beliefs, superstitions, cust[illegible] His themes did not always afford sc[illegible] of poetry, and to that extent Matthew [illegible]nial of the highest rank to Burns. But his mastery of the serio-comic, semi-supernatural, and macabre manner in verse is complete, and he uses all the old stanza forms superbly. No more withering, scornful, serio-comic piece than *Holy Willie's Prayer* exists. *Tam o' Shanter* and *The Jolly Beggars* are masterpieces of the wild kind. Just as he used the "Habbie" stanza perfectly in *Poor Mailie's Elegy*, so he showed equal mastery of the *Christis Kirk* stave in *The Holy Fair* and *Halloween*. He used the stave of *The Cherrie and the Slae* in the *Epistle to Davie*; but in the opening and final recitativos of the boisterous *Jolly Beggars* he employed it for humorous descriptive purposes with a picturesque felicity not surpa[illegible] the forms of *The Jolly Beggars* are evidence of an immense technical mastery. Burns thought of the drama, but did not actually write a play. The last years of his life were fruitful in the songs that give him not merely a national, but a universal reputation. To name any fifty of them would be but to name fifty of the world's best songs. A true song, whether by Heine, or Goethe, or Shakespeare, or some obscure and distant singer whose very name has perished, transcends all difficulties of language and oddities of dialect and comes home to the hearts of all men everywhere; and so in spite of their association with "Scotch drink, Scotch religion and Scotch manners" the poems of Burns entitle him to a place among the great poets of the world.

Many writers, who must be briefly dealt with, belong to the category in which fervent patriots would include Burns, namely, Scottish poets, rather than great poets. Some have already been named in an earlier chapter. First comes a notable group of women. Joanna Baillie (1762–1851) belongs chiefly to the theatre by right of her nine *Plays on the Passions* (1798–1836) and her successful tragedy *De Montfort* (1800) in which Kemble and Siddons appeared. *Fugitive Pieces* (1790) and *Metrical Legends* (1823) contain most of her Scottish verses. Lady Anne Lindsay—afterwards Barnard—(1750–1825) is universally known by one popular song *Auld Robin Gray*. Susanna Blamire (1747–94), of English birth and descent, is remembered for *And Ye shall walk in Silk Attire*. Mrs John Hunter, wife of the famous anatomist, has achieved immortality in *My Mother bids me bind my*

unidentified grave an omen of his own ill-success. Edinburgh patronized the "manly peasant", but did nothing for him. He had

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contains some of his noblest work. He was deeply moved by the

(1793–1811) made efforts to preserve the dying lyrics. The first was a sincere and humble effort, the second more pretentious. To these publications Burns contributed about three hundred songs and adaptations. Unlike Thomas Moore, Burns was entirely destitute of an ear for music; yet by some inexplicable instinct he could fit new words to old tunes without a failure In 1790 he wrote perhaps his greatest poem, *Tam o' Shanter*, at a sitting—the "perhaps" being merely a hesitation as to whether the best of all is not *The Jolly Beggars*.

Ellisland farm failed like all the others At the end of December

the squireens of Dumfries, professed revolutionary sympathies, quarrelled with the local gentry, and steadily lost his power of work. Returning late one night after a carouse, he fell into the snow and slept. Then returned upon him in full all the rheumatic tortures that had so far but played with him, and after long and excruciating torment of mind and body he died in 1796. Whether Dumfries is the place in Scotland in which Burns suffered most is perhaps disputable; but Dumfries proudly exhibits his house and

also a voluminous reader of "those Excellent New Songs that are hawked about the country in baskets, or exposed in stalls in the streets". Much of his pure technique he derived from a study of the greater English writers as represented in various collections. Thus,

versions of old songs. His *Songs of Scotland Ancient and Modern* (four volumes, 1825) include some of his own compositions; but it is by his non-Scottish *A wet sheet and a flowing sea* that he is best known. Lady John Scott (Alicia Anne Spottiswoode, 1811–1900), a late survival, was the author of one of the best known of Scottish songs, *Annie Laurie*, based on an original belonging to the seventeenth century.

With the purely secular verse flourished a school of sacred verse, of which Blair's *The Grave* is an example. Two young men, Michael Bruce and John Logan, studied together at Edinburgh University. Bruce died in 1767, at the age of twenty-one; and, in 1770, Logan published, from papers supplied by the family, *Poems on Several Occasions by Michael Bruce*, with poems by other authors. In 1781 Logan, now a minister, published a volume of poems containing an improved version of *The Cuckoo*, which had appeared in Bruce's volume, together with certain metrical paraphrases of Scripture. *The Cuckoo* and the paraphrases have been claimed for Bruce; but Logan's *Braes of Yarrow* and other poems in the volume show as great poetic aptitude as any pieces by Bruce. The question of authorship remains unsettled. This record, necessarily brief and selective, must close with Robert Pollok's once admired poem *The Course of Time* (1827), a lengthy discussion in blank verse modelled on Milton. There is no reason for considering it specially Scottish, or valuable, in any sense.

XI. THE PROSODY OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In an earlier section (see p. 431) it was shown that there was a changing practice in prosody with hardly any contemporary theory to accompany it. We shall now find that, during the period covered, there was no great revolution in poetic practice, but a body of poetic theory so considerable as to be almost the foundation of that study in English literature. The one main prosodical principle of the period (Ossian and Blake are of course exceptional) is that which directs the restriction of every line to a fixed number of syllables with a fixed fall of stresses. Of this principle the greatest example was Pope. But hough the couplet of Pope is invulnerable and imperishable, it is nfortunately not inimitable. The dangers of monotony and of convention were fatally illustrated in the glittering frigidity of Darwin. Iowever, the heroic couplet did not suppress other metrical forms. he octosyllabic couplet and the Spenserian stanza both achieved ccess, and blank verse, inspired by Milton, reproduces sometimes at great poet's manner and sometimes only his mannerisms. The niting effect of the prevailing regularity is shown most oppressively

Hair, which was set to music by Haydn. Caroline Oliphant, Lady Nairne (1766–1845) is specially remembered for one song, *The Land of the Leal*—a woman's song, the frequent substitution of "Jean" for "John" being mere sentimentalism; but Lady Nairne also wrote *The Lass of Gowrie, Hunting Tower, The Auld Hoose, The Rowan Tree, Caller Herrin'*, the immortal *Hundred Pipers* and *The Laird of Cockpen*. Her Jacobite songs include *Wha'll be King but Charlie, Will Ye no come back again* and a version of *Charlie is my Darling*. Lady Nairne is the greatest of Scottish women poets.

The lesser male poets include Sir Alexander Boswell (1775–1822) of Auchinleck, the eldest son of Johnson's biographer, who contributed to various collections and in 1803 published anonymously *Songs Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*. Robert Tannahill (1774–1810) the Paisley weaver published in 1817 a volume of *Poems and Songs* which are monotonously amorous. His most famous poems are *Jessie the Flower of Dunblane* and *The Braes* [illegible]

[illegible] a Romance and [illegible] appeared in 1832; and, together with James Hogg, he [illegible] out in 18[illegible]

[illegible]

wa[illegible] 1835). Till he was nearly thirty he had never learned to read or write; but when he heard *Tam o' Shanter* recited, he was so moved that he vowed to become Burns's successor. Hogg could not succeed Burns, who was in intellectual power as well as in mastery of song, far above him. However, he had a pleasing fluency, and his eccentricity of manner made him rather a butt among the wits of Edinburgh. He lives vividly as the irrepressible "Shepherd" in *Noctes Ambrosianae*. Unlike Burns, he resolved to conquer Edinburgh as a man of letters; and he actually succeeded. The reputation of Hogg now rests mainly on *The Queen's Wake* (1813), which contains his most familiar lines, *Bonny Kilmeny*. Though Hogg had vowed to succeed Burns, his poetry is more akin to that of Scott. He had no vernacular bias and wrote verse in normal English with perfect facility; but lack of early intellectual discipline made him diffuse.

John Leyden (1775–1811), like Hogg, the son of a shepherd, was associated with him in supplying Scott with ballad versions for *The Minstrelsy* [illegible]

[illegible] cases, he merely modified traditional

century prosodists, thenceforward, is a long one, but only a few writers can be noticed here.

Joshua Steele in *Prosodia Rationalis* declared prosody to be essentially a matter of musical rhythm. Tyrwhitt, in his justly famous edition of Chaucer, showed himself a real prosodist and, by grammatical detective work, rediscovered the right way of reading that poet. Shenstone, Gray, Johnson, Goldsmith and Cowper were poets who turned their attention definitely to prosody. Mason (John, not William) and Mitford were prosodists who appreciated the beauty of poetry and extended their view beyond contemporary practice. Shenstone's prosodical observations are few and scattered, but they are sound. Gray was the first to recognize the presence and the continuity of the trisyllabic foot in generally disyllabic metres from Middle English downward; and he exhibits in his fragmentary *Metrum* many other signs of historical knowledge and metrical vision. Johnson, in his prosodic remarks on Milton, Spenser and a few others, is, professedly, at least, of the straitest sect of believers in fixed syllabism; yet he makes so many concessions that he almost reaches the extreme of admitting that any verse is successful if it succeeds. Johnson had not edited Shakespeare without learning something of prosody. John Mason is somewhat inclined to musical views of prosody and he settles the dispute of accent *versus* quantity by saying sensibly that what principally determines quantity in English is emphasis or stress. But his greatest merit is that he refuses the strict decasyllabic limitation, and recognizes "sweetness" in lines "irregularly" extended. Mitford's chief claim to praise is that he gives what is not to be found in any other prosodist of the eighteenth century except Gray, a regular survey of actual English poetry from the time that its elements came together. Last we have Cowper, who discusses prosody in a few letters and whose utterances are therefore fragmentary. He laid down the salutary rule that "without attention to quantity good verse cannot possibly be written", by which he meant (as Mason taught) that the syllable intended to bear emphasis should be big enough to be able to bear it.

The period, though not of great importance, was of great interest. Writers were taking regular notice of prosody. Few of them, except Gray and Mitford, actually studied the practice of poets over a long period; most of them proceeded preposterously by formulating abstract principles and requiring the poets to conform: even theorists as dissimilar as Bysshe and Steele make the same fundamental error of beginning with the rule, instead of with that from which the rule must be extracted.

The curious can consult the less-known writers named above in the following editions: Bysshe, E. *Art of Poetry* (1702); Gildon, C. *The Complete Art of Poetry* (1718), *The Laws of Poetry* (1721);

in the lyric. The wild and formless "Pindaricks" of the seventeenth century continued among poets with more manner than matter, but gradually tamed their wildness when real poets like Collins and Gray began to write Odes. In smaller and lighter work, the adoption of [illegible]

which Smart's *Song to David* is a noble example. But all these forms, with the exception of the woollier Pindarics, are as regular as the couplet.

Prosodic theory is much more adventurous than prosodic practice, [illegible]

Bysshe, an *Art of Poetry*, often reprinted, though almost worthless. But its brief introduction, "Rules for Making English Verses", is an important statement of a clear case. Bysshe formulates the principles underlying the poetic practice of his time. He is strictly syllabic. There are no feet in English, merely a certain number of syllables, preferably ten. Upon certain of these syllables stresses may fall; and between certain of these syllables pauses may be made. He never mentions dactylic or anapaestic verse, but admits that accents may [illegible]

routed him in the next century. Other prosodists were not so placable. Pope, in his almost single prosodic reference, a letter of 1710 to H. Cromwell, is the complete follower of Bysshe, but Gildon, Pope's enemy, revolted against Bysshe's syllables and accents, and, though in a vague manner, introduced a system of applying musical terms and notes to prosody, a dangerous, seductive practice which has misled many. John Brightland and one or two more started another hare—the question of accent *versus* quantity—which has been coursed ever since, and which, also, will probably never be run down; for it is an obvious fact that in English poetry a syllable which is unquestionably "long" may be used as "short", and *vice versa*. Edward [illegible]

by drastic and sometimes almost tragic action. *The Brothers* (1769) contains pirates, a storm and a shipwreck as well as tearfully sympathetic characters. *The West Indian* (1771) presents the imagined freedom and sincerity of the plantations in contrast with city life. But early in the seventies there was a curious reversion of public taste. Adaptations from Voltaire and Molière came back, and William Mason composed *Elfrida* (1772) with a Greek chorus. Colman the elder borrowed from Plautus and Terence to produce *The Man of Business* (1774), and Cumberland drew inspiration from the *Adelphi* to write *The Choleric Man* (1774). Burgoyne's brief comedy *The Maid of the Oaks* belongs to the same year. But the two authors most conspicuously associated with the revolt against affectation and sentiment were Goldsmith and Sheridan. Of Goldsmith we have already spoken. *The Good Natur'd Man* (1767) had failed, not through its weakness, but through its strength. The genteel could not endure what we should call the realism of the bailiffs' scene. *She Stoops to Conquer* (1773), no matter what originals there may be for its plot, is a complete creation. It is spirited, humorous, veracious, and, what matters most, it is sound at the heart.

With Goldsmith as a writer for the stage it is natural to couple Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751–1816), in all senses a more complete dramatist. His grandfather was a friend of Swift, and his father was a friend (if also the butt) of Johnson. His mother Frances Chamberlaine was a novelist. His tumultuous and varied life was shot through with genius and romance. His marriage with the beautiful Elizabeth Linley, daughter of the composer, forced him to turn to the stage as a means of providing for his extravagant household. He produced successful plays and became lessee of Drury Lane Theatre, passed from the stage to politics, and became a great orator, the rival of Burke, and a member of the Government. He was one of the leaders in the impeachment of Hastings, and he was the friend and mouthpiece of the Prince Regent. With the loss of his seat in Parliament Sheridan's career in the state ended; and when to the steady failure of the old theatre was added a conflagration that destroyed the new, his career went up in smoke. He was completely ruined and almost destitute. The last satirical event in a tumultuous life was a magnificent funeral in Westminster Abbey. Sheridan's first play *The Rivals* (1775) shows the hand of the born dramatist. The substance comes from stage "stock"—probably every detail in *The Rivals* had appeared in some other play. But the tracing of such affiliations is sheer gratification of curiosity and has nothing to do with criticism. To the historian *The Rivals* is an original creation by a writer with a genius for the stage. It is an "artificial" comedy, i.e., it deals mainly with surfaces, and with surfaces elegantly polished. It belongs to the world of the stage and remains perfectly true to that world. It is, too,

Brightland, J. *English Grammar* (1711); Mason, J. *The Power of Numbers and the Principle of Harmony in Poetic Composition* (1714); Steele, J. *Prosodia Rationalis* (1779); Mitford, W. *Inquiry into the Principles of the Harmony of Language* (1804). Later discussions will be found in T. S. Omond's *English Metrists in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* and Saintsbury's *History of English Prosody*, Vol. II—the two writers are not always in agreement.



XII. THE GEORGIAN DRAMA

[illegible]

the theatre of the later eighteenth century, like the picture-theatre of the present day, relied upon the "star", not upon the piece. When Burbage and Betterton played, the actor was an intermediary, and made the necessary contact between the author's words and the auditor's sensibilities. When the actor became a thing-in-himself, the playwright merely provided material for the "star" to glitter in. People no longer went to the play, they went to see Garrick or Mrs Abington, Foote or Mrs Clive This was true right to the end of the nineteenth century. People did not go to the Lyceum to see *The Merchant of Venice*, they went to see Irving as Shylock and Terry as Portia. Indeed it might almost be said that nineteenth-century drama began in the eighteenth. The developing taste for spectacular pieces and the demands of the actors for better opportunities of display had changed the very form of the theatre itself. The old platform-stage had become the modern picture-stage framed in the proscenium. Visible illusion became possible, and pantomime, i.e. action without speech, engaged the attention of Garrick himself. New forms of lighting enabled performers to play visibly with looks instead of audibly with words. But there was no national drama. At Hamburg in Lessing's time (1767) and at Weimar later in Goethe's time (1791), dramatic art could still exist In England, the pious [illegible] of the great evangelical preachers abhorred an institution [illegible]

went, not to see or hear, but to be seen and heard. Readers of *Evelina* will learn much about the theatre of the day.

The plays themselves became more affected, sentimental, and theatrical. They ceased to have any true relation to life. Richard Cumberland (1732–1811) devised theatrical tangles and undid them

literature. She had already composed *The Inflexible Captive*, a classical drama in which the hero, Regulus, steadily declaims his way through five long acts. *Percy* shows what havoc a virtuous man may work, if he is passion's slave. *The Fatal Falsehood* (1779) proves how love, in an unscrupulous heart, may lead to even more appalling crimes. After this effort, Hannah abandoned the theatre and devoted her pen to the propagation of religion. We need not discuss other sham tragedies.

Among writers of another sort we find Mrs Hannah Cowley (1743–1809), once a Della Cruscan (see p. 588), who, having put forth a sentimental effusion, *The Runaway* (1776), went over to real comedy and produced *The Belle's Stratagem* (1780), in which the heroine adopts the ancient device of pretending to be a hoyden to test her lover, and conquers by unsuspected charm. *A Bold Stroke for a Husband* (1783) maintains the traditions of sound comedy. Mrs Cowley's other works need not be named. The most remarkable playwright of this decade is General John Burgoyne (1723–92). The author of *The Maid of the Oaks*, on returning from America, had resumed his literary employment, and after writing an opera in 1780, produced in 1786 *The Heiress*, which won a fortune and was preferred by some critics to *The School for Scandal*. It is almost the last production of the eighteenth century to retain the spirit of comedy. It shows genuine invention, and has style in its excellent prose.

Place was found for the drama of social criticism. Thomas Holcroft (1745–1809), whose life was written by Hazlitt, was a dauntless fellow worker with Godwin and Paine. He had begun as early as 1778 with *The Crisis*; but it was not till 1792 that he produced *The Road to Ruin*, his most durable play, though *The Deserted Daughter* is a more striking indication of the tendency of the theatre. This manages to convey in melodramatic form the doctrines of the Godwin circle. The Godwinian theme was further elaborated by Mrs Inchbald and Colman the younger. Elizabeth Inchbald (1753–1821), born Sampson, began as an actress, but found her true vocation in writing for the stage. Her first play, *The Mogul Tale*, a farce (1784), showed promise; her next, *I'll tell you What* (1785), showed performance; and her next, *Such Things Are* (1787), showed achievement. *Wives as they Were* (1797) and *Every One has his Fault* (1793) showed that she understood some of the problems of marriage; but problems of any kind in her numerous plays had to be resolved into the sort of happy ending that brought tears to the eyes of a sentimental generation. Among her services to the theatre must be counted her collections of plays, *The British Theatre* (1806–9), 25 vols. and *The Modern Theatre* (1809), 10 vols. It may here be observed that though there were Godwinian plays, Godwin's chief theatrical success was *The Iron Chest* adapted from *Caleb Williams*; but this is not Godwinian;

a comedy of the times, appealing to a polished society composed of better elements than the disreputable ladies and gentlemen of Restoration comedy. The main characters of *The Rivals* still live and have their counterparts. *St Patrick's Day* and *The Duenna* can be dismissed without remark, and we need say no more of *A Trip to* [illegible]

stories, but the play, "artificial" in form, is a serious comedy in its revelation of the feeling that the elegant surface may cover, and the stock characters have a genuine life of their own. The brilliance of the dialogue matches the brilliance of invention In this respect Sheridan's comedy has only one equal, Congreve's *The Way of the World*, which, however, as a play is quite inferior. Unfortunately, Sheridan was moved to mitigate his brilliance by the introduction of "domestic interest" embodied in the colourless figures of Sir Oliver, Rowley and Maria, who are not merely failures, but dead weights on the play. Maria is almost infuriating, not in the least because Charles deserves to have a more distinctive lover, but because the play deserves to have a more distinctive heroine. The balance of a wonderful piece of dramatic construction is overthrown. Sheridan's last play, *The Critic* (1779)—for we may dismiss the dismal *Pizarro* (1799) adapted from Kotzebue—does not attempt to touch the heights. It descends comfortably and amusingly to the little wars of the theatres, and pillories the poetasters and intriguing critics who ranged themselves on the side of sentimental drama It meant more to its own audience than it means to us, who cannot instantly recognize Sir Fretful Plagiary as a caricature of Richard Cumberland; but its criticism has general validity and its delightful dialogue still carries it through triumphantly. The second act, instead of developing a [illegible]

the parody of style, tendencies, characters, pretensions and devices. When *The Critic* was played as an afterpiece to *Hamlet*, the madness of Tilburina in white satin must have had a point it has never since achieved. So ended the comedies of Sheridan The best of them have held the stage ever since they were written.

The kind of drama ridiculed in *The Critic* was then popular. Hannah More's *Percy* packed Covent Garden at a time when *The School for Scandal* was the attraction of Drury Lane. Hannah More was a woman of strong character, masculine intellect and passions, which, thwarted in life, were almost bound to find expression

XIII. THE GROWTH OF THE LATER NOVEL

It may seem an arbitrary extension of literary chronology to include in one chapter a novelist who was born when Dryden was still writing and another novelist who died when H. G. Wells was born. But we can at once abridge that monstrous hiatus of nearly two centuries to a bare fifty years. Thomas Amory may have been born in 1691, but *John Buncle* did not get completed till 1766; and though Peacock's *Gryll Grange* appeared in 1861, it is a tale of precisely the same kind as *Headlong Hall*, which appeared in 1816. Thomas Amory (1691–1788) is better known from Hazlitt's enthusiasm than from his own writings. Few facts have been ascertained about his life, though something can be assumed from his books. Readers desirous of exploring Amory should not begin with his first publication, *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain* (1755), for it has less of the true Amorian flavour than the second, *John Buncle*, published in two volumes (1756, 1766). The *Memoirs* entirely disregards its own title and dissipates itself into miscellaneous writing of astonishing variety. In *John Buncle* Amory shows himself able to talk a little more like a man of this world, even if the world seems consistently unusual. There are ladies, arts, sciences, wanderings, mansions, scenes, arguments, and so forth. Though *John Buncle* was published when the author was seventy, it is as fresh, spontaneous and strong as the utterance of a full-blooded and unusually intelligent young man. The book is certainly long; but it is the pace, not the length that is difficult. Thus, almost at the beginning of the novel as a form of art, appears the eccentric, idiosyncratic English variety of the species.

From the extraordinary Amory and his one extraordinary book we can naturally pass to the extraordinary Beckford and his one extraordinary book *Vathek*. William Beckford (1760–1844) was born at Fonthill, Wiltshire, and lived in many countries. In his youth he was master of what seemed an immense fortune; but he was by nature or pose a misanthrope, and his wealth certainly seemed unable to buy him natural happiness. All he wrote gives evidence of some abnormality. He was such a man as could have written his books. His first, *Dreams, Waking Thoughts and Incidents* (1783), displayed many of the affectations natural in a much-travelled, rich and clever young man. Beckford castigated it severely when he reprinted it fifty years later as *Italy, with Sketches of Spain and Portugal* (1834), a fascinating work. His *Modern Novel Writing; or the Elegant Enthusiast* (1796) and *Azemia* (1797) were no more than rather clever burlesques. His last work, *Recollections of the Monasteries of Alcobaça and Batalha* (1835) has great interest. One other production that deserves mention is the satire upon fanciful writing about art called *Biographical Memoirs of*

it is a "thriller", suiting the macabre qualities in the art of Edmund Kean and Henry Irving. George Colman the younger (1762–1836) [illegible] man's numerous opera books need no notice here. The only plays [illegible] time, but added some touches of personal whimsicality. *The Way to get Married* (1796) has amusing characters. *A Cure for the Heartache* [illegible] Harris), has added a character to the national mythology. *The School of Reform* (1805) provided in Tyke a character beloved by a long line of comedians.

To name all the minor dramatists and the adapters of Kotzebue who flourished at this time is impossible and unnecessary. John O'Keefe (1747–1833) was an actor till overtaken by blindness. He wrote numerous stage pieces, of which only two need be named, the opera *Merry Sherwood*, containing the famous song, "I am a Friar of [illegible] Rover, [illegible] the tim- [illegible] unceasingly to supply the theatre; but his later industry produced nothing more noteworthy than *The Jew* (1794), a sentimental rehabilitation of that nation. It is characteristic of this period that one of its dramatic sensations was the success of "the Infant Roscius", William Henry West Betty (1791–1874), who from eleven to sixteen played the "heavy leads" with such success that the House of Commons adjourned one day in 1805 in order to see his Hamlet. In short, the actor was everything, the play nothing. When Sheridan laid [illegible] wait for nearly a hundred [illegible] *Importance of Being Earnest* arrived to offer intelligent persons comedy worth reading as well as worth seeing. The novel, not the play, was to absorb a century's creative activity.

influenced by Rousseau, Diderot and Voltaire, deriving from them his revolutionary principles and his freedom of thought and expression. He had genuine talent and bears reading again. His most typical book is the last, *Hermsprong, or Man as he is not* (1796). It was preceded by *Man as he is* (1792). *Mount Henneth* (1781), *Barham Downs* (1784), *The Fair Syrian* (1787) and *James Wallace* (1788) are less distinctive, though the two former have a sort of unrefined liveliness.

The celebrated and admirable Maria Edgeworth (1767–1849) just touches the fringe of the revolutionary group. Her father, Richard Edgeworth—himself worthy of a place in any novel of eccentric character—affected his daughter's work very much for the worse, by the admixture of purpose and preachment which he either induced her to make or intruded on his own account. His influence was derived from the earlier French thinkers, chiefly Marmontel, whose very title, *Contes Moraux*, suggests *Moral Tales*. Fortunately Maria's own genius was too strong to be vitally diverted either by her father or by any Frenchman, and it worked in three main directions. Her first line of production was the regular novel, ranging from *Belinda* (1801) to *Helen* (1834), and including *Tales from Fashionable Life* (two series, 1809, 1812), *Patronage* (1814) and *Harrington* (1817). *Belinda* is nearly a great novel. Her second and best line of production is the group of Irish stories, which influenced the nationalistic bent of writers as diverse as Scott and Turgenev, and which Macaulay cited as evidence in his *History*. The group begins early in 1800 with *Castle Rackrent*, and is filled out with the later and better *Absentee* (1809) and *Ormond* (1817), which are masterpieces of their kind. Smollett had used national characteristics farcically in his novels; Maria Edgeworth is the first novelist to make national character the whole matter of her narrative. She is neither farcical nor tragical; she is firmly, quietly natural. Her third line of production is, in another way, her very own—the books for or about children. *The Parent's Assistant* (1796–1801), *Early Lessons* (1801), *Moral Tales* (1801), *Popular Tales* (1804), *Frank* (1822), and *Harry and Lucy* (1825) are truly remarkable, for in them, almost for the first time in post-Shakespearean literature, real children appear. Maria Edgeworth was devoted to her father, who ruthlessly used her, as if she had no right to a life of her own.

Readers of Jane Austen will remember the list of "horrid mystery" novels given by Isabella Thorpe to Catherine Morland. The "tale of terror" had a great run of popularity (with all classes) at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. Some of them were trash of the most abject kind. If such a man, or even such a boy, as Shelley could perpetrate such utter rubbish as *Zastrozzi* and *St Irvyne*, the gutter scribbler was not likely to do much better.

Extraordinary Painters (1824). Had Beckford not written *Vathek* these books would hardly have attained mention in a history of literature; but they have certainly been unjustly overshadowed by that immortal story. Not even the *Episodes of Vathek*, first discovered and printed early in the present century, has taken its place beside the original work. And perhaps the simple reason is that, like some other famous books, *Vathek* is short—so short that Beckford declared he wrote it at a single sitting of three days. The claim is false; he may have written the final recension briefly, but he had worked on it for a long time. *The History of the Caliph Vathek* was originally written in French and published in 1787 in Paris and in Lausanne, the two versions differing slightly. But actually it was first published in England in 1786. The explanation is simple. Beckford asked (or did [illegible] to translate it; and for [illegible] 1786 as if translated by himself from the Arabic. Beckford retorted by publishing the two French originals in 1787. He wisely refrained from including the [illegible] book.

From the great eccentrics we pass to certain "novelists with a purpose". Most important of the group is William Godwin, who has already been discussed. *Caleb Williams* (1794) and *St Leon* (1799) are certainly powerful. Their successors, *Fleetwood* (1805), *Mandeville* (1817) and *Cloudesly* (1830) have far less distinction, but they prove that Godwin had many qualities of a good novelist. He was, however, not "quite" a novelist, as he was not "quite" anything. Success always eluded him. With Godwin we naturally associate Thomas Holcroft, whose first novel, *Alwyn* (1780), is picaresque rather than purposeful; but *Anna St Ives* (1792) and *Hugh Trevor* (1794) are similar in general temper to *Caleb Williams*, and, indeed, to *Political Justice* itself. Mrs Inchbald was also an intimate friend of Godwin and was in fact sought in marriage by that hapless man before he was punished with Mrs Clairmont. Mrs Inchbald's stage experience helped her with her novels, which borrowed from her plays. *A Simple Story* (1791) and *Nature and Art* (1796) long held their place as minor classics of fiction. Robert Bage (1728–1801), the last of the group, was a Quaker who became a Freethinker, an active man of business, and a novelist in the evening of his life. He was

mention, Charles Robert Maturin (1782–1824), novelist, dramatist and clergyman of Dublin. His first book *The Fatal Vengeance* (1807) is unimportant; but *The Wild Irish Boy* (1808) and *The Milesian Chief* (1811) are additions to the Irish literature represented by Miss Edgeworth. His tragedy *Bertram*, produced by Kean at Drury Lane (1816), was a great success, and is the subject of a rather sour criticism by Coleridge reprinted in *Biographia Literaria. Women* followed in 1818; and then in 1820 he produced his masterpiece *Melmoth the Wanderer*. Its central theme—the old bargain with Satan, refreshed and individualized by the notion of that bargain being transferable—is more than promising; and it has been praised by writers as little alike as Balzac and Rossetti.

The two sisters Porter, Anne Maria (1780–1832), who commenced author at twelve, and Jane (1776–1850), who postponed her debut till a later age, had a great following. Anne is now forgotten, though her output of novels, feebly romantic, was prodigious. Jane is remembered by her *Thaddeus of Warsaw* (1803) and *The Scottish Chiefs* (1810), which once were read by everybody and acquired European fame. Her other works need not be named.

Another celebrated book of its time is *Anastasius, or Memoirs of a Modern Greek* (1819) written by Thomas Hope (1770–1831), who, like Beckford, was very wealthy, and collected sculptures on a magnificent scale. *Anastasius* contains the materials of a good romantic novel, and had it been written by (say) Dumas it would still be read; but its author was mastered by his own considerable acquirements and tells us too much instead of letting his tale tell itself.

This chapter of remarkable novelists must end with one of the most remarkable of all, Thomas Love Peacock (1785–1866), a writer too little appreciated by the great variety of readers. His works include poems, plays and essays, all with a marked idiosyncrasy. Peacock is a most odd combination of sincerity, satire, cynicism and romance; indeed, he was an oddity in every way. He was like an autocratic old "don" of the fruity period, yet he was never at any public school or university, and expressed complete contempt for those institutions. His classical scholarship was immense, though not of the "examination" kind, for he read all the most ancient authors as he read the most modern, for sheer personal enjoyment. Much of his life was spent at the East India House, where an official colleague was James Mill. At the other extreme he was a close friend of Shelley, whose *Defence of Poetry* was a reply to Peacock's *The Four Ages of Poetry*. His novels (the main concern of this chapter) are seven in number, and fall into two groups, with an odd one in the middle. *Headlong Hall* (1816) is a delightful diagram of its successors, *Nightmare Abbey* (1818), the most amusing of all, *Crotchet Castle* (1831), the most idiosyncratic of all, and *Gryll Grange* (1860), the

And just as three or four real story-tellers have emerged from the modern horde of semi-literate murder-merchants, so three fairly considerable figures may be discussed among the producers of the tales that thrilled Catherine Morland. These are Ann Radcliffe, Matthew Gregory Lewis, and Charles Robert Maturin. Ann Radcliffe (1764–1823), born Ward, was an original writer, in that she first fully exploited the romance of the past, the distant, the unfamiliar, the picturesque, and the supernatural. Her rank is low; but she gave Scott his method and Byron his hero, and so, through them, may be said to have moved all Europe. Of her first novel *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne* (1789) and of her posthumous *Gaston de*

[illegible]

cuted heroine flying through, or immured within, castles, dungeons, forests, caves, and so forth, arriving at last at a perfectly happy ending. Her three most important novels, *The Romance of the Forest* (1791), *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) and *The Italian* (1797) [illegible] ult of the Radcliffe novels [illegible] are too tame. The reader [illegible] uch may be desirable, but also that everything will be explained away, which is not desirable. Sir Walter Scott, whose account of Mrs Radcliffe is still the best, rightly indicates her real trick in a single word—suspense. But it must be added that the suspended reader is badly let down at the end.

Matthew Gregory Lewis (1775–1818) was clever enough to note that a foreseen happy ending robbed a "thriller" of its thrill. But he went to the other extreme and made *The Monk* (1796) such a mess of murder, outrage, *diablerie* and indecency that it did not please people even so little squeamish as Byron, and has never, except in a quasi-surreptitious manner, been reprinted in its original form. Ordinary reprints give the author's much revised version Lewis, before his early death, wrote or translated other novels; but none of them attained the vogue of *The Monk* or of his plays and verses. *The Castle Spectre* was played at Drury Lane in 1797, *The East Indian* in 1799 and *Timour the Tartar* in 1811. With Scott and Southey he compiled *Tales of Wonder* (1801). Everybody knows his ballad of [illegible] "The [illegible] olume [illegible] ıot by him; it is an imitation or burlesque.

The kind of novel represented by Mrs Radcliffe and "Monk" Lewis flourished at the end of the eighteenth century and reached up into the nineteenth, where it perceptibly influenced the work of Bulwer Lytton; but it engaged only one other writer worth

hacks a few crumbs. The Act of 1709 duly recognized property in books, and gave authors copyright for fourteen years, with an additional fourteen if they were still living. All seemed well. The gratified publishers fondly believed that when the authors' meagre rights had been satisfied, the books would then be the publishers' property in perpetuity. But they found they had gained a statute and lost their estate; for the Courts construed the Act to mean that when the term of copyright had expired, books were (as they should be) anybody's. Later Acts extended the periods of copyright, and the position of authors slowly but steadily improved.

Famous among early publishers was Henry Herringman who issued Dryden's first important poems; but greatest of all was Jacob Tonson (1656–1736) who was concerned in most of the major enterprises of his time. He was succeeded by two relatives of the same name. Bernard Lintot was openly, and the rascally Edmund Curll was obscurely, associated with Pope. Another great name is that of Robert Dodsley (see p. 478) who issued the still important *Collection of Old Plays* (1744–5) and the *Collection of Poems by Several Hands* (1748–58). Dodsley entrusted to Burke the editorship of a new venture, *The Annual Register* (1759), which still regularly appears. An interesting feature of eighteenth-century publishing was the co-operation of several houses in the production of such large scale works as Johnson's *Dictionary* and the collected poets for which Johnson wrote the *Lives*. Works in weekly parts ("Paternoster Row Numbers") were also issued, and "Cooke's Pocket Library" in sixpenny numbers became so popular that there must be few bookish homes to-day without some surviving "Cookes". John Murray and Longmans were well established during the eighteenth century. Among provincial printers and publishers the most renowned were John Baskerville of Birmingham, Joseph Cottle of Bristol, whose *Early Recollections* and *Reminiscences* tell us much about the youth of Coleridge and Southey, the Foulis brothers of Glasgow, and Archibald Constable and James Ballantyne of Edinburgh, who were to be memorably associated with Scott. The Strawberry Hill press of Horace Walpole should not be forgotten. There were, too, famous vendors of books, such as Robert Scot, Christopher Bateman and James Lackington, whose "Temple of the Muses" in Finsbury Square was one of the sights of London and whose *Confessions* and *Memoirs* are full of interest. It was in the shop of Thomas Davies that Boswell first met Johnson—whose own father was a Lichfield bookseller. Some publishers and booksellers (as we have seen) were also authors. Thus, to John Nichols, one of a family in the "trade", we are indebted for the valuable *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* in nine volumes (1812–15). But possibly the most remarkable of all was Alexander Cruden 1701–70), who, in the course of a varied career,

ripest of all. The next group contains two novels, *Maid Marian* (1822) and *The Misfortunes of Elphin* (1829), the first a Robin Hood story and the second a tale of ancient Wales, both intensely romantic and yet delightful satires upon romance. The odd novel is *Melincourt* (1817), which is much longer than the [illegible]

[illegible] tairean achieved by any English writer; but when the right place comes he slips imperceptibly into passages of real beauty. There was a curious linking of ages, styles and manners when the author of *Crotchet Castle* became the father-in-law of the author of *The Egoist*.

XIV. BOOK PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION, 1625–1800

A history of printing and publishing during the period named above is beyond the scope of this work and [illegible]

decree in 1637 re-enacted the Elizabethan ordinance of 1586 (see p. 164). When the Long Parliament abolished the Star Chamber in 1641 the press was thus, almost by accident, released from restriction. The censorship was hastily re-established in 1643 (see p. 359) and was re-enforced by Cromwell in 1649. At the Restoration the royal prerogative in the printing of books and pamphlets was strongly asserted by the Licensing Act of 1662 and Roger L'Estrange, a fanatical Royalist (see p. 452), was made surveyor of the press. The Act was renewed at the accession of James II. State control of the press was abandoned in 1695, and the "Liberty of Unlicenc'd Printing" for which Milton had contended half a century before was conceded. Of different restraints upon printing we shall speak later.

The year 1709 saw the passing of the first Copyright Act, which established authors and disestablished publishers, to the great astonishment of both parties. As we have seen, books were the property of the stationers who entered their copy in the Company's registers and received authority to print. Authors had no status. The freedom of the press granted in 1695 encouraged numerous pirates, and the aggrieved publishers, not content with legal redress, agitated for statutory recognition of property rights in their works—*their* works, observe, for they cared nothing about the authors, though to make the Bill seem respectable, they were willing to throw the poor

serious life—she had not yet become "the eminent divine". She was a scribbler from her earliest years, and at twenty-two fell in love with a wealthy man who, however, twice shirked the actual fact of marriage; and when Hannah resolutely refused to be considered a third time, he gratefully settled £200 a year on her and left her to pursue the less dangerous path of letters. She came to London in 1774, and got oddly into contact with Garrick, who introduced her to Mrs Montagu. Everyone recognized in her a woman of character, and she found no difficulty in winning success as a writer. The death of Garrick affected her so deeply that she abandoned the writing of plays and took to philanthropy. She even attempted, said Cowper, "to reform the unreformable Great", and her *Thoughts on the Importance of the Manners of the Great* (1788) went into many large editions. The tracts with which she tried to reform the poor, *Village Politics* (1793) and many of the *Repository Tracts* (1795–8), had an amazing success, and were found so well-suited to the purpose that the Religious Tract Society was formed to continue the work. Her poem *Bas Bleu, or Conversation*, which owed its name, as she explained, to the mistake of a Frenchman who translated the English term literally, is an interesting comment on the whole movement. Her numerous writings do not need detailed mention. Hannah's most popular book, *Coelebs in Search of a Wife*, appeared in 1809.

Mrs Chapone, born Hester Mulso (1727–1801), occasionally gave blue-stocking receptions that were "rational, instructive and social", and also, unfortunately, somewhat spiritless and dull. Her *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind* (1777), in its day considered an educational work of the first importance, is now only interesting as presenting an obsolete ideal of female propriety.

The blue-stockings were sometimes ridiculous, but they must not be dismissed as unimportant to letters. They did much to diffuse a general interest in the best literature and they helped to make society more decent. In an age when drunkenness, loose talk, swearing and gambling were common, they showed that men and women could derive delight from the kind of intercourse in which there was nothing to disgust.

XVI. CHILDREN'S BOOKS

Books for children can be divided into two classes, books that convey information and books that offer, or seem to offer, entertainment. We are not concerned with the first class, by whomsoever compiled. A few remarks may be appended upon the second, the books children like, or are supposed and even urged to like. The general defect of all early books for children may be put thus, that in lauding truth they denounce fiction as falsehood. "Keep them", says Hugh Rhodes's *Boke of Nurture* (probably 1545) "keep them from read-

became a bookseller and compiled his famous *Complete Concordance to the Holy Scriptures* (1737) in the intervals of business. By the end of the century the publishing and selling of books had become a flourishing and important activity.

XV. THE BLUE-STOCKINGS

[illegible]

(1715–91), in whose literary gatherings the term "blue stocking" gained currency. Benjamin Stillingfleet, grandson of the Bishop, cultivated botany and Bohemia, and though gifted and brilliant, was not, in appearance at least, respectable. Being invited by Mrs Vesey to one of her "conversations", he excused himself as sartorially unfit. Upon which the lady exclaimed: "Don't mind dress; come in your blue stockings"—i.e. in blue or grey worsted, the everyday wear, instead of black silk, the correct wear for assemblies. "Blue-stocking" or "undress" parties became a kind of catchword, and [illegible]

failing friends and her interest to encourage rising talent. Unlike Mrs Vesey she was herself an active, though now forgotten, author. Her chief work was the *Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespear*, carrying the sub-title "with some remarks upon the misrepresentations of Mons. de Voltaire".

Of the blue-stocking circle none was more "darkly, deeply, beautifully blue" than Mrs Elizabeth Carter (1717–1806)—unmarried, but called "Mrs" in accordance with contemporary custom. By undaunted courage and industry she won for herself a large, though inexact, acquaintance with many languages, ancient and modern. She had her first volume of poems published at twenty- [illegible]

fortune and a European reputation.

The blue-stocking, however, whose fame reached to the furthest [illegible]

of Red Riding Hood, Bluebeard and Cinderella. The deep significance of nursery rhymes may be left to the anthropologist and the psycho-analyst; but the important literary fact is that when *Tommy Thumb's Pretty Song Book* (1744) was published in two volumes some unknown hand established a classic. Other collections followed without adding much new matter. The various *Mother Goose* volumes probably derived their name from Perrault's frontispiece, which bore the legend *Contes de ma mère l'Oye*; but who the aboriginal Mother Goose may have been is unknown.

The production of children's books had been a matter of chance. John Newbery first made a great business of it. Before the mid-century he settled at the address in St Paul's Churchyard so long associated with his name. Most famous of his publications was *Goody Two Shoes*, said to have been written by Goldsmith. The great characteristic of Newbery's books is that they were attractively produced. Of his successors and imitators we need say nothing, except that William Godwin the philosopher, among his many luckless activities, set up as a publisher of children's books and gave the world the Lambs' *Tales from Shakespeare.*

The period which ended in 1825 may be described as one of strife between the moral tale and the fairy tale. The moral tales of Hannah More and Mrs Chapone were certainly well written, and even the redoubtable Mrs Sarah Trimmer, so eminently "good", wrote one really notable child's book apart from tracts and educational works, though probably it would not be recognized by its original title: *Fabulous Histories: Designed for the Instruction of Children, respecting their Treatment of Animals* (1786). Here are to be met those excellent little robins, Pecksy, Flapsy, Robin and Dick; here, too, the learned pig is gravely discussed. But Mrs Trimmer was so much afraid of "French principles" that she supported a denunciation of *Cinderella* as a compendium of vice. Mrs Mary Martha Sherwood was another antagonist of the fairies. Her most famous work, *The Fairchild Family* (1813–8), is still read, though not seriously. Her other sedulously righteous books need not be named. Maria Edgeworth, who echoed her father's devotion to Rousseau, has already been mentioned. The most famous disciple of Rousseau, however, was the eccentric Thomas Day. It has been said that in France Rousseau produced a Revolution, but that in England he produced *Sandford and Merton*. Day's famous work (1783–9) now survives as a joke, but the reader who can see past the egregious Mr Barlow will find much excellent matter in it.

After *Divine Songs* by Isaac Watts, the most celebrated book of verses for children is *Original Poems* (1804) by Ann and Jane Taylor, members of a numerous family, all of whom wrote industriously. Here we have several established favourites, of which the best known, perhaps, is *Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star*. An anonymous contributor

CHAPTER XII

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. PART I

I. SCOTT

Walter Scott (1771–1832) was born in Edinburgh, then almost a foreign city to Englishmen, the son of a lawyer and the descendant of stout Border ancestors. A mischance of infancy left him lame for life but did not abate his extraordinary physical vigour. Debarred from youthful sports he grew up with books, and, even better, with a tenaciously remembered store of Border ballads and tales. He received the usual education at the Edinburgh High School and University, but was not "bookish" in the schoolmaster's sense. In 1785 he entered his father's office and was admitted advocate in 1792. Legal duties first carried him into the Highlands at a time when the '45 was less than "sixty years since". He had in a high degree the happy gift of being at home with people of every kind and of making them at home with him. Thus he grew naturally into a keen understanding of human character. In 1792 he made the first of his seven annual "raids" into the wild and primitive district of Liddesdale, to explore the remains of old castles and peels, to pick up such samples as were obtainable of "the ancient riding ballads", to collect other relics of antiquity and to enjoy "the queerness and the fun" associated with the rough hospitality of those unsophisticated regions. All these circumstances combined to give Scott, from childhood to manhood, a full education in and through the "matter of Scotland"—and especially in the "matter" of pre-Reformation Scotland. The blighting hand of the Kirk had been laid not merely upon human instincts and their humane expression, but upon the heroic national past. All that had happened in the Catholic period was regarded as the violence of idolatrous dark ages out of which the "Holy Willies" had led a repentant people. Burns never quite escaped the clutches of the Kirk; but Scott was free; and to a revival of interest in the past Scott contributed more than anyone. It was something to make the romance of Scotland known to the English; it was even more to make the romance of Scotland known to the Scottish.

The romantic ardour kindled in Scott by the traditional songs and stories moved him to make his first venture into print. Soon after he left school his enthusiasm for ballad poetry had been intensified by a reading of Percy's *Reliques*. He then began to seek for romantic stories in French and Italian; and when he acquired German he found a new balladry current in that tongue. Bürger's *Leonore* specially

to the volume was Adelaide O'Keeffe (daughter of the dramatist) who also wrote books of her own. Two of her lines have not only fine rhythm but embody close observation:

> The dog will come when it is called;
> The cat will walk away.

Best of the imitators of the Taylors is Elizabeth Turner, whose *Cautionary Stories* are contained in the volumes prettily named *The Daisy* (1807) and *The Cowslip* (1811). *Poetry for Children* (1808) by Charles and Mary Lamb is less successful.

Eminent among the less pronounced philanthropists were Dr Aikin and his sister Mrs Barbauld, whose *Evenings at Home* (1792–6) is a companionable and homely miscellany. Charles and Mary L[illegible] the plays, and the language is Shakespeare paraphrased without being made simple; nevertheless the book has had and continues to have an enormous circulation.

Despite the moralists, the fairy or fanciful tale continued to flourish. William Roscoe's *The Butterfly's Ball and the Grasshopper's Feast* (1807), written for his son, is still in circulation. The modern era can be dated almost by one book—George Cruikshank's edition of the *German Popular Stories* of the brothers Grimm (1824–6). Once again, English childhood re-entered fairyland by foreign aid. *Dame Wiggins of Lee* (1823) attracted the attention and eulogy of Ruskin. *The History of Sixteen Wonderful Old Women* (1820) contains the first instance of the metrical form commonly called the limerick, usually ascribed to Edward Lear. A further step in the way of comeliness was made by Sir Henry Cole ("Felix Summerly") and his publisher in the volumes of *The Home Treasury* (1843, etc); and Catherine Sinclair's delightful *Holiday House* (1839) showed that not only was amusement harmless, but naughtiness itself might be venial and even pleasant. William and Mary Howitt wrote many attractive books, and Mary has the honour of first introducing Hans Christian Andersen in 1846. "Peter Parley", a name that covered several [illegible] was popular in many forms, and [illegible] (1841) in four parts contained [illegible] when published separately, had a long run.

So we find ourselves passing into the vast juvenile and nonsense literature of the Victorian period. This is not our immediate concern; [illegible]

(1805). The sequence of old Border scenes and incidents is elaborated with an admirable combination of antique lore, clan enthusiasm and vividly picturesque art. By nature Scott was a great improvisator; he created his impression more by the ardour and vividness of his presentation than by the charm of a subtle and finished art. His next poetical story, *Marmion* (1808), is so full of heroic matter on a large scale that its form seems almost unimportant. The culmination of the story is Flodden, and the fortunes of the faulty hero, Lord Marmion, are simply the means of approaching the great theme. In *The Lay*, said Scott, the force is laid on style; in *Marmion* on description. The opening picture of Norham Castle in the setting sun gives the key-note, and scene after scene follows culminating in the dramatic picture of the stress and tumult of the Flodden conflict. Some of its details are among the best known passages of Scott's poetry; but the story does not flow quite so freely as the happy improvisation of *The Lay*. In *The Lady of the Lake* (1810) the force is laid on incident. The poem sets before us an almost continuous succession of exciting occurrences. Yet it lives chiefly by its enchanting descriptions of scenery. It made Loch Katrine part of every man's romantic geography. In construction it is simple. Introductory stanzas of Spenserian form lead to cantos in octosyllabics, with interspersed songs that are among the most familiar of lyrics. In *Rokeby* (1813) the force is laid on character. But the poem has never been really popular, we want Scott to write about the Border or Loch Katrine, not about Marston Moor; but at least we must admit that he has included in it two of his most delightful songs. In *The Lord of the Isles* (1818), again, the historic interest is powerful—almost too powerful; but the pageantry of the poem is admirably managed. Of the less important romances—*The Vision of Don Roderick* (1811), *The Bridal of Triermain* (1813) and *Harold the Dauntless* (1817)—little need be said; nor need we do more than chronicle Scott's well-meant dramatic efforts—*Halidon Hill* (1822), *Macduff's Cross* (1822), *The Doom of Devorgoil* (1830) and *The Tragedy of Auchindrane* (1830). The genius of Scott was too Homeric for the drama. Scott's power as a writer of pure lyric is underestimated by the countrymen of Burns. In the novels, as well as in the poetic romances, there are lyrical strains of exquisite quality. The English songs of Scott have no parallel in Burns. Burns was almost devoid of romance, and could never have achieved the haunting suggestion of *Proud Maisie*. Scott's martial odes form another group of successful compositions.

Scott had come to the end of his resources as a writer of tales in verse. Moreover, his instrument had proved to be limited in range. His poems kindle a physical ardour, but they do not reach the profounder emotions. When Byron, borrowing some of his methods, applied them to more passionate uses, Scott frankly acknowledged

attracted him, and his first publication (anonymous) was *The Chase and William and Helen: two ballads from the German of Gottfried A. Bürger* (1796). This was followed in 1799 by a version of Goethe's *Goetz von Berlichingen*. The German romantic ballad, splendidly

jected *Tales of Wonder*, which, however, did not appear till 1801. A slight pamphlet, *Apology for Tales of Terror* (1799), which included his ballad translations and imitations, was sent for private printing to an old schoolfellow, James Ballantyne of Kelso, and in this small way began a momentous association with that printer. But Scott now went on to consider a more ambitious work, a collection of all the Border songs that he knew. In 1799 he was made Sheriff of

collector, greatly assisted his literary researches, and he received valuable suggestions from the remarkable young Borderer, John Leyden, from William Laidlaw his future steward, and from James Hogg. The book was published as *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802) in two volumes, a third, which included ballad imitations by

now regarded as editorially unsound. Nevertheless, with all its faults, the *Minstrelsy* was a splendid achievement. It made familiar a wealth of matter totally unknown outside the Border com-

with its fascinating metrical scheme. He proposed therefore to tell a Border story which should have the character both of a ballad and a metrical romance, expressed in something like the cadence of *Christabel*; but when he began to work at his poem, it insisted, as

ence Scott's first large original work, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*

Scott plunged back into the past, and there remained for some time, passing with ease from century to century. His variety is immense. *The Heart of Midlothian* succeeds as tragedy of the domestic kind; *The Bride of Lammermoor* succeeds as tragedy of the loftier kind. *Ivanhoe*, *Kenilworth* and *Quentin Durward* are triumphant historical romances. *Rob Roy* carries us excitedly into wild Highland adventure. *The Legend of Montrose* and *Wandering Willie's Tale* in *Redgauntlet* are masterpieces in the lesser dimensions.

To dwell upon each novel in turn is hardly necessary. A few general questions naturally arise. And, perhaps, the first is this, how was it that Scott did not discover his true strength till he was well past middle age? The answer is that his true strength was already displayed in his verse-romances. All his poems were, in fact, short novels, written in verse. He did not cease to be a poet when he wrote his prose tales. The next question, whether he would have passed to prose stories without the stimulus of Byron's greater popularity in verse can be partly answered by saying that *Waverley*, published in 1814, had been begun, in a fashion, several years earlier —in fact, before Byron had published anything. Perhaps, however, the best answer is the pragmatic one that, the novels being written, it is certain that he would have written them. Another natural question is why Scott concealed his authorship for so many years. An answer is easily given. Scott was over forty when *Waverley* was published. He had a great reputation to lose if his new venture proved a failure. So he decided to run no risks and to publish his novel (as many predecessors, including Jane Austen, had published theirs) anonymously. Further, there is both excitement and freedom in writing unobserved and unknown. *Waverley* having proved a success, he would not risk a tame anti-climax by putting his name to the next. In other words, Scott saw material advantage in maintaining the mystery; and to material advantage Scott was never insensible. He was an imperial spender. His great ambition—an ignoble ambition, some may think it—was to found a new house of Scott. A great house, a great estate and a great name—these were the infirmity of his noble mind; and to achieve them he plunged into dubiously honest speculations with printing and publishing and fell to ruin. The tragedy was complete; for by the time his obligations were discharged and a new fortune might, after his death, have come from the copyrights, his sons were dead, and there were no "Scotts of Abbotsford" left. Another question arising is what qualities are there in Scott, apart from his power of characterization and his skill in telling a story, to account for a popularity of enormous extent and a position in the house of Fame unshaken by the perverseness of contemporaries (like Peacock) and the mere stupidity of later critics. The answer can be given simply in two words, magnitude and mag-

his defeat and declined a contest in which he could not succeed. It was a happy decision. His poetic romances represented a mere

served an arduous apprenticeship in literary and historical study. Merely to name his miscellaneous works, which included labours so

antiquary. Like Dickens he populated every region he described, and his memorable characters are in number second only to those of the later master. What is most astonishing is that his life as a novelist covered only eighteen years.

For reference it may be useful to have a bare list of the novels as published. They are as follows: *Waverley, or 'Tis Sixty Years Since* (1814); *Guy Mannering, or The Astrologer* (1815); *The Antiquary* (1816); *Tales of My Landlord* (*The Black Dwarf* and *Old Mortality*, 1816); *Tales of My Landlord*, Second Series (*The Heart of Midlothian*,

creative work can be called new, *Waverley* was an entirely new phenomenon in the world of novels—new in setting, in incident, in character, in historical interest, and, what can easily be overlooked, new in the authoritative touch of a master's hand. It made an im-

Anti-

Both

II. BYRON

George Gordon (1788–1824), sixth Lord Byron, was the only son of "Mad Jack" Byron by his second marriage with the Scottish heiress, Catherine Gordon. The father had formerly married and greatly ill-used the Marchioness of Carmarthen, who bore him a daughter, Augusta, with whom, later, Byron's name was scandalously connected. The poet was born in London, but, owing to his father's withdrawal to France to escape from his creditors, he was brought very soon by his mother to Aberdeen. Here his early years were spent, and the impressions which he received of Deeside, Lochnagar and the Grampians remained with him throughout his life and left their mark upon his poetry. He was only three when his father died, and he was brought up by his mother, who was almost the worst conceivable of parents. Harassed by poverty, and alternating hatred and passion for the beautiful lame child, she stung him by mocking at his deformity and maddened him by her furies of rage. He ran as wild as a colt on the Scottish mountain side. Suddenly all was changed. By the death of his great-uncle in 1798, the boy succeeded to the title and to the Byron estates of Newstead Priory and Rochdale. People who have professed inability to understand what they call Byron's pose of misanthropy have forgotten many things, but specially they have forgotten the fiercely proud, acutely sensitive child tormented throughout his most impressionable years by the indignities of poverty and the furious passions of a half-distracted mother. Few young poets have had a more lamentable childhood.

But he was happy at Harrow. Byron had the gift of attracting friends, and he read widely and promiscuously in history and biography, but never became an exact scholar. To these schoolboy years belongs the story of his romantic, unrequited love for Mary Ann Chaworth. From Harrow Byron proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge; but the University, though it widened his circle of friends, never quite won his affections. While at Harrow, he had written a number of short poems, and in January 1807 he printed for private circulation a slender volume of verse, *Fugitive Pieces*, the favourable reception of which led to the publication, in the following March, of *Hours of Idleness*. This was avowedly the work of a boy, and though it contains some of the worst pieces ever written by a great poet, it also contains some promising matter, and deserved something better than the elaborate horseplay to which Brougham subjected it in *The Edinburgh Review*. Being one of those wicked men who defend themselves when attacked, Byron replied in 1809 with the famous *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, as fine a satire as any young man of his age ever produced. His sudden maturity is re-

nanimity. Scott has Homeric qualities. He is immensely wholesome, cheerful and genial, always on the side of the good, the true, the beautiful, yet capable of an artist's appreciation of eccentricity, comicality and sheer villainy. He has, beyond any question, the note of greatness. Like Shakespeare, he does not judge, he records. He is a

of Tom Jones and Sophia Western, and neither of them comes near those delightful creations. Scott was perhaps inhibited by the intense, if unreal, respectability of Edinburgh, as later writers were by the

portant amendments. His tremendous efforts to meet the liabilities of his financial imprudence cost him his life. There are few more affecting stories in literary biography than his long Odyssey in search of health and his return home to die.

about larger areas of life and time than any novelist before him, and he enlarged the sympathies, the emotions, the experience, of his readers. Clara Reeve and Ann Radcliffe had written about the past

like, and to be called black by very dirty vessels at once amused and disgusted him. In Venice, his new home, he prepared himself for the task of levelling against social hypocrisy the keenest weapons which a piercing wit and versatile genius had placed at his command.

The inevitable question whether we gained or lost by Byron's perpetual exile can be answered without difficulty. That the man who died for Greece might have done much for England during the agitation for Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation is pure surmise; what can be affirmed without hesitation is that we gained not only a superb writer of letters which are some of the gayest in our language, but a poet of European understanding. Byron was the first of English poets to write with that larger sympathy. His friends at home saved him from being cut off from native interests, and he found in a fellow exile, Shelley, a fruitful companion. Thus his poems, though written on foreign ground, were addressed to (and sometimes directed at) his own lost country. He assailed with scathing contempt the poets, like Southey, Coleridge and Wordsworth, who had reconciled themselves with what he considered political degeneration. Even in the early *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* he had denounced the new romantics and lauded Dryden and Pope as the heroes of classical tradition. Nor was this mere perversity. A careful reading of his works will show that while much of Byron's poetry enlarges the horizon of romanticism, he never wholly broke away from the Augustan poetic diction. Brief mention therefore may be made here of his later defence of Pope, the prose *Letter to John Murray, Esq. on the Rev. W. L. Bowles's Strictures on the Life and Writings of Pope* (1821).

Byron was not, like Macaulay's Jacobite, an exile pining for home. He had been as deeply affected by his early travels through southern Europe as Goethe had been by his Italian journey. Life under the wide-waving Crescent was the reality of romance. The stirring scenes that Scott recalled from the past were enacted every day under Byron's own eyes among the fastnesses of Albania. Southey and Moore got up their oriental poems from books; Byron drew upon his own experience. When *Childe Harold* was begun at Janina in 1809, the hero may have seemed to his creator an imaginary figure; but between the composition of the first two cantos and the third there had intervened for Byron a bitter and wounding experience. The third (1816) and fourth (1818) cantos show, in comparison with the first two, a far greater intensity of feeling and a deeper reading of life. Something of the early glitter remains; but it is no longer cold. The Spenserian stanzas of the poem have been adversely criticized because they are not Spenserian in spirit. But no one has the right to demand that a poet using the Spenserian stanza should be Spenserian in spirit. All that is necessary is that the Spenserian stanza

markable. When he came of age he took his seat in the House of Lords, and though, like Disraeli, he did not instantly succeed, there is no reason to suppose that in happier circumstances he would have failed in politics.

In 1809 Byron set out with his friend John Cam Hobhouse for a tour in the East. He was away for more than a year, and the impressions he received of the life and scenery of Spain, Portugal and the Balkan peninsula profoundly affected his mind and influenced his subsequent work. His letters form a singularly vivid record of the gay life of Spanish cities, the oriental feudalism of Ali Pasha's [illegible] to us. The earliest fruits of his travels were the first two cantos of [illegible] m instantly famous but [illegible] The romantic Childe [illegible] poet himself and in- [illegible] by her passion.

In 1815 came the great tragedy of Byron's life, his amazing marriage to Miss Anne Milbanke There is no reason to suppose that he desired anything but a quiet settlement in life with a person who offered not merely grace and beauty, but the promise of peace. Byron was unspoiled by adulation and was an affectionate man, as his numerous friendships prove. But there came a sudden fatal breach, and early in 1816, shortly after the birth of his daughter Ada at the end of 1815, Lady Byron left his house, and the most brilliant and most fascinating Englishman of the day was driven by slanderous tongues into exile, and never saw child, wife or England again. A history of literature is no place for the succulent discussion of scandal. Lady Byron herself accused him of nothing but "insanity"; and though there was a formal separation, no dissolution of the marriage was ever proposed. It is probable that the main truth is very simple: Byron, like other men of genius, married the wrong person. Lady Byron [illegible] herself to charitable v[illegible] disastrous to a man [illegible] ardours and exaltations. But speculation is not our affair. What concerns us is that Byron was both bewildered in mind and lacerated in feeling. But he was not the man to beg for explanations or to endure a second insult. It has been well observed that there is no spectacle more ridiculous than the British public in one of its periodical fits of morality. Byron knew well enough what Regency moral[illegible]

impiety of *Cain*; but as it is fragmentary, incoherent and even uninteresting, the supposed repentance seems incomplete. When we pass from Byron's romantic and supernatural dramas to his Venetian tragedies and *Sardanapalus*, we enter a very different world. Here, in the observance of the unities, the setting of the scenes and in all that goes to constitute the technique of drama, the principles of classicism are observed. *Sardanapalus* is, from every point of view, a greater success than either of the Venetian tragedies. In *Werner* and *The Deformed Transformed* there is a return to the romantic pattern, but neither carries conviction.

It is an easy transition from Byron's historical dramas to such poems as *The Lament of Tasso* and *The Prophecy of Dante*, which take the form of dramatic soliloquies. The mood of *The Lament* is one of unavailing sadness; *The Prophecy* is both more ambitious and more charged with personal emotion. The Dante who speaks is the apostle of that political liberty which had grown dear to Byron at a time when he was living in a country that lay under the Austrian yoke. To complain that Byron's *terza rima* fails to reproduce Dante's effect is quite uncritical. No English *terza rima* can reproduce the Italian, which is full of the feminine rhymes unnatural in the English language. Here, as in the other case noted above, the true question is not, Does this reproduce Dante, but Does this succeed? The answer is that it does.

The most important group of Byron's poems still remains for consideration. His discovery of the Italian medley-poem, written in the *ottava rima*, was for him a revelation. His wavering between the classical and romantic principles ended in a reconciliation of both in a new medium of satirical burlesque, unconstrained and whimsical, and delighting in the sudden anticlimaxes and grotesque incongruities which find a spacious hiding-place in the *ottava rima*. It was Frere's *The Monks and the Giants* (1817) which first disclosed to him, as he gratefully acknowledges, the fitness of the metre for effects of this sort. But his true masters are the Italians themselves—Pulci in the fifteenth century, Berni in the sixteenth and Casti in the eighteenth. Had he not been an exile, he would never have written his great comic masterpieces, for they are Italian through and through. *Beppo* might be a tale from the *Decameron*. In *The Vision of Judgment* the verse remains the same but embodies a different spirit. Southey's fulsome panegyric of George III with this title becomes the text for delightful mockery and pungent satire. In *Don Juan*, the work upon which his powers were chiefly expended during the last years in Italy (1818–23), Byron attains to the full disclosure of his personality and the final expression of his genius. To describe a work so familiar is not necessary. We can say briefly that the variety both of matter and style is infinite, and the metrical invention unflagging. From any point of view *Don Juan* is unique.

should succeed; and it would require some perversity and much obtuseness to maintain that the verse of *Childe Harold* does not succeed. The sc[illegible] worst with the [illegible] and as we move [illegible] Byron fits the scene with words that are instantly recalled by every lettered traveller.

[illegible] is a welcome return to a simpler style. Love of political freedom, [illegible] were unimpaired.

To the years that succeeded his final departure from England belong his works in dramatic form. As in the poems, there is alternation [illegible] the Alps exercised on Byron's genius. Some influence from Goethe's *Faust* appears in the opening soliloquy; but the characteristic Byronic manner appears in the main story depicting an outcast from society, stained with crime, and proudly solitary. The play is as much and as little autobiographical as the other works. In *Cain* we witness the final stage in the evolution of the Byronic hero. The note of rebellion [illegible] written in fourteen days, was taken as an act of repentance for the

and early deaths of all three seemed a judgment on manifest wickedness.

The most obnoxious of all to the compilers of the Six Acts was Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822), grandson of a baronet and the descendant of Sussex squires. At his first school he became an eager reader and began to study chemistry. At Eton he was fascinated by the classics and science and studied the sceptical and scientific Lucretius, as well as the English eighteenth-century philosophers. Here, too, he wrote two wild and worthless romances, *Zastrozzi* (1808) and *St Irvyne, or the Rosicrucian* (1810), and collaborated with his sister Elizabeth in *Original Poetry by Victor and Cazire* (1810), the year in which he entered University College, Oxford. There, with his friend Thomas Jefferson Hogg, he produced in 1811 a pamphlet, *The Necessity of Atheism*, which caused the expulsion of both. This date begins a series of disasters. Shelley, lodging alone in London, was attracted by a pretty girl of sixteen named Harriet Westbrook, daughter of a retired coffee-house keeper. Into the details of the subsequent story we are not required to enter. We record that in 1811 Shelley took Harriet to Edinburgh, where they went through an irregular marriage ceremony in August 1811, the husband being nineteen and the wife less than seventeen. He sought the acquaintance of Godwin, being attracted by his political individualism and his ethical determinism. The one appealed to Shelley's hatred of tyranny, the other to his passion for ideal unity. But things were not going well. Harriet could not live up to Shelley, and Shelley could not live down to Harriet. Their precocious ardour had cooled. Two characteristic adventures took place at this time, one a propagandist visit to Ireland, and the other a brief stay at Bracknell with some ardent vegetarians, where he met Peacock, who could never have been a vegetarian, ardent or tepid. The literary product of the latter adventure was *A Vindication of Natural Diet* (1813). In Ireland Shelley strangely hoped to begin his conversion of the world. He wrote several pamphlets, the chief being an *Address to the Irish People*, but he left that intractable island bitterly disillusioned.

The disagreeable fact has to be recorded that all this time there had been another woman in the background, Elizabeth Hitchener, a Sussex schoolmistress, ten years his senior, who was madly enamoured of him and aspired to marry him, and with whom during 1811 and 1812 he maintained a correspondence which began with philosophy and ended with ardours. Harriet knew of the correspondence, joined in it, and did not object till moved by her baleful sister. Shelley invited Miss Hitchener to visit them at Lynmouth in the summer of 1812 after the Irish fiasco. She made herself intolerable to everybody, especially to Shelley, who felt at last that he ought to do something about her and proposed his remedy for every ill, an annuity till she

The last and greatest change in Byron's [illegible]
the Greek s[illegible]
many ent[illegible]
who had b[illegible]
Byron decided to devote himself actively to the cause. Just before setting sail in 1824 he received a highly courteous greeting in verse from Goethe. On his arrival he found affairs grossly mismanaged, chiefly through ridiculous factions among the Greeks themselves. In his labours to secure effective unity Byron showed himself a practical statesman and a born leader of men. But the end was near. In April 1824 he was seized with rheumatic fever after sailing wet to the skin in an open boat; and on the nineteenth he died. His death was a severe blow to Greece, and plunged the nation into profound grief; when the news reached England, Tennyson, then a boy of fourteen, carved the words "Byron is dead" upon a rock at Somersby and exclaimed "the whole world seemed darkened to me". Had he lived he might have been king of liberated Greece. His body was brought to England, and, Westminster refusing him, he was buried in the village church of Hucknall Torkard, outside the gates of Newstead Abbey, once his home. Such was the end of this great and famous Englishman, better understood and appreciated abroad than by his own people. It is a superficial view that finds Byron monotonously Byronic. Like other great poets he is always himself. His variety is as remarkable as his vivacity. Only in the pure lyric is he below the best; and so the reader should not seek to know Byron in selections. *Childe Harold, The Vision of Judgment* and *Don Juan* alone will convince any responsive spirit that Byron is not only a great poet, but the kind of poet the world now needs to mock its baser and inspire its loftier movements.



III. SHELLEY

The younger group of poets, Byron, Shelley and Keats, was separated from the elder, Wordsworth, Southey and Coleridge, by almost a generation. The latter responded eagerly to the great uprising of peoples that began in 1789; the former rebelled against the revival of traditional oppression that began after 1815. This difference is curiously marked by the fact that while the earlier group drew its inspiration from the motherland, the latter was almost foreign, two living in banishment and drawing their inspiration from the life of other lands and the third retreating still further into ancient mythology. Tory society, which received the older group into its bosom, laid a heavy hand on the younger. Byron, whom it feared, was driven into exile; Keats, whom it derided, was bludgeoned; Shelley, whom it loathed, was caught in the meshes of the law. The tragic

1817, while Shelley and Mary were settled at Marlow, with Peacock as neighbour. Lord Eldon, the Tory Chancellor, having considered Shelley's life, and having had portions of *Queen Mab* explained to him, deprived Shelley of the custody of his two children. Ianthe married and lived to a good age; Charles died in childhood. They had no part in Shelley's life. In March 1818 Shelley left England for ever, accompanied, as usual, by Claire Clairmont, with her tragic little daughter Allegra. In Italy he renewed his acquaintance with Byron, and visited Venice, Naples, Rome, Leghorn and settled at last in Pisa. His first children by Mary both died, but in 1819 another son, Percy Florence, was born, who succeeded to the baronetcy and lived to a time (1889) within the memory of living persons. The final move was made to a lonely villa on the Bay of Spezzia. New and important friends had been made: Edward John Trelawney—whose *Adventures of a Younger Son* (1831) and *Recollections of the Last Days of Shelley and Byron* (1858), however adorned by fancy, must still be read—Edward Williams and his "wife" Jane, and an appealingly romantic young woman, Emilia Viviani. Old friends like Medwin and Hogg reappeared. The beginning of a friendship with Keats was ended by the younger poet's death. In June Shelley left Spezzia to meet Leigh Hunt at Leghorn. The meeting was very happy. On 8 July 1822 Shelley and Williams left Leghorn for Spezzia in their boat and never arrived. No one knows what happened. The bodies were washed up some days later at Viareggio and were cremated on the shore in the presence of Byron, Leigh Hunt and Trelawny, the last of whom snatched Shelley's heart from the expiring flames, and this and the other remains were gathered into a casket and buried by the wall of the old Protestant cemetery in Rome, under the shadow of the Pyramid of Caius Cestius.

Mary returned to England and pursued her passion for writing, though nothing but *Frankenstein* is remembered. Shelley's last years were made happy by friends and comparative peace; but his life with Mary was not entirely successful. His interest in Jane "Williams", in the conventual captive Emilia Viviani, and in some other women, excited in Mary a resentment that almost amounted to jealousy. However, the shock of her loss and the new duty of editing her husband's scattered and unfinished verses gave a fullness to Mary's life, and she was left with two great memories from the past, Shelley's love and Shelley's death. The reader of Shelley must remember that the poet had no chance of revising or suppressing his early, ill-considered work, and that much of his later work was published by Mary and was never overseen by him.

It has been necessary to dwell at some length upon the life of Shelley in order to account for the abhorrence in which he was held. Disaster had left Byron free to pursue a course already begun;

was settled. Few people escaped Shelley's well-meant monetary gifts.

At Lynmouth he had written *A Declaration of Rights* in order to produce in England the emancipation he had failed to produce in Ireland. He scattered copies in the air by balloons, and in the sea by bottles; but the only practical effect was the six months' imprisonment of his own man, who had been caught posting advertisements of the seditious publication in Barnstaple. His *Letters to Lord Ellenborough* (1812) advocating the release of Thomas Paine's publisher had no other result than the retention of the unfortunate man in gaol. Shelley then put himself across the Severn and settled in Wales at Tremadoc, where he took
wall. Meanwhile he was
which, when published
damage. In that year his daughter Ianthe was born and in the next a son, Charles. Hearing that his Scottish marriage with Harriet was not legal, he married her again in England, although the estrangement between them was almost complete. A few months later they separated for ever.

Shelley then fell violently in love with Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin, daughter of the two philosophers. As he could not marry her, they went off together to Switzerland in 1814, with Clara ("Claire") Clairmont, daughter of the second Mrs Godwin, as companion. After a return to England Mary bore him a son early in 1816, but Shelley, now tired of the Godwins, set out again for Switzerland with Mary and the inevitable Claire, whose intrigue with Byron was unknown to them. The great event of this journey was the meeting with
stories prompted Ma
were soon back in E
October 1816 Fanny
alleged without foundation that a hopeless passion for Shelley had made her desperate; and then in December Harriet committed suicide. Shelley, now free, at once married Mary. Admirers of

The suicide of Harriet led at once to Chancery proceedings, prompted by her implacable sister; and the case dragged through

Unlike Byron, Shelley had no historic imagination and he felt little interest in the metropolis of Papacy. The one figure of medieval Rome that attracted him was Beatrice Cenci, and he resolved to make her the central figure of a poetic drama. In writing it he had in mind the great tragic actress Eliza O'Neill, and he sent the play to Covent Garden for performance. Not unnaturally it was declined. Great men have declared their faith in *The Cenci* as a tragedy for the stage; but the fact, proved in performance, is that it does not succeed. Cenci himself is an irrelevant monster; Beatrice cannot justify her parricide, simply because the dreadful incentive is incapable of dramatic representation. Only in her death does Beatrice become a really moving figure. *The Cenci* is a play for the study, not for the theatre.

Shelley did not attempt any further work for the stage. He was otherwise moved. In 1819 social discontent in England had become acute. The Peterloo affair roused his fierce indignation, and in brief stinging quatrains (with a few variations) he lashed the man whom he chose to hold responsible for the threatened revolution. *The Masque of Anarchy* is much more, however, than a derisive arraignment of the "arch-anarch" Castlereagh—a statesman in these later days almost canonized. In another satiric outburst, *Peter Bell the Third,* Shelley attacks at once the reactionary politician and the "dull" poet who in earlier days had hailed with rapture the dawn of the revolution. The two indictments, for Shelley, hung together. Wordsworth was dull because he had been false to his early ideals. Wordsworth's poem (written in 1798) had been parodied by J. H. Reynolds, the friend of Keats; hence the "Third" in the title of Shelley's piece. It is the most pointed of his satirical poems. In the quasi-Aristophanic drama *Swellfoot the Tyrant* (1820), on the scandal of George IV and the Queen, Shelley's attempt at humour is drearily unsuccessful.

The beginning of 1820 found the Shelleys at Pisa, their home for the next two years. Here were written some of his best known poems—*The Sensitive Plant*, almost impalpably beautiful, *The Witch of Atlas*, a more airily playful essay in poetic myth-making, and a few experiments in narrative, *A Vision of the Sea*, *Orpheus*, and the fragmentary *Fiordispina*, which, however, with all their glimpses of alluring beauty, confirm the impression that story, as such, was never part of Shelley's strength. A stronger tone appears in the great revolutionary odes *To Naples* and *To Liberty* written in the intricate Pindaric form which Shelley now chose to embody his revolutionary ardour. But politics interpenetrated the poetry. *The Ode to the West Wind,* on the other hand, originates directly in that impassioned intuition which is the first condition of poetry. Nowhere does Shelley's voice reach a more poignantly personal note or more perfect spontaneity. *The Cloud* and *The Skylark*, everybody's favourites, are as remarkable for their varied music as for their in-

disaster had found Shelley with his true vocation undiscovered. In *Queen Mab* Shelley's Godwinian creed is proclaimed from the mouths of legendary personages. He was soon to leave *Queen Mab* far behind. In 1815 he wrote *Alastor*, his first authentic and unmistakable poem, modelled upon the austere music of Wordsworth's blank verse. Its final lines are some of his noblest. He endeavoured to set out in prose some of his philosophic convictions; but the unfinished essays *On Love, On Life, On a Future State, On Metaphysics, On Morals, On Christianity* are not remarkable as literature or as [illegible] *Beauty*, belonging to this period, express the Shelleyan idealism with a new loftiness of assurance; but the state of England during the [illegible] optimism, [illegible] *Laon and* [illegible] 1817 to [illegible] Shelley's faith and hope for men. *Julian and Maddalo* gives a fascinating account, undoubtedly true in substance, of their intimate talk. From Este Shelley turned south. Many vivid letters to Peacock and the *Stanzas written in dejection near Naples* (December 1818) make the journey live for us. Since his arrival in Italy he had brooded over the plan of a lyrical drama. Of many competing themes he chose Prometheus; but not the Aeschylean Prometheus with its impotent conclusion. The story had to be transformed to fit Shelley's Godwinian faith in the perfectibility of man. Pain, death and sin were transitory ills. Religion, too, man would necessarily outgrow, for the gods were phantoms devised by his brain. So the tyrant Jupiter is thrust down, and his fall is the signal for the regeneration of humanity; man's evil nature slips off like a slough, Prometheus is "unbound". But, in a sense, his tragedy has newly begun, for in a series of visions he is shown what evil man will do to man; yet still the hope of final regeneration remains. Under forms of thought derived from the atheist and materialist Godwin, Shelley has given, in *Prometheus Unbound*, magnificent expression to the faith of Plato and of Jesus.

Shelleyan ideal. Is evil always to triumph? Must hate and death return, must men kill and die? To all readers Shelley will remain the consummate inventor of lyric harmonies; but to a few he will be still more precious for the glimpses he has given of a life more worthy of the spirit of man than that which now afflicts us.

IV. KEATS

John Keats (1795–1821) was the eldest son of a livery-stable keeper in Finsbury Pavement, London. Sent as a child of eight to a school at Enfield, he attracted the interest and, before long, the devoted friendship, of the junior master, Charles Cowden Clarke, to whom he owed his first initiation into poetry. Keats was not destined to go to any public school or university, but entered St Thomas's Hospital as a student, and lived in lodgings in the Borough. It is a fact, curious but perhaps not important, that Keats never had a home of his own. The numerous deaths in his family forced him into a succession of lodgings, and it was in a Roman lodging that he died. His attachment to medicine was not strong or permanent. His inclinations were as simply and purely poetical as those of any poet who has ever lived, and his first friends were men of letters. About 1813 Clarke read to the young surgeon's apprentice Spenser's *Epithalamion*, and put into his hands *The Faerie Queene*. From that moment his destiny was sealed. His earliest extant poem (1813) was an *Imitation of Spenser*. Yet Spenser was to count for less in his poetry than other Elizabethans to whom Spenser led him; and it was the arresting experience of "first looking into Chapman's Homer" that prompted his earliest outburst of great song. There were less favourable influences. He met Leigh Hunt, and later at Hunt's cottage met Haydon, Hazlitt and Shelley. In Haydon's devotion to art there was much that a young poet could admire; in the Shelley of that time there was, as yet, hardly anything to admire. The sincere prose of Hazlitt was a strengthening influence for ever; but the facile verses of Leigh Hunt were to be his undoing. His first volume of poems (1817) owed all its weakness to Hunt and its strength to himself. Keats, a mere boy, was in the gushing drawing-room song stage, and from Hunt he got increase not decrease of his faults. But with the songs and imitations came a group of sonnets, some very good, one, the Chapman's Homer, excellent; and after that, the long *Sleep and Poetry*, which, for all its occasional sinkings, is a vision of beauty, steadily growing richer as well as purer and more intense. Few young poets have written with more promise and greater accomplishment.

Endymion, the work of the twelve months from April 1817 to April 1818, has the invertebrate structure, the insecure style, the weakness in narrative and the luxuriance of colour and music natural

spired interpretation of mood. The *Letter to Maria Gisborne* (1820) commemorates an intellectual friendship, and reveals the Shelley of sparkling and sprightly converse. *Epipsychidion* (1821) commemorates a friendship of another kind. Shelley had lately translated the *Symposium* of Plato. In Emilia Viviani he thought he saw realized the visionary beauty which, from "youth's dawn", had beckoned to him in all the wonder and romance of the world. But sublime Platonic free love can hardly be transferred from the universal to the particular without causing some earthly trouble. Emilia, more than any of Shelley's kindred spirits, aroused the jealousy of Mary. [illegible]

death of Keats, which was felt by Shelley as a calamity for poetry, and for everything in nature and humanity to which poetry gives [illegible]

creative period that Shelley wrote (1821) his memorable *Defence of Poetry*. Peacock's essay, *The Four Ages of Poetry*, had stirred him to a "sacred rage", and his *Defence* ranges far beyond the scope of literature. Poetry is defended as revealing the order and beauty of the Universe. Here, too, may be mentioned his letters, all fascinating, those to Miss Hitchener and to Harriet (lately recovered) having special biographical value. In the flights of lovely song that came from Shelley during the last months there is more of tender intimacy than of cosmic magnificence. Most of them are inspired by his feelings for the "magnetic" Jane. There is almost a foreshadowing of the end in their note of evanescence *Hellas* (1822), drawn from him by the Greek war of liberation, is itself a prolonged lyric, with a sighing [illegible] Spezzian bay [illegible] ie poem was [illegible] was done.

[illegible]

difference to Keats's development; he was going to make himself a poet in his own way without any quailing before Regency ruffianism; but the attacks made a great difference to Keats's actual health. He was sick with the pangs of love and he was very sick in body, after the hardships of a foolishly protracted tour through the Highlands, from which he returned to nurse his dying brother; and these wanton assaults came as a cruel addition to his many ills. There is, there can be, no defence. *Blackwood* pursued him even after death.

Keats was already past *Endymion*, and knew it perfectly well, without information from any critics. The ill-fated Scottish tour had been undertaken in part as a clearing of his spirit and a strengthening of his powers. Six months after the completion of *Endymion*, *Hyperion* was begun. It was a giant step forward, which neither the intimate study of Milton nor his first experience, on the Highland tour, of mountain glory and gloom and of the relics of ancient beliefs, makes less wonderful. Whether he could have finished it we do not know; but when he felt that he was being oppressed by the spirit of Milton, who seemed to dictate his very form of verse, he deliberately ceased, and the great fragment ends with an uncompleted sentence. He took it up again in 1819 and tried to remodel it as *The Fall of Hyperion*, in the form of a vision. Though this is no more successful than the original, and indeed shows signs of failing powers, it is of great interest as showing the workings of the poet's mind. During 1819 he had been renewing his study of Dante in Cary's fine version, and *The Fall of Hyperion* approaches Dante as closely as *Hyperion* approaches Milton. There is a sense of symbolical vision about it, and it follows the Dantean conception (already implicit in *Sleep and Poetry*) of an ascent from garden to temple and thence to shrine. Thus insistently did Keats, with symbol and image, press home the thought that beauty, the ideal, can only be won through pain, and that poetry is incomplete if it evades and leaves unexpressed "the agonies, the strife of human hearts". Though *The Fall* does not equal *Hyperion*, it contains some lines which the poet never surpassed. It is unfortunate that this version of *Hyperion* was not published till 1856–7, and then mistakenly as a "first version"; and this it was generally taken to be for many years, on the editor's authority.

In describing *The Fall of Hyperion* we have diverted from the contents of the great volume of 1820. First in that marvellous volume came *Lamia*, a reversion to the romantic tale in couplets, with Dryden as a model. It is romance with a difference. Here Keats shows his mastery of a new kind of beauty—the beauty that has evil in it, the beauty of destruction. Though the poem has one or two touches of Keats at his worst, it is stronger, terser and tenser than anything he had so far written. Following *Lamia* came *Isabella*,

to one who still lived more in sensation than in thought, but also the enchanted atmosphere and scenery, and the sudden reaches of vision, possible only to one whose senses were irradiated by imagination. The brief, manly and moving Preface tells us of the young poet's aspirations, and the poem itself, whatever its faults, is a testament of beauty that bears constant reading, and grows in grace and strength with every renewal of knowledge.

Before *Endymion* was complete, he had planned with his friend John Hamilton Reynolds a volume of tales from Boccaccio. Keats chose the fifth story of the fourth day of the *Decameron*, that of Lisabetta and the pot of basil. The clear Italian setting was harder for him than the loosely imagined classical scenes of *Endymion*; and it is not till after Lorenzo's murder that the imaginative transformation of the story becomes complete. What Boccaccio evaded Keats worked upon in the spirit of the old ghostly ballads, and made *Isabella* a tale of horror that is full of beauty. Superficially and technically *Isabella* [illegible]

power and technical mastery, but in intellectual range and vigour, and in moral grip. The man, as well as the genius, is awake. His letters, which take rank with *The Prelude* as a revelation of the growth of a poet's mind, are specially illuminating for the year 1818. The experiencing mind was beginning to find experience, and, as usual, [illegible]

the 1818–19 poems) and the equally extraordinary richness of his letters of the same period show us Keats developing in mind and feeling under the influence of his passion, and developing in technique because of his new energy. He was, like Shakespeare, a strongly "physical" poet, rejoicing in sounds, colours, textures, odours, and [illegible]

wood and the *Quarterly* in attacks that are permanent blots in the history of our literature. The Tory hounds were after the blood of anyone associated with Leigh Hunt, who had endured his persecution and imprisonment with a nobility and courage that discredited his persecutors. Keats offered a promising target, and the gentlemen of the press made the most of it. It is now the fashion to say that the hostile reviews made no difference to Keats. They certainly made no

difference to Keats's development; he was going to make himself a poet in his own way without any quailing before Regency ruffianism; but the attacks made a great difference to Keats's actual health. He was sick with the pangs of love and he was very sick in body, after the hardships of a foolishly protracted tour through the Highlands, from which he returned to nurse his dying brother; and these wanton assaults came as a cruel addition to his many ills. There is, there can be, no defence. *Blackwood* pursued him even after death.

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already discussed; and after that came the one poem of which almost everyone thinks first when the poet's name is mentioned, *The Eve of St Agnes*. In this poem of pure loveliness, the menace of evil is kept [illegible] could be equalled, came the group of odes and fragments—*To a Nightingale*, *On a Grecian Urn*, *To Psyche*, with *To Autumn* and *On Melancholy* following the intercalated joyous octosyllabics, *To Fancy*, *Bards of Passion*, *The Mermaid Tavern*, and *Robin Hood*. *Hyperion* closed the volume. With one exception, the *Autumn* ode is the last complete poem of Keats. The last of all, written a year later, is, with [illegible]

Keats knew he was a dying man, and needed a nurse, not a new friend. He had many friends, truest of all being Charles Armitage [illegible] drew from him his last utterance, the sonnet *Bright Star*. The unhappy man knew that he would never see England again and never see the being "for ever loved and still to be enjoyed". He died in Rome, and was buried in the Protestant cemetery. Seventeen months later all that was left of Shelley was interred in the adjacent graveyard.

Knowledge of the greatness of Keats grew slowly, and it was not till 1848 that Richard Monckton Milnes (Lord Houghton) felt assured that he could issue a *Life, Letters and Literary Remains* in two volumes, thus giving to the public a collection of remarkable letters and a number of equally remarkable poems, including a group of splendid sonnets. Among the less good matter was a drama, *Otho the Great*, and an ineffective attempt at a Byronic political satire, called *The Cap and Bells*. On the other hand, *La Belle Dame sans Merci* exhibited a new side of his romanticism and the exquisite *Eve of St Mark* showed his capacity to depict what was cool, quiet, reserved [illegible]

one is in less need of defence, but we should read him with special

sympathy. The value of a poem is absolute. Whether it was written by an old man or a boy does not matter in the least. But Keats died at the age of twenty-five years and four months, an age at which the most celebrated poets have scarcely accomplished anything. Now a consideration of Keats's age, though it should not affect our estimation of his best poems, should certainly prevent us from being unjust to his worst. Everything we have from him might be called *Juvenilia*, and never have the *Juvenilia* of a poet been so cruelly scanned. He had no time to prune his own redundancies, he had scarcely time even to read what he had written. The tale of his creative life is barely five years. It is a miraculous and moving story.

V. LESSER POETS: ROGERS, CAMPBELL, MOORE AND OTHERS

In the ribald dedication to *Don Juan* Byron declared that "Scott, Rogers, Campbell, Moore and Crabbe" would try out with posterity the question of endurance against the "renegade" poets of the Lakes. Posterity has decided; and though it rejects Southey, it has put Wordsworth above them all. Rogers, Campbell, Moore and Crabbe are relegated to permanent minority.

Samuel Rogers (1763–1855) was the son of a banker and became head of the firm in 1793. Once known to all as author of *The Pleasures of Memory* (1792) he is now known to some for *The Table Talk of Samuel Rogers* edited by Dyce in 1856 and *Recollections* edited by William Sharpe in 1859. Almost the only passages of his poetry which endure are to be found in *Italy* (1822–8). He retired early from business, became celebrated for his breakfast-parties of very mixed guests, and talked well and caustically. An examination of the poetry of Rogers proves it to be almost faultless—almost, but not quite; for its vital defect is that none of it is alive. The whole mass of it fails to communicate the thrill of conviction given by a single line of Keats or Wordsworth. There is really nothing more to say about it.

Thomas Campbell (1777–1814) is in a different case. He, too, wrote long poems, *The Pleasures of Hope* (1799) and *Gertrude of Wyoming* (1819), which now leave us unmoved; but he also wrote short pieces such as *Ye Mariners of England*, *The Battle of the Baltic* and *Hohenlinden*, which, with less or greater power, have the arresting touch of real poetry. Greatest is *Hohenlinden*, which is unique and might be carefully studied by any would-be poet for its sheer magic of words. Besides writing his poems, Campbell did some useful work in prose for the magazines and encyclopedias of his day; and his *Specimens of the British Poets* (1819) had a long life of usefulness.

Thomas Moore (1779–1852) wrote a great deal of verse in many

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To Fancy,
Hyperion
closed the volume. With one exception, the *Autumn* ode is the last complete poem of Keats. The last of all, written a year later, is, with Milton's *Methought I saw*, among the most moving of English sonnets.

In the early winter months of 1820 Keats was attacked by consumption. He was invited by Shelley to Italy, but refused the invitation. Keats knew he was a dying man, and needed a nurse, not a new friend. He had many friends, truest of all being Charles Armitage

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in the hope of some

star shone out, and drew from him his last utterance, the sonnet *Bright Star*. The unhappy man knew that he would never see England again and never see the being "for ever loved and still to be enjoyed". He died in Rome, and was buried in the Protestant cemetery. Seventeen months later all that was left of Shelley was interred in the adjacent graveyard.

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Mark showed his capacity to depict what was cool, quiet, reserved

in falling soft. He was a small, helpless, wistful man, who attracted much affection, and asked little more of the world than to be left alone to pursue the studious life he loved. He passed his time in writing and teaching. His larger works, *Biographia Borealis* (1833) and *Worthies of Yorkshire and Lancashire* (1836), are publishers' compilations. His poems were first printed in 1833, but were more fully collected in two volumes with a memoir by his brother Derwent (1851), who also published in the same year his *Essays and Marginalia*. His poetry is like himself—sincere, pathetic and touched with genius.

Thomas Hood (1799–1845) is another of the lovable, delightful writers whom unmerciful disaster pursued relentlessly through a life of sickness and drove to an early grave. Beginning as an illustrator, he soon found that literature was the true bent of his genius. A post on the staff of *The London Magazine* brought him into contact with many well-known writers of the day, especially John Hamilton Reynolds, whose sister he married, and whose own poetic gift was lost in the blaze of glory attending his friend Keats. The poems of Hood are arbitrarily divided into "Serious" and "Comic", an absurd and even dangerous arrangement, suggesting that his comic poems are not also serious, and that his serious poems are humourless. The two "serious" poems known to everybody are *The Song of the Shirt* and *The Bridge of Sighs*, and both have been denied the rank of poems by those who appear to think that Crabbe may poetically indict the village but that Hood must not poetically indict the town. Another serious poem, *The Dream of Eugene Aram*, is dismissed from poetry as "melodramatic" or "sensational"—a dismissal which would deprive us of half our ballads. Actually all three are unquestionable poetic successes, even though not poetic successes of the higher lyric kind. Besides these there are many shorter poems of true excellence. *Miss Kilmansegg and her Precious Leg* and the *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Clapham Academy* are perfect examples of the serio-comic. And then, with the various ballads rich with glorious puns, we must reckon the great comic odes, such as *To W. Kitchener M.D.*, and *To the Great Unknown*. The only difficulty offered by Hood in his "occasional" poems is that, like most others of their kind, they are filled with lost allusions. Hood was driven almost literally to write himself to death, and much that he produced need not be remembered. But he was a true poet. His variety is immense. The only strain he never attempted was the song of self-pity. He was a fellow of infinite jest, and kept death at bay with a smile. He might have stepped out of the pages of Shakespeare.

Winthrop Mackworth Praed (1802–39) is sometimes ranked with Hood, but the two have little in common except the gift of writing light verse. Praed was of aristocratic descent, founded *The Etonian*, and carried his gifts to Trinity College, Cambridge, and thence into

kinds and attained great popularity; but in bulk he is not largely read. Personally he was an irresistible fellow, the friend of many from the gravest to the gayest. That the shriller Irish dislike him is not astonishing. It is common form for the Irish to dislike each other intensely and to express their feelings from time to time in various ways. Nevertheless, Moore's *Irish Melodies* are more readily remembered than the gloomy or mystical effusions that have sought to displace them. Perhaps his refusal to identify himself fanatically with something called a "cause" and his readiness to seek cat-like comfort in pleasant society not addicted to political murder may account for the lack of fervour that greets his name in his own native island and city. Byron was a man of this world, if ever there was one; and it was Moore that Byron chose to represent him after death, a duty which Moore performed admirably in the seventeen volumes of Byron's poems, letters, journals and life (183[illegible]). That he consented [illegible] (1808), two satirical poems, show that Moore had not the nature of a satirist. *Lalla Rookh, An Oriental Romance* (1817) amply gratifies the taste for eastern stories, and is still readable. *The Fudge Family in Paris* (1818) is the kind of light and kindly satire that Moore could write and that anyone can read. Many other works are here left unmentioned, for Moore was a voluminous writer. The Moore that [illegible] *National Airs* (1815, etc.) contain not merely beautiful lyrics, but [illegible] wrote *At the mid hour of night.* A thoroughly likeable writer of likeable poems, a novelist of good ornate prose in *The Epicurean,* a pleasant friend and a serviceable editor—all these and other elements make up Tom Moore.

The three poets just described had their being in the Waterloo period. There are others still to be described who look forward to the Corn Laws, Reform, Chartism and even the Crimea. They are very numerous, and can be barely named. Nearly the eldest, the most famous by birth and promise, but, in a way, the most unfortunate, was Hartley Coleridge (1796–1849) first son of the great S. T. C. He had some gifts of scholarship, but was defeated by intemperance. He had many of his father's weaknesses and none of his father's luck

Some other poets deserve notice in history, if only for the extent of their performances or the celebrity they attained. Henry James Pye (1745–1813) was an Oxford man and a country gentleman (like many), a member of Parliament and of the Militia (like Gibbon), and a London police magistrate (like Fielding). His poetry, including pindaric odes and an epic called *Alfred* (1801), is no worse than that of many other writers noticed here. Unfortunately he was chosen to succeed Warton as Poet Laureate in 1790 and was thus promoted to a perpetuity of ridicule. His poetry is perfectly vacuous of any trace of the Muse. William Sotheby (1757–1833) was a friend of Scott and wrote about him. He translated well the *Georgics* of Virgil, and both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But his original poems are not important, and his varied life is not matter for these pages. Edwin Atherstone (1788–1872) needed all his years for *The Fall of Nineveh* in thirty books, together with *The Fall of Herculaneum* and *The Handwriting on the Wall*. His subjects, it will be seen, are marmoreal or granitic, but not so tremendous as the courage of any who would attempt to read him. John Abraham Heraud (1799–1887) flourished in all the magazines and was a noted dramatic critic. He is entitled to mention here as author of *The Descent into Hell*, *The Judgment of the Flood* and other poems. Robert Pollok (1798–1827), already mentioned (see p. 600), might have attained the immensity of the two preceding poets had he lived as long; for besides *Tales of the Covenanters* he had written a lengthy poem called *The Course of Time* (1827), which some have professed to find wonderful, but which more have confessed to finding unreadable. Robert Montgomery—really Gomery (1807–55)—author of poetical effusions called *The Omnipresence of the Deity* (1828) and *Satan, or Intellect without God* (1830) is remembered solely by Macaulay's review. The modernist rejection of Macaulay has included the whim of finding Robert Montgomery ill-used and Macaulay brutal. The truth is, Macaulay vigorously attacks the persistent puffing of sham religious works as poetry and uses Montgomery merely as an example. An examination of the alleged poems will cause surprise that Macaulay should have left such utterly pretentious and not even successfully pretentious trash so lightly visited. Among the twitterers who followed Moore must be named Bryan Waller Procter (1787–1874), better known as "Barry Cornwall". His long life, his notable family, his friendships with great writers from Lamb to Dickens, and his own pleasant character, have tended to give his writings an importance which they do not deserve. Thomas Haynes Bayly (1797–1839), a persistent warbler, is remembered solely as the literary father of such as write "drawing-room songs". His lyrics now arouse nothing but surprise mingled with mirth.

Community of circumstance, of misfortune and (in part) of subject

Red Fisherman. A volume of his *Essays* was included in a famous series by that great-minded editor Henry Morley, and may have been read by some now living.

Sir Henry Taylor (1800–86) led a long and honourable life which linked the French Revolution to the very eve of Queen Victoria's Jubilee. His main contributions to literature are the four tragedies, *Isaac Comnenus* (1827), *Philip van Artevelde* (1834), *Edwin the Fair* (1842) and *St Clement's Eve* (1862). *Philip*, his best play, was long highly esteemed, and it gives us the familiar line "The world knows

or of a found *is not beauty I demand*, and included it among the seventeenth-century

(1827) was edited in 1892, and his poem *Nepenthe* (1836) in 1897. The dates are significant. There was a fashion in the Nineties for the curious clotted utterance of which Darley was a master. His stanzas beginning *Listen to the Lyre* seem to be the source of the exquisite rhythm of Meredith's *Love in the Valley*. Only the curious are now likely to disturb his lengthier works.

Another favourite of the Nineties was Thomas Lovell Beddoes

between Shell
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ginnings of Beddoes, for he too was a belated Elizabethan, yet he is also very modern. He was a physician and a physiologist and might himself have been a character by Ibsen. The blank verse of the *Jest Book* is likely to be less attractive now than some of its songs.

Another dramatist is Charles Jeremiah Wells (1800–79), whose *Stories after Nature* (1822) fell flat, as did his poetical drama *Joseph and*

The Quaker poet Bernard Barton (1789–1849) has so many pleasant and lasting literary associations—the friendship of Lamb, of Southey, and of FitzGerald, and even the good word of Byron—that it would be a pity if anyone ran the risk of disillusion by reading any of his verse.

James Montgomery (1771–1854) was no connection of the inferior Robert, though he, too, wrote epics or quasi-epics, which, however, were not all theological and not all absurd. But everybody knows some of James Montgomery's verses, for among his many hymns are such popular favourites as *For ever with the Lord* and *Go to dark Gethsemane*.

Ebenezer Elliott (1781–1849) for good or ill is "the Corn Law Rhymer". It is the curse of faction, whether religious or political, that it poisons the natural faculties. The stoutest of Tories would have found Elliott sound, for he hated Communism, Chartism and Socialism as much as he hated the Corn Laws. To him the Corn Laws not only taxed the People's Bread, but took money from enterprising manufacturers like himself and gave it to lazy, unenterprizing farmers. His life is interesting. When still a dissolute and drunken young man, he was suddenly converted (unlike Peter Bell) by the print of a primrose in Sowerby's *Botany*, and became a devotee of nature. His main works are *The Village Patriarch* (1829), *Corn-Law Rhymes* (1831), *The Splendid Village etc.* (1833–5). No one would find the poetry of Elliott more than fourth rate were it not for its subsidiary political interest.

Elliott was one of Southey's *protégés*. Another was Henry Kirke White (1785–1806), who was a good young man, possessed of sound literary instincts. But his slight book of verses, published at eighteen, tells us little about him. One piece, much altered by others, has become the familiar hymn, *Oft in danger, oft in woe*.

Very different was the lot of Henry Francis Cary (1772–1844), who lived a bookish life and made himself justly and permanently famous by a piece of translation. In 1805 he published a blank verse translation of the *Inferno* and in 1814 *The Vision; or Hell, Purgatory and Paradise of Dante Alighieri*. Upon this his fame securely rests. Those who must have Dante translated will find the best version in Cary. There are numerous and powerful competitors; but Cary's peculiar merit is that he makes a great Italian poem of the Middle Age read like a great English poem of any age. Cary also made translations from Pindar and Aristophanes, and compiled prose successors to Johnson's *Lives*.

Probably no "single-speech" poet has attracted more attention than Charles Wolfe (1791–1823), whose authorship of *The Burial of Sir John Moore* has been voluminously disputed. The thing is one of those "windfalls of the Muses" for which one can only give the

has linked Robert Bloomfield (1768–1823) and John Clare (1793–1864) together. Both, though Bloomfield was not tied to the soil by birth, were agricultural labourers; both made themselves authors under the consequential difficulties; both were patronized; neither made the best use of the patronage; and both died mad, though, in Bloomfield's case, actual insanity has been questioned. Bloomfield's *The Farmer's Boy* appeared in 1800 and was followed by other volumes of pleasing rural quality. Clare published *Poems Descriptive of Rural Life and Scenery* (1820), *The Village Minstrel* (1821), *The Shepherd's Calendar* (1827) and *The Rural Muse* (1835); but the bulk of his work now in print has been largely augmented by the enthusiasm of later editorial poets. Whether the additions have equally augmented Clare's actual poetic reputation may be doubted. The pathos of the poet's life is deeply moving; but the value of poetry is [illegible]

a poet.

Robert Stephen Hawker (1803–75), "the Vicar of Morwenstow", has proved such a grateful sub[illegible] actual poetic worth has been [illegible] *The Song of the Western Men,* [illegible] some very old hands, though it is hard to see why. His numerous other poems contained in *Records of the Western Shore* (1832–6) and *Cornish Ballads* (1869) have in them signs of power. Hawker was old when he wrote one book of a poem he had long contemplated, *The Quest of the Sangraal* (1864); but the fragment shows promise of original treatment, and its blank verse is full of vigour and independence.

A difficult case is provided by William Barnes (1801–86), the Dorset pastoral poet. The question is whether his very sweet, sincere and sometimes very moving poems would have had strength enough to survive without the support of a dialect more suggestive of a holiday resort than of a province—in other words, whether it is not the unearned increment of dialectical quaintness that keeps some of them still alive. To discuss this would be to incur some danger. There is no doubt whatever that Barnes was fiercely sincere. He was [illegible]

is a major poet concerned only to write poetry; Barnes is a minor poet concerned chiefly to exploit the dialect of his shire.

biography. The Reviews did not print either original poetry or fiction; but the Magazines, which did, also published certain reviews. Such was the main distinction between a Magazine and a Review. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the two great Reviews—*The Edinburgh* and *The Quarterly*—and two brilliant Magazines—*Blackwood's* and *The London*—sprang to life, and, on the whole, they conformed to the original distinctions of type. The strict anonymity of the articles in the Reviews gave them weight and power, but the power was sometimes grossly abused. Signed articles, now the general rule, may seem to be over-important; but the publication of the critic's name tends to put a restraint upon malice and ruffianism.

Of the four periodicals mentioned, *The Edinburgh Review* has the most interesting and the least sanguinary history. It was founded by three young men, then quite unknown to fame, Francis Jeffrey (1773–1850), a Scottish advocate, still almost briefless, Sydney Smith (1771–1845), a distinguished Wykehamist and Oxonian, who, while waiting for an English living, was in Edinburgh as a private tutor, and Henry Brougham (1778–1868), the future Lord Chancellor, who had only lately been called to the Scottish Bar. The first number (October, 1802) was a great success. From the beginning the *Edinburgh* was clearly on the side of Liberalism and held tranquil views about the French Revolution; but it refused to tolerate the slightest departure from ancient ways in the world of letters. Southey's *Thalaba* fell under Jeffrey's lash in the first number. Jeffrey remained anti-Wordsworthian all through; but he was earnest and merely obtuse—he was not a "killer" like certain writers in other periodicals. Scott contributed several literary articles, but his romantic Toryism was at variance with the spirit of the *Edinburgh*. Of the early contributors the best was Sydney Smith, famous throughout his life as a brilliant humorist and as the advocate of serious reforms. Not all who delighted in the clever jesting and high spirits which distinguished him, alike in social intercourse and in the written page, were able to recognize the thoroughness and sincerity of his character, and his genuine desire to leave the world a better place than he found it. The ungrateful Whigs did as little for him as the Tories had done for Swift. Henry Brougham, the youngest of the three founders, was to become, in a few years and for a time, one of the most powerful political leaders in England. Hardly any public man of the nineteenth century approached more nearly to the possession of genius. But Brougham's great gifts were impaired by very serious faults of character and temper which earned him the hatred of many and the distrust of all. In complete contrast was Francis Horner (1778–1817), who wrote on economical subjects and who, by mastery of knowledge and rectitude of character, gained such esteem that his early death was deplored by both sides in the House of

Muses thanks. Not another poem among Wolfe's *Remains* has anything like its quality.

Reginald Heber (1783–1826), Bishop of Calcutta, who worked [illegible] *mountains, The Son of God goes forth to War, Holy, Holy, Holy,* and *Brightest and best of the sons of the morning* (to name but four of his hymns) is to have gained, if not immortality, then its nearest substitute, an affectionate remembrance.

We have considered a large number of poets who range from pre-Waterloo to post-Crimean times. One curious fact is that most of them look forwards and not backwards—they are all post-Words- [illegible] dominance of any master poet, or poetic style, is inimical to poetic progress. There is no master-spirit among the poets we have been considering; but neither is there any definite emergence of novity in outlook or in technique. No one is suppressed, but nevertheless no one emerges.

VI. REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

During the eighteenth century the "Magazine" was well established. With the nineteenth century was born a new kind of periodical, the [illegible] viewing. To its pages essayists, correspondents and poets sent original contributions. The note of the Review, on the other hand, was advocacy, and more especially, political advocacy. It strove to instruct or persuade its readers by the presentation of definite views in the form of essays which purported to be discussions of books named at the head of the articles Sometimes the books were the theme of the essay, sometimes they were merely its excuse, and were mentioned only to be dismissed. The greatest of reviewers, Macaulay, offers specimens of all kinds of procedure. His review of Croker's [illegible] ents, but pro- [illegible] On the other [illegible] o the book of which it is supposed to be a review, and at once plunges into critical

the scandalous violence of its attacks. Coleridge, Hazlitt and Leigh Hunt were notable victims, and it pursued Keats virulently in life and after his death. It is difficult now to admire Wilson for anything; it is impossible to admire the rowdiness which he introduced into *Blackwood* and which was maintained with zest by a later contributor, the Irishman William Maginn. John Gibson Lockhart (1794–1854), a son of the manse, won distinction both at Glasgow and at Oxford, and made special studies in German and Spanish. He created a small sensation in Edinburgh with *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk* (1819), and gained a more reputable success with *Ancient Spanish Ballads* (1823). He married Scott's daughter Sophia. John Wilson (1785–1854), by a gross piece of political jobbery, was elected to the Chair of Moral Philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, the really great candidate, Sir William Hamilton, being passed over. Wilson's works, e.g. *Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life* (1822) and *The Trials of Margaret Lyndsay* (1823), are now outmoded. Maginn, who joined to Irish effrontery a complete lack of scruple, did some good work later in founding *Fraser's Magazine* (1830) on the same lines as *Blackwood*. But he soon went headlong down the hill of drunkenness to perdition. It is said that Maginn first suggested the famous *Noctes Ambrosianae* in *Blackwood*. These "dialogues of the day", named from Ambrose's Tavern, began in 1822 and lasted to 1835. Most of the work was Wilson's.

The London Magazine (1820–9) had a short but distinguished career, during which it introduced to its readers the works of men who were to take a very high place in British literature. Among its contributors were De Quincey, Lamb, Hazlitt and Keats. But even the mild *London* has its tragic story. Its first editor was John Scott, who, having attacked Lockhart, was challenged to a duel. The combat was averted at the last moment; but Lockhart's second, Jonathan Christie, felt he had been insulted, and at another meeting the unhappy John Scott was mortally wounded. One feels a little dissatisfied with Sir Walter Scott's attitude to both the *Quarterly* and *Blackwood*. He did nothing evil himself, but appeared to tolerate anything from those associated with him.

Despite their many evil deeds, the Reviews and Magazines did useful service. They helped to create and stimulate public opinion. The experience of the world shows that even bad criticism is better than none. Criticism destroys the fatal complacency that comes of a too undisputed life. Kings had their critical jesters; dictators require obsequious flatterers. In later times the great reviews lost their importance. The newspapers of the nineteenth century, with vastly greater and swifter means of disseminating views as well as news, took their place as organs of public opinion.

Commons as a national disaster. The most interesting event in the

Emma (by Scott) gave Jane Austen her first public encouragement. Among the worst of all reviewers was the Right Honourable John

learned anything, never forgot anything, and never forgave anything. The man who was in part responsible for the disgraceful attack on Keats, who furnished Disraeli with the model for the loathsome Rigby in *Coningsby*, and who went out in futile confidence to meet Macaulay with a fatally vulnerable edition of Boswell's

men for support—Lockhart, in later days to become famous as editor of the *Quarterly* and the biographer of Scott; Wilson, afterwards popular as a writer under the name of "Christopher North"; and Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd. The result of their joint lucubra-

personalities. Blackwood had calculated rightly. The sensation was

life was the fall of Coleridge. He saw this God-gifted man slowly subside into the depths of opium and reactionary Toryism—the latter of which he probably thought the more poisonous. After the meeting with Coleridge, Hazlitt felt that he must strive to accomplish something. He took up again a cherished piece of youthful speculation, *An Essay on the Principles of Human Action*. He walked countless miles to visit the picture-galleries in great houses. He returned with ardour to painting. He crossed to Paris and fell in love with Napoleon. He visited the Louvre, and fell in love with the spoils of Italy. He stayed several months in Paris, making copies of pictures and actually selling them. Then, returned to England, he went about painting portraits (the best-known being Lamb as a Venetian Senator), and suddenly discovered that the thing to do was to write. He came to London in search of a literary career, and soon found the friends he needed. He married, quite unsuitably, Sarah Stoddart, an acquaintance of Mary Lamb. Her chief contribution to his life was Winterslow, near Salisbury, where she had a cottage. To the Winterslow region Hazlitt often repaired to obtain the solitude that was one of his needs. After a short time William and Sarah went to Scotland and got a divorce. There was a second marriage, of dubious validity, to a Mrs Bridgewater, but the new husband and wife speedily parted and never saw each other again. Though he had two wives, both living, Hazlitt remained a solitary man.

His industry was amazing. In twenty-five years he gradually made his way to fame from absolute obscurity, without prestige of family, without formal education and without friends of influence. He won distinction as a lecturer; his criticisms on books, pictures and plays were widely read; he became known as a good talker; and he attracted the notice of the most brutal as well as the most gifted of reviewers. His collected works occupy about six thousand printed pages, none of which are completely unreadable, most of which are exceedingly readable, and many of which are perpetually readable. Probably no English author who has written so voluminously has left so much that is positively first-rate. Very much more of Hazlitt survives than of De Quincey, and far more than of Lamb. Hazlitt's most notorious book is the worst he wrote. Interest in what is respectably disguised as "the psychology of sex" has attempted to force into notice the *Liber Amoris* (1823, enlarged later), an account in dialogue, letters and narrative, of his infatuation with Sarah Walker, a girl of the house in which he was lodging; but no "sex interest" can be derived from it, and other interest it has none. We should dismiss from our consideration both the incident and the dreary, shabby book it provoked. *An Essay on the Principles of Human Action* (1805) got published at last, and if it tells us nothing new about Hartley or Helvetius, it tells us much about Hazlitt him-

VII. HAZLITT

Like the poets, the essayists were affected by the great upheaval in France. [illegible]

[illegible] revolutionary spirit, or were they apostates who had gone over to the enemy? The foe, and especially the apostate, he attacks directly, indirectly, by inference, by allusion, by quotation. Hazlitt has been charged with soreness of feeling; but what hurt him was not the attacks of enemies, none of whom ever made him bow his head, but the apostasy of those who once exclaimed: "Bliss was it in that dawn [illegible]

[illegible] seemed genuinely surprised that he was unpopular. There is much to admire in the intrepid honesty that refused to compromise at a time when suppleness promised comfort and profit.

Dissent was in his blood. William Hazlitt (1778–1830) was born at Maidstone, the son of a Unitarian minister of simple, unworldly character and great powers of mind. The father's intractability of conscience (which he passed on to his son) led to certain differences with his congregation, and the Hazlitt family moved to Ireland in 1780, and thence to America in 1783, where they remained till 1787. Later in that year the father became Unitarian minister at Wem in Shropshire, and there young Hazlitt spent most of his youth. He was intended for the ministry and was sent to Hackney Theological College in 1793; but his elder brother had settled in London as a painter, and during visits to the studio William discovered an active interest in painting and philosophy and no interest whatever in theology. He was soon back at Wem, where he painted, read, [illegible]

no obligations to theatre, manager, or actor. Yet another of Hazlitt's great interests was pictorial art. No essayist contemporary with him was his equal in natural aptitude or in knowledge of what the painter was trying to achieve. He disliked the current fashion for vacuous portraiture and stereotyped religious scenes, and before Ruskin was born he had hailed Turner as a master of atmospheric effects. He propounded no system or philosophy of art; he just liked pictures, and wrote about what he liked. Hazlitt's opinions will be found in *Sketches of the Principal Picture Galleries in England* (1824), *Notes of a Journey through France and Italy* (1826) and *Conversations of James Northcote Esq., R.A.* (1830), the last a rich and delightful book full of sage comments on art and life. Other essays on the fine arts were published posthumously.

The best known part of Hazlitt's work is the large mass of miscellaneous essays contributed to various magazines and contained in such familiar volumes as *The Round Table* (1817), *Table-Talk* (1821-2), and *The Plain Speaker* (1826)—the last two being his finest collections. Many essays were not reprinted in his life-time, and some were gathered in his *Literary Remains* (1836). Another volume of *Sketches and Essays* appeared in 1839. A delightful volume called *Winterslow: Essays and Characters written there* (1856) contains some already familiar essays, together with some magnificent pieces, like *My First Acquaintance with Poets*, never reprinted before. Hazlitt's prose resembles the best kind of talk. It is active, challenging, cheerfully dogmatic and personal, entirely free from pose—"I hate all idiosyncrasy", he said—and he adorns his utterance with scraps of quotation blended or distorted which are the despair of his editors. He has no message and no moral and will never be the angel of any coteries or the toast of any societies. To the end he was resolute and independent. His last labours were given to a *Life of Napoleon* in four volumes (1828-30); but through the dishonesty of the publisher he got nothing. It is not a good life of Napoleon, but it is quite a good life of Hazlitt. He died in solitude, save for the comforting presence of Charles Lamb, saying, when the end came, "Well, I've had a happy life". We need not doubt it.



VIII. LAMB

Some knowledge of the domestic life of Charles Lamb (1775-1834) is helpful to an understanding of his works. John Lamb, his father, was the personal servant of Samuel Salt, a bencher of the Inner Temple. He married Elizabeth Field, a Hertfordshire woman. They lived in Salt's house at 2 Crown Office Row, Mrs Lamb acting as housekeeper. Their eldest son, John, called by Lamb "James Elia", was born in June 1763. Mary Lamb ("Bridget") was the second

self. A critic has complained that Hazlitt had a "common mind".

Spirit of the Age (1825) is in accord with his courageous position on all questions. He wrote of the living as frankly as he wrote of the dead. There are some displays of ill-temper; but there is so much

ise he liked going to the

". In particular, he is the

s effects on the boards.

Hazlitt was a pioneer. Before his day, honest reviews of plays hardly existed. He was fearlessly outspoken, and declared that the critic had

the father died. Charles was not only spared *his nightly* ordeal, but could take Mary to live with him, until the signs of recurring insanity warned them that she must go back for a time. So passed many years, the periods of Mary's insanity becoming longer and longer, until in later years, Charles being dead, she was permanently insane. It is the saddest of stories, lightened by the gleams of quiet day-to-day heroism and exquisite affection. People have ventured to pity and even to condemn Charles Lamb. Coleridge took the slightly superior "gentle-hearted-Charles" attitude, which Lamb properly resented, for he was made of stronger stuff than Coleridge and could face the facts of life from which Coleridge fled. Moreover, it was the small purse of a hard-working clerk that contributed, out of all proportion, to relieve the distresses of his friends. Lamb too, has been grossly and unwarrantably held up as a shocking example of the effects of intoxication—the man who did thirty-three years of daily exemplary service in a great corporation. Had he taken to drink as a means of relieving the pressure of his troubles he could have been forgiven. But he did no such thing. His occasional over-indulgence in the social glass was temperance itself compared with the sedulous, inveterate laudanum-drinking of Coleridge.

In 1796 began the association between Coleridge and Charles Lloyd, a young Birmingham Quaker. Lamb, suffering from a sense of loneliness, conceived a strong attachment for his friend's disciple. To the second edition of Coleridge's *Poems* (October 1797) were added poems by Lamb and Lloyd; and in 1798 appeared a small volume of *Blank Verse, by Charles Lloyd and Charles Lamb*, to which Lamb contributed seven poems. From Lloyd, Lamb got that liking for the Quakers which appears in several pieces of writing. But Charles Lloyd was a bad friend for Lamb. His sensitiveness bordered on mental distraction, and he died deranged. In *Edmund Oliver*, a novel published in 1798, Lloyd expressed some feeling against Coleridge, and managed to effect a breach between Coleridge and Lamb. The friendship was soon renewed, but never upon the same level. Lamb's first independent work in prose, *A Tale of Rosamund Gray and Old Blind Margaret*, was published in the summer of 1798. Already he had had some share in James White's *Original Letters, etc., of Sir John Falstaff* in July 1796. *Rosamund Gray* is a sombre and tragic narrative; but it can hardly be said to survive, except for Lamb's sake. The same must be said of his tragedy, called at first *Pride's Cure*, but named in its revised form *John Woodvil* (1802). Although without original merit or dramatic interest, the play bears witness to Lamb's careful study of the sixteenth and seventeenth century dramatists. In these pursuits Lamb gradually shook off his melancholy, and his life with Mary at this time is tenderly recorded in Old China, one of his best essays. Towards the end of 1799 he made a new and valuable

[illegible] Charles, the youngest, was [illegible] the Temple was Lamb's [illegible] Few boys were brought up in more delightful surroundings—on one side a collegiate peace and the River Thames; on the other the roaring voice of central London. To Lamb his London home [illegible] with a pronounced stammer, and so was barred from the higher [illegible] mansion. Blakesware is the *Blakesmoor in H——shire* of a celebrated essay, and united with the Temple buildings in giving the impressionable child recollections that he never forgot. There were excursions to the source of the New River, and tramps to the home of his relations at Mackery End. So, city-bred though he was, Lamb had early contact with nature.

Lamb left Christ's Hospital in 1789, and two years later obtained an appointment in the South-Sea House; but after a few months he entered (1792) a scene of greater activity, the East India House in Leadenhall Street, where, for thirty-three years, he performed his daily duties. Between 1792 and 1796 the friendship with Coleridge was continued in fervent talks and in the trickle of sonnets which Lamb showed to his gifted friend. Four were published in Coleridge's *Poems on Various Subjects* in 1796. At the end of 1795 came the first note of tragedy. Lamb had some kind of mental collapse and spent six weeks in a private asylum. Nothing is known about his breakdown and nothing like it occurred again. But there was insanity in the family and it declared itself with the horror of an Elizabethan tragedy. Poor Mary, overworked, overwrought, taxed beyond endurance by a helpless mother, a half-senile aunt and a querulous father, had a sudden fit of mania in which she stabbed her mother to death. The poor woman was removed to an asylum, and if the advice of John had been taken, she would have remained there for ever. But Charles undertook the permanent care of her, and thus in his twenty-third year found himself pledged to the support of a father i[illegible] whose returning [illegible] The father, now in [illegible] ict only by [illegible]

their common sense. Like Jane Austen he was above the battle. To Leigh Hunt's *Reflector* he contributed such excellent articles as *The Genius and Character of Hogarth* (1811) and *The Tragedies of Shakespeare* (1812). His serious and matter-of-fact *Recollections of Christ's Hospital* in *The Gentleman's* for June 1813 is a forerunner of the beautiful later essay. At this time, too, Lamb wrote for *The Philanthropist* those *Confessions of a Drunkard* which were, and have been, taken seriously as the repentant outpourings of a dipsomaniac. In 1818 appeared the *Works of Charles Lamb* (2 vols.) containing some of the work hitherto mentioned. Lamb continued to write for such magazines as *The Examiner* and *The Indicator*. But the great event in his life was the appearance in *The London Magazine* for August 1820 of an essay entitled *Recollections of the South-Sea House* signed "Elia". Its success was so outstanding that from October 1820 to the end of 1823, Elia was a regular contributor to this brilliant but short-lived periodical. Lamb was now forty-five, and he had happily discovered in his reminiscences the true material of his best writing. Few essayists have so tenderly and humorously combined poetry and truth in their evocations of the past. The volume called *Elia* appeared in 1823. The original "Elia" whose name Lamb borrowed (and pronounced "Ellia") was an Italian clerk known to him in business. The next important event in his life happened on 29 March 1825, when he left the India House for ever as a superannuated man, with a generous pension allowing an equally generous remainder to Mary, if she survived him. But Lamb was too far gone in bad health to enjoy his liberty long. The rest of his work is slight and unimportant. In 1827 he moved, rather mistakenly, to Enfield, then really in the country. He found delight in the neighbourhood of his favourite Hertfordshire and in correspondence with, and occasional visits from, his friends. In May 1833 he moved to Edmonton. That year saw the publication by Moxon of *The Last Essays of Elia*; the July of 1834 saw the death of Coleridge; the December of that year saw his own. Mary lived on till 1847.

It is tempting to say that Lamb's are the best essays in English, because they are rich in the charm that is one of the rarest gifts of genius; it is just to say that Lamb's finest essays are the nearest of all to poetry, not only because they often touch the height where prose eloquence passes into poetry, but because, whether grave or gay, reminiscent or personal, they have in some degree the creative imagination which it is the privilege of poetry to possess in full. And in support of this claim we would adduce, not one of the most popular pieces, but such a passage as the meeting with Dodd in the essay *On Some of the Old Actors*. Could poetry itself do more? The *Letters* stand on equal terms with the essays and are a sufficient rebuke to the new psychologists who try to explain "Elia" as a mask, as a

friend,
laughter
full of
Dyer of

unmitigated for the young was at that time never thought of, the volume really gave many youthful readers their first acquaintance with a great poet. Before this classic appeared in January 1807, Lamb's silly farce *Mr H.* was given at Drury Lane without success. His true service to the drama was to be of a better kind. Another

Lamb had the principal share, Charles himself contributing only three of the ten stories. The book has small interest and no importance. With *Mrs Leicester's School* and the artless rhymes of *Poetry for Children* (1809) the joint work of the brother and sister came to an end. *Prince Dorus* (1811), a fairy-tale in decasyllabic couplets, was Lamb's last work for children. The excellence of Mary's writing shows that, at normal times, her intelligence and judgment were very sound.

Lamb's next literary venture was the justly famous *Specimens of*

objection is unreal and quite suppositious, as a glance through the book will show. The radical point is that the old dramatists were not known, and that Lamb sought to make them known in extracts chosen with sure dramatic instinct and enriched with brief notes that

as he was specially skilled in framing epigrams, sometimes in the modern sense, but nearly always in the Greek sense of that term, his individual pieces are multitudinous. After a volume of *Poems* (1795) and *A Moral Epistle* (1795), he published in 1798—contemporaneous with *Lyrical Ballads*—his *Gebir*, which created in its age what *Sordello* was to create in the next, a legend (quite unfounded) of total incomprehensibility. It has numerous beautiful passages, still more numerous beautiful lines and phrases, but it is fatally lacking in character and interest. Landor produced many verse-pieces in dialogue form, and called them *Acts and Scenes*, expressly noting that "none of them were offered to the stage, being no better than *Imaginary Conversations* in metre". But *Count Julian* (1812) is a "closet" drama of the kind frequently put forth in Landor's time. Three other dramatic works in verse, *Andrea of Hungary*, *Giovanna of Naples* and *Fra Rupert* (1839–40) belong to later years of Landor's work, but not to a later manner, for one especially remarkable fact about Landor is the unchanging style of his work through a remarkably long life. His *Hellenics*, of which there are fifty, are idylls in the Greek fashion, and as such they use or disuse at pleasure the dialogue form. It is impossible even to name Landor's numerous other verse compositions in narrative or in dialogue form. He is seen at his best in shorter lyrical pieces, some of the most delightful coming from such late volumes as *The Last Fruit off an Old Tree* (1853), and *Dry Sticks, fagoted* (1858). Landor's verse has been foolishly underrated; but that is no excuse for foolishly overrating it.

Landor is more generally known and liked as a writer of prose. *Imaginary Conversations* did not begin to be published till he was past the middle of his long life; but he was untiring in the production of them to the very last, and their sheer quantity is almost daunting. Range and treatment are wonderfully varied, yet a sense of monotony is inescapable, in spite of moments not a few in which the prose mounts almost to the heights of poetry. The one department in which Landor definitely fails to succeed is humour. Critical opinion about Landor has taken the lead from his own declaration: "I shall dine late, but the room will be well-lighted, and the guests few but select." Many have invited themselves to this banquet of the superior. His contemporaries admired not only his writings, but his ebullient character. The one first-rate dissident, whose dissent was chequered by not a little eulogy, was Hazlitt. Later still, the unmeasured laudation of Swinburne followed; and others felt themselves almost socially promoted by their admiration for an aristocratic (though ultra-Liberal) writer. This is rather a pity; for Landor is a very fine, and even a unique writer, definitely not of the first rank, but rich in reward for those who are content to approach him on the normal terms. If anyone questions the qualification "defi-

piece of defence-mechanism put up by Lamb to hide his misery from himself. Elia is implicit in the earliest of Lamb's letters. Indeed, few writers are so consistent as Lamb, from his worst puns to his deepest reflections. The magic of his style is enhanced by its intensely literary [illegible] courage, in quietness and in grave curiosity. It is in prose that Lamb the poet is to be found. His verse is quite unimportant, even when pleasing. Through the *Essays of Elia* and the *Letters*, which seem almost to create the figures of their recipients, there shines the spirit of the man, alive to the absurdities of the world, tender to its sorrows, tolerant of its weaknesses.

IX. THE LANDORS, LEIGH HUNT, DE QUINCEY

Walter Savage Landor (1775–1864), John Henry Leigh Hunt (1784–1859) and Thomas De Quincey (1785–1859) resemble each other sufficiently to justify a joint discussion. They belong by birth to the eighteenth century, yet lived so long into the nineteenth that they join hands with writers who were lately modern. Landor, the friend of Southey, lived to be the friend of Swinburne. Their contemporaries stretch in a long line from Sheridan to Shaw. All three were voluminous writers, all three were inclined to eccentricity, and two of them, Landor and Hunt, were caricatured by Dickens in *Bleak House*. This has been deplored; but the real cause for regret is that De Quincey did not join them in that excellent story. None of the [illegible] a hundred volumes what they now scarcely read in seven.

Landor's prose and Landor's verse are so alike in character that the bare fact of metre is almost the sole distinction. Of the two, the prose is sometimes richer than the verse in diction and imagery. [illegible]

manner and *Household Words* followed the Hunt pattern. Dickens really knew Hunt. Hunt's influence on pure criticism and on poetry was not very great, but in neither was it negligible. The couplets of *The Story of Rimini* quite indisputably suggested the couplets of *Endymion*. In criticism, Hunt has the merit, which Macaulay long ago assigned to him, of a most unusual and, at the time, almost unique catholicity.

With De Quincey we return to a higher level; yet Hunt was in a definite, if low degree a poet, which De Quincey never was. If we are reminded that De Quincey himself said that he could have been a poet like his neighbours, but chose not to be, we, remembering who those neighbours were, are bound to reply that such a claim is a measure of De Quincey's impudence. If, again, we are reminded that some of De Quincey's prose is almost poetry, we are bound to reply, So much the worse for his prose. That which is near-poetry, or not-quite poetry is simply poor poetry; it is certainly not good prose. What we can cheerfully admit is that at times, often at very odd and unexpected times, De Quincey's prose takes wings, and soars without effort to heights that Leigh Hunt could not even have attempted without becoming ridiculous.

De Quincey was one of the strangest creatures in the history of our literature. He was the son of a fairly wealthy linen-merchant. In 1802 while still at the Manchester Grammar School he was seized with a desire to wander, and went off to the hills of Wales. He thereby forfeited most of his income; and when his wanderings brought him to London, where he starved in an empty house in Soho with the forlorn girl Ann, as frail as himself, he forfeited all. This very strange story is told in *The Confessions of an English Opium Eater*, written many years later. By 1803, the "waif of the underworld", as modern jargon would call him, was decoyed back to civilization, and entered Oxford, where he indulged himself in a wide range of reading, including German philosophy; and being smitten, as one might say, by Coleridge, made him a gift of £300, anonymously, wishing, with needless delicacy, to spare the poet's feelings. It was at Oxford that he first took to opium. He affiliated himself to the great men of the Lakes by taking over Dove Cottage when Wordsworth left it, and stayed there for twenty years. He married Margaret Simpson, the daughter of a dalesman, and in some way, which it is not necessary to discuss here, offended the Wordsworths. When he left the Lakes he went to Edinburgh, and lived in its neighbourhood, creeping about like a delicate little ghost from lodging to lodging, writing incessantly, and dying in the city itself at the age of seventy-four. It may be added that he was born plain Quincey, and assumed the honorific prefix, thereby satisfying both his own pride and our sense of euphony.

nitely not of the first rank", the proper reply is that not one work of [illegible]
must be sought in the books of biography.

Leigh Hunt came into literature without any of the advantages possessed by [illegible]
at Christ's [illegible]
He quickly [illegible]
in editing *The Examiner*, a weekly newspaper which in the face of danger continued to assert liberal opinions. The climax came in 1813 when Hunt was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and fined £500 for telling part of the truth about the Prince Regent. He further endured the vilest attacks from the reviewers, especially from *Blackwood*. Leigh Hunt's courage and insubmission must never be forgotten [illegible]
character, [illegible]
He began [illegible]
quantity o[illegible]
(1816), tries to tell a tragic story beyond his range in rhymed [illegible]
taken at one time as a major pronouncement on its theme; *A Jar of Honey from Mount Hybla* (1848), an essay on pastoral poetry with illustrations from many sources, and illustrations of another kind by Dicky Doyle, whose *Punch* cover suggests a Leigh Hunt idyll. Besides these there are collected essays in *Men, Women and Books* (1847), and discursive works like *The Town* (1848), of a type once manufactured annually by every publisher. Last and not least in the familiar seven volume collection is the famous and indispensable *Autobiography* (1850). Another volume, *The Old Court Suburb*, has hardly been out of print since it was first published in 1855. Hunt was invited by the impulsive Shelley to Italy in 1821, to help him and Byron in producing a new and important review called *The Liberal*. [illegible]
for many years, doing incessant journalistic and literary work and setting a model for other writers. *Sketches by Boz* were in the Hunt

country parsonage and having no passion for controversy, allowed his early play *The Count of Arezzi* (1824) to be attributed to Byron and his later story *The Fawn of Sertorius* (1846) to be attributed to his brother, and destroyed, it is said, most of the copies of the three other plays which came in a single volume between them—*The Earl of Brecon, Faith's Fraud* and *The Ferryman* (1841). Earlier than these dramas he had written and published a poem, *The Impious Feast* (1828); and, later than the latest, he gave forth another prose work, *The Fountain of Arethusa* (1848). The few people who have read him acknowledge his complete individuality of style, and have discovered his use of what may literally be called rhymed blank verse, i.e. the usual heightened blank verse of epic, with a tinkle of rhyme coming, say, at three or four or five lines' distance. Robert Landor is a most interesting instance of a "strong nativity" defrauded, we do not know how or why, of its possible developments.

X. JANE AUSTEN

Jane Austen is one of the happy authors who have no history. She had a delightful natural talent, and sought neither to exceed it nor to conceal it. She enjoyed her writing, and she enjoyed enjoying it; for she had in a specially high degree a gift that some more imposing authors have had in a low degree, or in no degree at all, namely, the gift of humorous self-criticism. She wrote of the life she knew, and never tried to write of the life she did not know. No one understood better than the author of *Pride and Prejudice* the limits she must not pass. Jane Austen (1775–1817) was born at Steventon, in Hampshire, of which her father was rector. Her birth year was that of Lamb, Landor and "Monk" Lewis. She had one sister, the heroically-named Cassandra, and five brothers, two of whom became distinguished admirals. She was taught by her father, and lived quietly at various homes in Hampshire and in Bath. She had no adventures, did not travel, went to London merely as a visitor, saw nothing of "high life", and, after a long period of bad health, died at Winchester in her forty-second year. She made no pretensions to be a literary lady, but wrote in the common sitting-room of her family, sharing some of her secrets with her beloved sister. She read the ordinary English classics of her time. She enjoyed Fanny Burney, but shrewdly recognized the places where Fanny was writing beyond her means. She enjoyed Richardson even to the extent of bestowing upon *Sir Charles Grandison* what seems to modern readers an excess of admiration. And of course she read the current "Gothick" romances with amused contempt.

Her inborn sense of comedy was aroused very early by the absurdities of sentimental novels, and some juvenile literary efforts,

[illegible]

Quincey came first from the United States. The American activity stirred James Hogg, the Edinburgh publisher, to action; for in 1852 he asked De Quincey to undertake a collected edition of his writings. De Quincey was then over sixty-seven, the most wayward, dreamy and unearthly of creatures; and apparently his preferred method was to sit down and write all his articles over again. But with much stimulation and much restraint (for he was liable at any moment to propose new works on a large scale) a beginning was made and the [illegible]

[illegible] his faults, and these may at once be admitted and dismissed. The first [illegible]

[illegible] writing that could be used to pad out any kind of article on any [illegible]

[illegible] they are detestable examples of the sham sublime. De Quincey will [illegible]

[illegible] is plenty of that; but when eloquence grows and mounts in natural [illegible]

literary work. The rejected *First Impressions* was triumphantly revised, and appeared as *Pride and Prejudice* in 1813—her second publication. In 1812 she began *Mansfield Park*, which was published in 1814. *Emma* was begun in January 1814, finished in March 1815, and published in 1816. *Persuasion*, last of her regularly published stories, was begun in 1815 and finished in July 1816. The manuscript was still in her hands at her death, and it was published posthumously with *Northanger Abbey* in 1818. All her books appeared anonymously, but her name was given in the short biographical notice prefixed to the volumes of 1818. In January 1817 she had begun to write a new novel, but after the middle of March could work no more. No reason has been ascertained for the gap in her work from 1804 to 1811. The odd fact is that from 1811 to the end she worked steadily.

From this unavoidably tangled tale of Jane Austen's literary activities there emerge two main facts: first that the dates at which her books were published tell us little about the dates at which they were composed, and next that she was a careful craftsman, prepared to give long consideration to her tasks. The earliest stratum of her work, as we now have it, is represented by *Northanger Abbey*, which, apparently, was allowed to retain most of its first form. Both theme and treatment support the supposition. A quietly humorous observant girl with a gift for writing would naturally want to ridicule the passion of women, old and young, for grotesque and exorbitant romances. Catherine, the simple heroine, has naive charm, and is in character, though not in years, much younger than the more critically studied Marianne Dashwood and Fanny Price. *Sense and Sensibility* represents the next stage. It was written from small experience, and is weaker in character and control than any of the other novels. Jane was too young for her rather disagreeable theme. *Pride and Prejudice* comes next in 1813. One would be glad to see the first draft which Cadell refused; for the work as published is Jane Austen's masterpiece. The richness of its texture alone would give it preeminence, and it has the Shakespearean (and Dickensian) quality of describing absurd and disagreeable people delightfully. Modern readers who cannot see the difference between Darcy's pride and common uncouthness must accept the fact (of which *Evelina* offers many examples) that in Jane Austen's time the privileges of noble or aristocratic birth had very real existence. No one of that period would have questioned a well-born person's right to be publicly contemptuous of a social inferior. Jane Austen's next novel, *Mansfield Park*, is less brilliant than *Pride and Prejudice*, but it is the widest in scope of the six. The development of Fanny Price, from the shy little girl into the woman who marries Edmund Bertram, is one of Jane Austen's finest achievements in the exposition of character. This book most clearly shows the influence of Richardson. *Emma* was

not printed till 1922, take the form of burlesques in Richardsonian epistles, which reproduce with impish gravity and humorous restraint the ardours of passionate lovers. *Love and Freindship*, dated 1790, was evidently written for domestic entertainment. It contains, potentially, nearly every quality the writer was to show in her mature works. The heroic young man who declines an heiress with the exclamation, "Never shall it be said that I obliged my Father", and the equally heroic young women who convince a simple girl [illegible]

feelings be[illegible]
mission of [illegible]
summary [illegible]
dered my [illegible]
[illegible]
these last twelve years; and I have forged my own Will In short there is scarcely a crime I have not committed." The youthful writer capable of this gravely concise comedy was bound to become the [illegible]

It was written about 1794. A little later, *Elinor and Marianne*, a first sketch for *Sense and Sensibility*, was written in letters. The author did not offer it for publication, and never afterwards attempted the epistolary form of novel. Actually the first of her published novels to be written was *Pride and Prejudice*, which, under the title *First Impressions*, was composed during 1796–7. Her father offered it to Cadell, who refused it. *First Impressions* had been completed some three months when the young author began to re-write *Elinor and Marianne* as *Sense and Sensibility*; but this did not appear till 1811. It is thus her first published book, and its success was immediate. In 1798 she began to write *Susan*, the first draft of *Northanger Abbey*; and this she sold to a publisher, who, however, failed to issue it, and Jane did not recover her manuscript till 1816. It was posthumously published as *Northanger Abbey* in 1818, perhaps with some revision, and with apologies for "those parts of the work which thirteen years have made comparatively obsolete". In 1803 or 1804 she began a story which was never finished, and which was first published as *The Watsons* in 1871, with some other fragments, in the second edition of J. E. Austen-Leigh's *Memoir*.

After 1803 there came a gap of several years in Jane Austen's

something of the rough sarcasm of Smollett, mingled with a strong didactic flavour and with occasional displays of sentiment in the manner of Mackenzie. To her personal friend Scott (who was once supposed to be the author of her novels) she may have owed something in her studies of Scottish life, but Maria Edgeworth was her principal model. Her first novel, *Marriage*, written in 1810 but not published till 1818, is full of vigorous work. The studies of the Highland family into which an English lady of aristocratic birth and selfish temper marries by elopement are spirited and humorous. *The Inheritance*, published in 1824, has more unity. *Destiny*, published in 1831, is chiefly remarkable for the character of McDow, the minister. Susan Ferrier was a Scottish novelist of power, whose work is still fresh and interesting.

Frances Trollope (1780–1863), mother of Adolphus and Anthony, was the wife of a poor, embarrassed scholar. She resolved to save the domestic situation, and, having lived in the United States for several years, produced her *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1832) which caused an explosion, to be followed later by another, when Dickens wrote *Martin Chuzzlewit*. Mrs Trollope was left a widow in 1835 and settled at Florence in 1843. Her chief novels are *The Vicar of Wrexhill* (1837), in which a wicked clergyman is the principal character; *The Widow Barnaby* (1838), in which the widow is the buxom, coarse kind of body who might have been drawn by Smollett; and *The Widow Married* (1840), a sequel. She was a most prolific writer, and rough and crude as much of her work is, her power and her directness are qualities of their own kind.

Catherine Grace Gore (1799–1861) had perhaps a touch of Jane Austen in her methods. She was eminently "the novelist of fashionable life", and as such was cruelly caricatured by Thackeray. But in *Mrs Armytage, or Female Domination* (1836) and in *Mothers and Daughters* (1831) there is considerable native ability. *Mrs Armytage* is her nearest approach to a novel of the first rank. Recalling Jane Austen in its general tone, it is quite unlike her in its gravity, its didactic note and its use of incident.

Letitia Elizabeth Landon, the poet, scarcely survives now as a novelist, although *Ethel Churchill*, her last and best attempt in fiction (1837), may take its place among the second-rate novels of the day. So, too, may the *Granby* (1826) of Thomas Henry Lister (1800–42). There is good work in *Granby*, with its manly hero and its baseborn, reckless, but not unattractive villain. Lister's dialogue was considered brilliant in its own day.

Mary Wollstonecroft Shelley takes her place among the immortal "horrific" novelists, for her *Frankenstein, or the Modern Prometheus* (1818) has given a name, often misapplied, to popular mythology. The tale was the product of a wet summer in Switzerland, when

written rapidly and confidently after the success of its predecessors. That Emma is loved for her faults as well as for her virtues is testimony to the fineness of Jane Austen's art. *Persuasion*, written when the author's physical powers were failing, is a quiet story, rich in character and sparing of incident. There is no sign of mental failure.

It is difficult to believe that Jane Austen's novels were written during the wars of the French Revolution. She was above the battle. [illegible] comfortably off, and no one seems to work for a living. She never describes great passions or seeks to point any moral. She is com- [illegible]

Jane Austen's artistic achievement as a novelist is unique. In a national literature a little inclined to excess she represents the triumph of understatement. With complete verisimilitude she gives us commonplace persons, not types, and they reveal themselves completely and consistently in narrative and conversation of almost extraordinary ordinariness. Jane Austen's poise and self-control, her perfect fitting of her quiet utterance to her quiet purpose, are as clearly [illegible] Jane" as they pause at the grave in the ancient aisle of Winchester Cathedral.

XI. LESSER NOVELISTS

With Scott and Jane Austen successfully representing the two ex- [illegible] derived hints from earlier exemplars.

Susan Edmonstone Ferrier (1782–1854) wrote novels which have

be forgotten. He was a man of strong and vigorous intelligence as well as an indefatigable writer. From *Rookwood* (1834) to *Stanley Brereton* (1881), a long list of historical novels (some of them with pleasingly horrible pictures) gratified several generations of readers —generally young. Among the best are *Jack Sheppard* (1839), *The Tower of London* (1840), *Guy Fawkes* (1841), *Old St Paul's* (1841), *Windsor Castle* (1843), and *The Lancashire Witches* (1848). These and others can still delight men as well as boys, thanks to their energetic movement and their vivid though rough style of narration.

Frederick Marryat (1792–1848) descends from Smollett rather than from Scott. He entered the Navy in 1806 and saw much active service. He became Post-Captain in 1826 and was awarded the C.B. in the same year. He was a thoroughly capable officer with strong modern views on humanity and efficiency in the Service. His life was extraordinarily interesting, but cannot be described here. Marryat was very far indeed from being merely a naval officer who wrote sea-books for boys. He falls only a little below the first rank. He is equally strong in incident and in character; and it is safe to predict an enduring life for such books as *Peter Simple* (1834), *Mr Midshipman Easy* (1836), *Japhet in search of a Father* (1836), *Jacob Faithful* (1834) and *Snarleyyow* (1837). The much inferior stories he really wrote for boys—*Masterman Ready* (1841), *The Settlers in Canada* (1844) and *The Children of the New Forest* (1847)—remain obstinately alive. The vitality of Marryat will be better appreciated after a glance through the once popular sea-stories of his contemporary, Captain Frederick Chamier (1796–1870)—*Ben Brace* (1836), *The Arethusa* (1837), *Jack Adams* (1838) and *Tom Bowling* (1841).

Theodore Edward Hook (1788–1841) is the kind of writer whose contemporary renown is inexplicable. He gained notoriety as the perpetrator of many public hoaxes and practical jokes of a detestable kind, he got into high society, he was given a post in Mauritius, and was held responsible for grave monetary defalcations, which he attributed to a black clerk who had committed suicide. He was pronounced Crown debtor for £12,000, which he made no attempt to pay, but was not kept in prison. He wrote assiduously and quite profitably to himself. *Sayings and Doings* (1824–9) ran to nine volumes of indifferent stories. His best known novel, *Jack Brag* (1837), seems to later ages merely vulgar and offensive. That Dickens was at least aware of Hook is clear in his first tentative efforts.

John Galt (1779–1839) led a varied and almost tumultuous life at home and abroad. He met Byron in the Levant and afterwards wrote a much criticized *Life* of the poet. His novels, *The Ayrshire Legatees* (1821), *The Entail* (1823) and *The Annals of the Parish* (1821), give admirably minute and real studies of rural life in Scotland, full of strong delineation of character and forcible detail. Galt was the true

Byron suggested that each member of the party should write a ghost story. People naturally believed that Shelley had invented the theme; but this Mary [illegible] a later work, [illegible] suggestive of [illegible] by basing it [illegible] part of the *Frankenstein* preface. Mary's other novels do not call for notice.

Catherine Crowe (1800–76) not only delighted in ghosts and similar occasions of terror, in *The Night Side of Nature* (1848) she attempted to find a scientific explanation of such things; and the result is an engaging volume of mingled story and speculation. In her two novels, *Adventures of Susan Hopley; or Circumstantial Evidence* (1841) and *The Story of Lilly Dawson* (1847), the horrors are more substantial.

George Croly (1780–1860) wrote numerous works of many kinds, especially sacred poems, which were once admired. Though his fiction deals but little with the supernatural, it has, on one side, a distinct affinity with the novel of terror. The principal aim of his chief novel, *Salathiel* (1829), is to overwhelm the reader with monstrous visions of horror and dismay. The theme of the story is the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans under Titus; and here, as in *Marston* (1846), a romance of the French Revolution and the subsequent European warfare, Croly joins the ranks of historical novelists. But his heroes are modelled on Byron's, and his prose on De Quincey's. His historical tales show no resemblance to Scott's.

[illegible] professed to be a [illegible] There is more [illegible] of his almost innumerable novels. His supposed favourite opening gambit of two cloaked horsemen (or a solitary horseman) wending their (or his) way through the precipitous pathways of the Apennines on an evening of threatening splendour made him an easy prey to such burlesque as Thackeray's *Barbazure* But there was much more than clotted nonsense in James. *Richelieu* (1829), *Darnley* (1830), *De L'Orme* (1831), *Henry Masterton* (1832), *Morley Ernstein* (1842), and *Agnes Sorel* (1853), to name but a few of his almost uncountable [illegible] But it would be idle to deny that a more instructed taste now finds him dull and unreadable.

William Harrison Ainsworth (1805–82) was neither dull nor unreadable, and has left characters like Solomon Eagle that can hardly

thumously in nine volumes (1834–7), show him to have anticipated the views of the Oxford reformers. The oddest fact about this sincere and primitive Christian is that he was secretary to Castlereagh, who was, one gathers, not primitive. Knox had himself said as early as 1816, "The Old High Church race is worn out". But old Martin Routh, who had known Dr Johnson, lived on till 1854. The first blast of the trumpet came from John Keble (1792–1866), who, in the Assize Sermon at Oxford delivered in 1833, denounced the Erastian stagnation of the Church as national apostasy. Newman regarded Keble's sermon as the beginning of the Oxford Movement. Almost at the same time, there met at the rectory of Hadleigh in Suffolk a company of like-minded men, under the presidency of the rector, Hugh James Rose (1795–1838) a Cambridge scholar, to whom the Oxonians looked for light and leading. Indeed, it has been said with some truth that the Oxford Movement began at Cambridge. The "Hadleigh Conferences" and the Assize Sermon appealed mainly to the clerical and academic authorities. There was no dealing with the general public, as such. The most celebrated *Tracts for the Times* were addressed, not to the sheep, but to the shepherds.

It is no part of our concern to trace the history of the Oxford Movement. We have to consider simply what contributions to literature arose from it or inspired it. The earliest and most popular was Keble's *The Christian Year*, an anonymous book of verses in two volumes (1827), sub-titled "Thoughts in Verse for the Sundays and Holydays throughout the year". It has been called Wordsworth and water, and there is certainly some suggestion of the more placid Wordsworth in the quiet, sweet, reflective poems of the book. Far indeed from the piercing utterances of George Herbert, these gentle verses of Keble nevertheless embody something of the spirit of the English Book of Common Prayer.

Two brothers, Richard Hurrell Froude (1803–36) and James Anthony Froude (1818–94), were of varying importance in the Movement. The younger, James Anthony, was at first affected by Newman, and took orders, but rejected both, and lived to become the lay historian who made a hero of Henry VIII. The elder, a fiery spirit, was self-consumed with religious ardour. Had he lived, he might have made the Movement more violent and sudden. His burning spirit consumed his body, and he travelled with Newman to the Mediterranean in search of health. The main result of the voyage was the beginning of the poems called *Lyra Apostolica*, first published as a volume in 1836. With the return of Newman began the issue of *Tracts for the Times*. The first (1833) was a small and unexciting sheet; the last (No. 90), *Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-Nine Articles* (1841), aroused a storm that drove Newman, its author, out of the Church. After the death of R. H. Froude appeared the two

founder of what was called in recent years the "Kailyard School" of fiction. He is an important figure in the history of the novel of nationality. His miscellaneous works, some pseudonymous, are many.

David Macbeth Moir (1798–1851), poet and humorist, wrote for his friend Galt the concluding chapters of a novel, *The Last of the Lairds*, and was the author of *The Life of Mansie Wauch, Tailor in Dalkeith* (1828), a partly satirical and very amusing study of humble Scottish character.

Many more minor novelists of the period might be mentioned; [illegible] Victorians.

XII. THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

The movement which is called from its battle-ground the Oxford Movement, or from its methods of controversy the Tractarian Movement, or from the name of one who had directly very little [illegible] contemptuously as insignificant. Viewed from afar the Oxford Movement appeared to be a theological dispute among the local clergy in a university city; in the course of a few years it was to shake the whole Church of England and change the very nature of its being.

[illegible] Methodists left the Church little more than the formal voice of the State. Early in the nineteenth century a few forerunners began to [illegible] Scott's influence the detestation of the ultra-Protestant Borrow is a testimony. Theologically, the immediate ancestors of the new reformers were the Caroline divines, who had, however, begotten another line—the high and dry Tory Churchmen, almost the last of whom was a remarkable person, Alexander Knox (1757–1831) of Dublin, whose writings and correspondence, published pos-

during 1864, and published as a volume in 1865. Kingsley had charged him (as Thomas Arnold had before) with inculcating economy in the use of truth. Kingsley had a sound sense that something was wrong with Newman; but he made an untenable accusation, blundered in supporting it, and thus delivered himself into Newman's hands. Newman refused any further controversy with Kingsley and wrote, instead, an autobiographic history of his religious opinions, and asked, in effect, is this the portrait of a liar or of a seeker after truth? The book was immediately successful and long retained the affection of many readers. But it does not entirely dispel the doubt. That Newman passionately sought for truth is beyond dispute. The root question (not raised by the blunt-minded Kingsley) is whether Newman, with his impetuous temperament, was always frank with himself. In any case, *Apologia* is not among the great autobiographies of the world. No one lacking sympathy with Newman's religious troubles can read it with full enjoyment; and some may even read it as a curious case of self-deception. There is more general profit in Newman's sermons, the best of which are to be found in such volumes as *Sermons preached before the University of Oxford* (1843), *Sermons bearing upon Subjects of the Day* (1843), *Discourses Addressed to Mixed Congregations* (1849), and *Sermons Preached on Various Occasions* (1854). Of much wider appeal is *The Idea of a University*, containing two works previously published, *Discourses on the Scope and Nature of University Education* (1852), and *Lectures and Essays on University Subjects* (1858), both being delivered by him in his capacity as Rector of the ill-fated Catholic University in Dublin. This book shows Newman at his best, polished, urbane, persuasive, and delicately humorous. Despite its forbidding title, *The Present Position of Catholics in England* (1851) is a splendid piece of sustained and varied argument expressed in prose eloquence that is never merely rhetorical. *The Grammar of Assent* (1870) carries the argument of probability, the corner-stone of his master Butler, on to new ground. The collection called *Verses on Various Occasions* (1868) contains most of Newman's poems from *Lyra Apostolica*, with the remarkable *Dream of Gerontius* (1866) relating the passing of a man's soul from his body to the Divine presence. The fervent musical setting of this by Elgar has made it by far the best known work of Newman. It is an odd reflection on the life of a passionate seeker after religious certitude, who passed from Calvinism to a cardinalate, that he is now best known as the librettist of a popular oratorio. Few of Newman's shorter poems have any value, and some are quite bad.

Several of the younger followers of Newman attained to celebrity in literature. Richard William Church (1815–90), one of the many literary Deans of St Paul's, gained high esteem for his studies of St

volumes of his *Remains* (1838, 1839) which assailed with unsuspected power the Reformation and all its ways and works. Froude's *Remains* acted as a purge. The timid were driven from the Movement, the vigorous were strengthened to proceed.

Among the contributors to the Tracts was Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800–82), who was well acquainted with rationalist German [illegible]

[illegible] technical mastery, but it has genuine feeling: it persuades and quickens. Williams was the writer of Tracts 80 and 87, *On Reserve* [illegible]*ge*, which created almost as much [illegible]o.

[illegible] ke and to break the force of the Movem[illegible] (1801–9[illegible] of "Lo[illegible] greater [illegible] Oxford Movement who would have been a writer in any circumstances; and the curious-minded may amuse themselves by considering what kind of writer he might have been. Though in Oxford the eyes of all were upon the vicar of St Mary's as the most potent and alluring figure there, he was in perpetual perplexity about his own faith. He had no great learning; he was unstable, irresolute, unconstructive, unfounded. But he had something that was of incalculable value to the Movement: he had charm. He magnetized and attracted the young. Keble and Isaac Williams gave the Movement poetry; Newman gave it the almost more seductive music of prose. Very few of the books written during his Anglican period are important, because he was writing himself out of one perplexity into another. It was not until he had finally written himself into the Roman Church, as he did in the *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* (1845), and solved his perplexities by finding rest in a Church which appears to have none, that he began to speak out firmly. The storm aroused by Tract 90 made Newman's position in the English Church untenable, and after painful delay he was received into the Roman Church in 1845. So ended the Oxford Movement, as such. Of Newman's many books not all belong to literature. First by right of personal interest comes *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, issued in parts

nuity of their national Church. It was not ritualistic. It sought to rekindle the English liturgy, not to decorate it. While the Tractarians were still in their cradles, the wonderful old scholar, theologian and Tory, Martin Joseph Routh (1755–1854) President of Magdalen, had shown the Church of England the rock upon which it was built, by the publication of the first part of his *Reliquiae Sacrae* (1814), in which he collected the fragments of early Christian writings up to the first Nicene Council and edited them with a remarkable combination of affection, erudition and sagacity. He set the tone for the Oxford writers. Theology and history were inseparable. Accuracy was all important. "I think (he said) you will find it a very good practice always to verify your references, sir." In a sense, this was the spirit of the Oxford Movement. The real teaching of the Church would be found if you went back to the right sources.

XIII. THE GROWTH OF LIBERAL THEOLOGY

That a Church whose ministers resembled the Mr Collins of Jane Austen needed some reformation was clear to many besides the leaders of the Oxford Movement. What was not clear was the direction and nature of the desired reformation. The Tractarians had sought it by proclaiming the living continuity of the English Church with the Church of the ante-Nicene Councils, and by rekindling the authentic fire of the English liturgy. At the other extreme were those to whom the literal words of the Bible were the sole and sufficient guide to life and the sole and sufficient source of revelation. Such were the Evangelicals; and what a man might suffer who dared to point out inconsistencies in the Gospel narratives may be read in *Phases of Faith* (1853), written by Francis William Newman, younger brother of the man who was later to write the *Apologia*. A singular spectacle is offered by the course of these two brothers, who, both starting in youth from Evangelicalism, gradually diverged, one ending in the bosom of Rome, the other embracing a skeleton outline of religion compiled from all the creeds of all the nations. *Phases of Faith* is a lean, arid book, much less readable than *Apologia*, although the author had led a life far more exciting and adventurous than his brother's.

Evangelicalism did not run to literature. Its aim was the conversion, not the entertainment, of its followers. Hannah More's *Cheap Repository Tracts* had an enormous vogue, and a simple moral tale by Legh Richmond, *The Dairyman's Daughter*, reached two million copies. Charles Simeon (1759–1836), with his wider interests, published almost nothing except homiletic literature, "skeletons" of sermons, as he frankly called them. Even a professed work

Anselm, Dante and Spenser, as well as for his brief and attractive history of the Oxford Movement. Richard Chenevix Trench (1807–

left us his still useful volumes, *The Study of Words* (1851), and *English Past and Present* (1859), which remind us that language is "fossil

Pusey, whom he called master. Another Cambridge man in sympathy with the Oxford Movement was John Mason Neale (1818–

century) beginning:

> Hora novissima, tempora pessima sunt, vigilemus.
> Ecce minaciter imminet arbiter, ille supremus;

and they include "The world is very evil", "Brief life is here our portion", "Jerusalem the golden", and "For thee, O dear, dear Country". "Good King Wenceslas" is another universal favourite.

The glamour of the Oxford Movement touched many who were far from the time and place of conflict. It tuned the pulpits to a new dignity; and in the poetry of Digby Mackworth Dolben and of Christina Rossetti it kindled a new life exuberant and aflame. To

J. M. Neale wrote stories. Newman himself put some very good polemical work into *Loss and Gain* and the historical *Callista*. Nicholas Wiseman, the Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, wrote *Fabiola*, an effort of the same kind. But most widely influential of all was the long line of stories written by Charlotte M. Yonge (1823–1901) in Keble's own parish of Hursley. *The Heir of Redclyffe* (1853) has not yet lost its appeal.

It may be said in conclusion that the chief aim of the Oxford Movement was to make plain to Englishmen the historical conti-

that his faith in God and his hope of eternal life did not depend upon the accuracy of a date.

There was a movement, too, outside Oxford. Julius Charles Hare (1795–1855), whose chief contributions to the literature of the Broad Church movement are his own sermons collected as *The Victory of Faith* (1840) and *The Mission of the Comforter* (1846), collaborated with Connop Thirlwall in a translation of Niebuhr, and with his brother Augustus William in the composition of *Guesses at Truth* (1827). Connop Thirlwall (1797–1875) passed from the bar to the church after translating Schleiermacher's *St Luke* in 1823.

One of the greatest of the Broad Churchmen was Frederick Denison Maurice (1805–72), who, under the influence of Coleridge, passed from dissent at Cambridge to Oxford and holy orders. But his outspoken *Theological Essays* (1853), repudiating the orthodox views of eternal punishment and the Atonement, lost him his professorship at King's College, London. With the same disregard of popularity and the same risk of misunderstanding, Maurice proclaimed himself a Christian Socialist. Of course both Christians and Socialists hastened to disown him. It is to Maurice, chiefly, that we owe the Working Men's College, and the Queen's College for Women. Charles Kingsley (1819–75) was, like Maurice, a Christian Socialist, and under the name of "Parson Lot" wrote many articles on social reform. Frederick Robertson (1816–53) entered the Anglican Ministry without any academic fame, and for some years had neither success nor happiness. For barely six years he ministered in a small proprietary chapel in Brighton. By the time of his early death he had published only a few casual sermons, and yet, already, he was known as a unique preacher. Other sermons were published posthumously, and none, not even Newman's, found so wide a range of readers. They are the utterances of an entirely independent mind, criticizing obsolete modes of theological expression, and exalting spirit above form. Maurice, Kingsley and Robertson represented the "Liberalism" which Newman considered "the great apostasy".

Two other famous men in the Broad Church movement were Benjamin Jowett (1817–93), the almost legendary Master of Balliol, and Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1815–81), Arnold's favourite pupil. Jowett's most considerable work was his commentary on the Epistles to the Thessalonians, Galatians and Romans, which appeared on the same day as Stanley's commentary on the Epistles to the Corinthians (1855). The freshness of Jowett's treatment is still unexhausted. Stanley was interesting, but, as always, too miscellaneous. Everything reminded him of something else, and his *Lectures on the Jewish Church* (1863–76) abounds in parallels, sometimes good and sometimes forced.

One historical event in the Broad Church movement was the

[illegible] aac [illegible] on, [illegible]

manded but a narrow field of interest; the unfulfilled prophecies alone gave scope for speculation. The rigid theory of literal inspiration foreclosed inquiry, and the Evangelicals retained that theory longest of all. They were narrow, bigoted and eager to persecute. The merit of the Evangelicals lay in their pastoral zeal and in their philanthropy. Prominent among them were Zachary Macaulay, father of the historian, and William Wilberforce, whose *Practical* [illegible]

th [illegible] pl [illegible] mythologist, what might not others do to the books of the Bible? What, indeed, had they not already done? No patriotic general, [illegible]

man whose writings were an inspiration to "High" and "Broad" alike was the convenient and ever-helpful Coleridge. *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*, published posthumously in 1840, combats the contemporary view that the Bible was not to be "reasoned about in the way that other good books are".

There was movement, other than Tractarian, in Oxford itself. Edward Copleston (1776–1849), Provost of Oriel from 1814–28, encouraged free and unfettered criticism among the intellectuals. His own *Advice to a Young Reviewer* is still alive as a capital piece of irony. Oxford, generally, feared the Oriel fellows, and nicknamed them the Noetics. The ablest of the group was Richard Whately (1787–1863), afterwards Archbishop of Dublin, who, in a brief association with Newman, did his less assured junior some rough good. Whately was a logical and totally unromantic person, and had no patience with the Tractarians on the one hand, or the Evangelicals on the other. Another famous Oriel theologian was Thomas Arnold (1795–1842), afterwards headmaster of Rugby, who accepted the modern methods of critical research in Biblical study, feeling sure

that his faith in God and his hope of eternal life did not depend upon the accuracy of a date.

There was a movement, too, outside Oxford. Julius Charles Hare (1795–1855), whose chief contributions to the literature of the Broad Church movement are his own sermons collected as *The Victory of Faith* (1840) and *The Mission of the Comforter* (1846), collaborated with Connop Thirlwall in a translation of Niebuhr, and with his brother Augustus William in the composition of *Guesses at Truth* (1827). Connop Thirlwall (1797–1875) passed from the bar to the church after translating Schleiermacher's *St Luke* in 1823.

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publication in 1860 of a volume called *Essays and Reviews*, written by seven authors. It was not in any sense a manifesto, or a collective [illegible]

volume created a major sensation in its day, but its interest is now almost entirely historical.

There were similar movements for freedom in other churches. In Scotland, the biblical contributions of William Robertson Smith (1865–94) to the ninth edition of [illegible]

The Old Testament in the Jewish Church (1881) and *The Prophets of* [illegible]

voted worker among the natives in the new diocese, and had come to reject the doctrine of eternal punishment. His biblical criticism, which was not very soundly based or expressed, drew upon him a storm of abuse and persecution. Colenso and his sisters lived on in Africa, ministering to the natives.

More comforting to earnest readers disturbed by controversy was [illegible]

exposed the weakness of die-hard literalism in religion. But, apart [illegible]

Anthony Hort, and Joseph Barber Lightfoot. Westcott and Hort's main work was the recension of the Greek text of the New Testament; Lightfoot was concerned with the Pauline epistles and the Apostolic Fathers.

At the same time there was a welcome escape from the determinist and utilitarian fashions in theology. James Martineau (1805–1900), the veteran Unitarian, had in earlier life adopted the determinist and utilitarian theories of morals, but he proved their effective critic in his *Types of Ethical Theory* (1885). Three years later, he vindicated theistic belief in *A Study of Religion*. Sharp divisions

began to disappear. High Churchmen had travelled more than half way from the Tractarian to the Liberal position when, in 1889, a group of Oxford friends issued *Lux Mundi* as a re-statement of Christian faith. It aroused at first almost as much consternation as *Essays and Reviews*. Even that Church which rates highest the principle of authority has had difficulties with some who sought to create a Catholic atmosphere in which the modern mind may breathe more freely. The most distinguished of English "modernist" Catholics, George Tyrrell (1861–1909), has left us many volumes, of which we mention, without comment, only three, *Nova et Vetera* (1897), *Christianity at the Cross Roads* (1909), and a fascinating *Autobiography* (1912), as moving as any of its kind.

XIV. HISTORIANS

Writers on Ancient and Early Ecclesiastical History

It is remarkable that the literary and material success of Hume, Robertson and Gibbon stimulated no fresh development of historical writing. For the main inspiration of nineteenth-century historical literature we must look to the Continent, and especially to the *History of Rome* (1811, etc.) of Niebuhr, which first gave to English students a clear perception of the critical method in the treatment of history. The English translation of Niebuhr by Connop Thirlwall and Julius Hare (1828, etc.) was at once denounced as the product of scepticism. Nevertheless Niebuhr kindled the enthusiasm of Thomas Arnold, whose *History of Rome* (1838–43), though now out-of-date as a text book, remains a most readable narrative. Few works of its kind conform more closely to the demand of Acton in later years, when he declared, "if we lower our standard in History we cannot uphold it in Church and State". That is a judgment of special value in days which have seen the steady degradation of history to the level of the cinema. What Arnold would have done further is mere matter for speculation; for a year after his appointment as Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford in 1841 he died suddenly. Arnold's narrative was, in a sense, continued by Charles Merivale (1808–93). *The History of the Romans under the Empire*, issued in seven volumes between 1850 and 1864, bridges the gap between Arnold and Gibbon. Merivale epitomized the earlier part of his history under the title *The Fall of the Roman Republic* (1853); and a better book of the kind, sober and stimulating at the same time, never blessed a generation of schoolmasters and schoolboys. It is unnecessary to enumerate his other writings on Roman history. His *Autobiography* is delightful. An authoritative position among English histories of ancient Rome was held by George Long's *Decline of the*

publication in 1860 of a volume called *Essays and Reviews*, written by seven authors. It was not in any sense a manifesto, or a collective pronouncement, but it created as great a sensation as Tract 90. There was, of course, no heresy in the volume. Mark Pattison surveyed the tendencies of religious thought from 1688 to 1750, Jowett urged that the Bible should be interpreted like any other book, and so on. The volume created a major sensation in its day, but its interest is now almost entirely historical.

There were similar movements for freedom in other churches. In Scotland, the biblical contributions of William Robertson Smith

Israel (1882). Another victim of heresy-hunting was John William Colenso (1814–83), Bishop of Natal and author of popular mathematical text books, who published *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined*, in seven parts (1862–79). Colenso had been a devoted worker among the natives in the new diocese, and had come to reject the doctrine of eternal punishment. His biblical criticism, which was not very soundly based or expressed, drew upon him a storm of abuse and persecution. Colenso and his sisters lived on in Africa, ministering to the natives.

More comforting to earnest readers disturbed by controversy was an anonymous book, *Ecce Homo*, published in 1865. Its author proved to be John Robert Seeley, afterwards Professor of Modern History

of enthusiasm. Huxley and Matthew Arnold, in their various ways, exposed the weakness of die-hard literalism in religion. But, apart from controversy, good constructive work was done in the creation of a sound school of theological scholarship by three Cambridge contemporaries and friends, Brooke Foss Westcott, Fenton John Anthony Hort, and Joseph Barber Lightfoot. Westcott and Hort's main work was the recension of the Greek text of the New Testament; Lightfoot was concerned with the Pauline epistles and the Apostolic Fathers

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Freeman, had necessarily touched upon Phoenicia. The history of Phoenicia as a whole was included in the vast field of the labours of George Rawlinson (1812–1902). His first great production was *The History of Herodotus* (1858–60) in which a new English version was accompanied by a large apparatus of historical and ethnological notes. It was followed by a notable series of works embodying the results of recent discoveries in the East. *The Five Great Monarchies of the Eastern World: Chaldaea, Assyria, Babylonia, Medea and Persia* (1862–7) did not cover the whole of the great scheme, and Rawlinson added *The Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy* (Parthia) in 1873, and *The Seventh* (Sassanian) in 1876. *Egypt, Phoenicia* and *Universal History* were the subjects of later volumes.

Henry Hart Milman (1791–1868), poet and historian, was more immediately known for his verse dramas and his hymns. His first historical work was *The History of the Jews* (1829), remarkable as one of the earliest books to adopt in England the German approach to the Bible as a collection of historical documents. Milman gave further proof of his courage by preparing a new edition of Gibbon, which, when enlarged by contributions from other scholars, held the field till it was generally superseded by Bury's. *The History of Christianity from the Birth of Christ to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire* was not published till 1840, and it was followed in 1854–5 by his principal work, *The History of Latin Christianity, including that of the Popes to Nicholas V.* Milman did not possess the creative imagination of his great predecessor, Gibbon, but he had breadth and generosity of judgment, the qualities of which ecclesiastical history always stands in need.

Dean Stanley of Westminster has already been mentioned. His one enduring work is the *Life of Arnold* (1844), which has the rare merit of being written from the heart. Stanley's various historical works can hardly be said to survive. The *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church* (1861) and the *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church* (1863–76) contain many well-drawn and vivid historical portraits. They show some freedom of critical inquiry and judgment, but the time had passed when, as in Milman's earlier days, worthy people were shocked at hearing Abraham called a sheikh. William Bright (1824–1901), author of several favourite hymns, will be remembered as well for the industry and lucidity that make his *History of the Church*, A.D. 315–451 (1860) still the standard work on its subject.

In times more recent, Thomas Hodgkin (1831–1913) undertook the task of supplementing the vast enterprise of Gibbon. Like Grote, he came to history from business, and steadily produced the eight volumes of his greatest work, *Italy and her Invaders*, between 1880 and 1899. Hodgkin was a chronicler rather than a great narrative

[illegible]

The influence of the new school of historical criticism is conspicuous in the two English historians of Greece who adorned this age of our literature. Thirlwall's *History of Greece* (1835–44) appeared [illegible] ote (1794–1871) [illegible] The pair were [illegible] lwall became a [illegible] rlwall's *History* [illegible] self-controlled character. *In general, however, it has been superseded by Grote's.* Grote is usually cited as an example of a business man succeeding as a historian without academic training. He is not unique in that respect. Moreover his mind was sternly disciplined by Bentham, of whom he was a follower. Grote, unlike Thirlwall, had a political [illegible]

Sokrates (1865), may be regarded as a supplement to the *History*. On Grote's work was largely founded *The History of Greece* by Sir George William Cox (1827–1902), also known for the part taken by him in ecclesiastical controversies. Cox was associated with Freeman in *Poems Legendary and Historical* (1850), and afterwards gained a considerable reputation by a succession of popular historical volumes. [illegible]

and wrote a *History of the Byzantine and Greek Empires*, 716–1453 (1853–4). He continued the tale in a *History of Greece under Othoman and Venetian Domination*, 1452–1821 (1856). To this he added a *History of the Greek Revolution to* 1843 (1862). His work was then collected posthumously into seven volumes by H. F. Tozer as *A History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time, 146 B.C. to A.D. 1864 (1877). Finlay's great work thus covers two* [illegible]

The *History of Sicily* (1891–4), by the celebrated Edward Augustus

A deflection from the Porsonian tradition towards broader scholarship is exemplified by Samuel Butler, headmaster of Shrewsbury from 1798 to 1836, and Bishop of Lichfield for the last three years of his life. An account of his work as headmaster and bishop was written by his celebrated grandson, the author of *Erewhon*. Among the ablest of Samuel Butler's pupils was Benjamin Hall Kennedy (1804–89), who succeeded Butler at Shrewsbury and held the Greek professorship at Cambridge for the last twenty-two years of his life. William Hepworth Thompson, Master of Trinity, produced admirable commentaries on the *Phaedrus* and *Gorgias* of Plato, and did much towards widening the range of classical studies in Cambridge. Among his contemporaries at Trinity was John William Donaldson, whose name is remembered for his comprehensive work *The Theatre of the Greeks* (1836). William George Clark published in his *Peloponnesus* (1858) the results of a Greek tour taken in the company of Thompson. The standard critical edition of Shakespeare (the Cambridge Shakespeare) was produced by Clark and J. Glover, and was re-edited by William Aldis Wright. Hubert Ashton Holden edited many classical texts and produced in *Foliorum Silvula* a collection of passages for translation which gave to many their first real acquaintance with English poetry. Kennedy's successor as Regius Professor of Greek was Richard Claverhouse Jebb, famous as the accomplished editor of Sophocles and Bacchylides, and as the eloquent author of *The Attic Orators*. As Member of Parliament for the university of Cambridge, Sir Richard Jebb was succeeded by Samuel Henry Butcher, whose most famous works are the translation of the *Odyssey* (made with Andrew Lang) and his edition of Aristotle's *Poetics*. Contemporary with Butcher was Arthur Woolgar Verrall, celebrated for his unconventional editions of Euripides. Sir John Edwin Sandys nobly served the cause of learning with his great *History of Classical Scholarship* (1903–8) and Thomas Ethelbert Page crowned a lifetime of work in the classics by editing the *Loeb Library*, which has made the ancient writers known to many who knew them imperfectly or not at all.

Greek scholarship was well represented at Oxford by Henry George Liddell, Dean of Christ Church, and Robert Scott, Master of Balliol, joint authors of the standard Greek and English lexicon, published in 1843, now re-edited. Scott was succeeded at Balliol in 1870 by Benjamin Jowett, who in 1855 had succeeded the almost legendary Thomas Gaisford as Professor of Greek. Jowett's complete translation of Plato was achieved in 1871, and was followed by his translations of Thucydides and of the *Politics* of Aristotle. All these works are justly admired as masterpieces of English. Jowett's contemporary, Mark Pattison, Rector of Lincoln, is remembered by scholars as the author of *Isaac Casaubon*, and of essays, especially on

historian. His translation of the letters of Cassiodorus (1886) introduced many readers to a fascinating personality. Mention should also be made of his memoir of George Fox (1896), the founder of the religious body to which he belonged and with whose spirit of human kindness he was signally imbued.

Latest among historians of the ancient world on the heroic scale is John Bagnell Bury (1861–1927), whose *History of Greece*, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, and *History of the Eastern Roman Empire* are informed by first-hand knowledge of eastern sources. Bury's brief *History of Freedom of Thought* is a stimulating but rashly optimistic essay. His most notable contribution to general literature is an edition of Gibbon which has now superseded all others.

XV. SCHOLARS, ANTIQUARIES AND BIBLIOGRAPHERS

1. *Classical and Oriental Scholars*

The most notable scholar of the early nineteenth century was Richard [illegible] circumstances, he was helped by [illegible] soon showed [illegible] Porson and he [illegible] was the *Letters to Travis* (1788–9)—George [illegible] cautious archdeacon who sought to maintain against Gibbon the genuineness of I St John v. 7. Porson demolished Travis and did not hesitate to utter some acute criticism of Gibbon himself. Porson owed his inspiration to Bentley. Like his master he belongs to classical rather than to English scholarship. He would have achieved far more if his sobriety had equalled his honesty. For Cambridge and for England he created the ideal of finished and exact verbal scholarship. Among Porson's older contemporaries was Samuel Parr (1747–1825), who has been called as good an imitation of Dr Johnson as the Whigs deserved to have. He accomplished little of permanent value, and for most people survives as the subject of one of De Quincey's best essays. Porson had a high opinion of John Horne Tooke (1736–1812), whose reputation rests on *Epea Pteroenta* [illegible] had the merit of insisting [illegible] The [illegible] of compar[illegible] philology, for in that year Sir William [illegible] the [illegible] of Sanskrit and asserted that it had a common source with [illegible] Latin.

Layard, Arthur Evans and W. M. Flinders Petrie. Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, and Henry Alford, Dean of Canterbury, produced commentaries on the Greek Testament, the latter also writing his celebrated little book, *The Queen's English* (1864), as well as some popular hymns. The work of Westcott, Hort and Lightfoot has already been mentioned. English and American scholars joined in the revision of the Authorized Version of the New Testament from June 1870 to November 1880.

William Aldis Wright, besides editing a commentary on the Book of Job, was secretary of the Old Testament Revision Company from 1870 to 1885. At Oxford, the professorship of Hebrew was held for fifty-four years by Edward Bouverie Pusey, author of *A Commentary on the Minor Prophets* and of *Lectures on the Prophet Daniel*; and for thirty years by Samuel Rolles Driver, author of *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, and of commentaries on many parts of it.

Arabic was ably represented in the nineteenth century by Edward William Lane (1801–76), author of the great Arabic lexicon, and translator of *The Arabian Nights*. Edwin Henry Palmer (1840–82) showed the highest genius for the acquisition of Oriental languages, and died in Arabia in the service of his country. William Robertson Smith has already been named. The cuneiform inscriptions of Persia, Assyria and Babylonia were deciphered between 1837 and 1851 by Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson. Among Chinese scholars, the most eminent have been the three missionaries—Robert Morrison (1782–1834), author of the first Chinese-English dictionary (1815–23); Walter Henry Medhurst (1796–1857), author of an English-Japanese (1830), as well as a Chinese-English and English-Chinese (1842–3), dictionary; and James Legge (1815–97), translator of some Taoist classics, and of the whole of the Confucian canon.

The first Englishman who worked at Sanskrit to any purpose was Sir Charles Wilkins (d. 1836). In 1786 Sir William Jones had pointed out the affinity of Sanskrit with Greek, Latin, Gothic and Celtic. The study of the language was specially promoted by Horace Hayman Wilson (1786–1860) and by Sir Monier Monier-Williams (1819–99), who completed his Sanskrit-English dictionary in 1872. Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900), who had settled at Oxford in 1848, published an edition of the *Rigveda* in 1849–73, and edited from 1875 the important series known as *The Sacred Books of the East*. Edward Byles Cowell (1826–1903) was the first holder of the professorship of Sanskrit at Cambridge. It was from Cowell that Edward FitzGerald learned the language of Omar.

Scaliger. As Regius Professor of Greek, Jowett was succeeded by Ingram Bywater, whose most memorable work was done on the *Poetics* of Aristotle. Bywater was succeeded as professor by George Gilbert Aimé Murray, famous as scholar, translator and publicist. Murray receives more extended notice in a later chapter.

John Conington completed the Spenserian rendering of the *Iliad* by Philip Stanhope Worsley, *translator of the Odyssey.* A good translation of the *Iliad* into blank verse was published in 1864 by the Earl of Derby. Rather earlier, in 1858, William Ewart Gladstone produced *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age*, and summed up his conclusions eleven years later in *Juventus Mundi*. The Homeric question was vigorously discussed by John Stuart Blackie, the famous Professor of Greek in Edinburgh. George Long (1800–79) produced translations of thirteen of Plutarch's *Roman Lives*, of the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius, and of the *Manual* of Epictetus. Long contributed largely to the indispensable series of classical dictionaries planned by Sir William Smith (1813–93), who deserves to be remembered as a great organizer of learned literary labour.

Among the Latinists of England a foremost place is taken by Hugh Andrew Johnstone Munro (1819–1885) whose masterly text [illegible]

years younger than Mayor was the Latin scholar, educational reformer and legal writer, Henry John Roby (1830–1915), with an honourable record of public work. John Conington (1825–69) was highly esteemed as the editor and translator of Virgil and Horace. Henry Nettleship (1839–93) completed Conington's Virgil and published *Contributions to Latin Lexicography*. Robinson Ellis (1834–1913) is best known as the learned editor of Catullus. His metrical version of that author has many touches of true poetry. Of recent contributions to scholarship, perhaps the greatest is the edition of the letters of Erasmus by Percy Stafford Allen (1869–1933).

Among the scholars of Scotland, William Young Sellar (1825–90) produced in his *Roman Poets of the Republic* a masterpiece of literary criticism, which was followed by similar works on Virgil, and on Horace and the elegiac poets. In Ireland two resounding names are those of John Pentland Mahaffy (1839–1919) a versatile scholar, and Robert Yelverton Tyrrell (1844–1914), most famous for his edition of Cicero's *Correspondence*. Tyrrell's devotion to ancient and modern literature was combined with a keen wit and a felicitous style.

As long ago as 1733, the Society of Dilettanti began to produce a long series of great archaeological works. The tradition thus founded was well maintained. Among the discoverers of ancient civilizations in the nineteenth century appear the familiar names of Austen Henry

for publishing old ballads and lyrical pieces. In 1836 he published four volumes of *Early English Poetry*, and in 1842 issued his *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, a rich mass of materials, arranged with taste and judgment. Wright produced between eighty and ninety volumes devoted to literature. The years from 1834 onwards saw the foundations of many societies for the publication of antiquarian literature. Thomas Wright and Frederick James Furnivall (1825–1910) were specially fervent in this kind of work. Furnivall founded the Early English Text, the Chaucer, the Ballad, the New Shakspere, the Wyclif and the Shelley Societies.

Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy began the publication of many ancient historical documents, and when Sir John Romilly became Master of the Rolls, the celebrated Rolls Series came into being. Among the many literary antiquaries who made their mark as editors of some of the volumes in this great series may be mentioned John Sherren Brewer, Henry Richards Luard and James Gairdner. The *Historia Minor* of Matthew Paris was edited for the Rolls Series in 1866–9 by Sir Frederic Madden, who also edited Layamon's *Brut* in 1847. A transcript of *The Register of the Company of Stationers of London*, from 1554 to 1640, was published in 1875 by Edward Arber, who also edited *The Term Catalogues*, the eight volumes entitled *An English Garner*, *The English Scholar's Library* and the series issued under the title *English Reprints*.

In Scotland the publication of *Popular Ballads and Songs from tradition, manuscripts and scarce editions* by Robert Jamieson in 1806 was greeted by Scott as a great discovery. Scott was the first President of the Bannatyne Club, founded in 1823 in memory of George Bannatyne, who wrote out in 1568 a vast collection of Scottish poems in a folio volume of 800 pages, now preserved in the National Library in Edinburgh. David Laing, a learned bookseller, edited a large number of works of Scottish poetry and prose. Scotland was specially prolific in clubs or societies for the publication of texts.

In Ireland Thomas Crofton Croker's *Researches in the South of Ireland* (1824) was followed by his *Fairy Legends and Traditions*, his *Legends of the Lakes*, and his *Popular Songs* (1839). John O'Donovan, who has been described as "probably the greatest native Irish scholar", produced a *Grammar of the Irish Language* and ably edited a series of important texts, culminating in his monumental edition of *The Annals of...the Four Masters* (1848–51). The work of George Petrie and Eugene O'Curry is referred to in a later chapter. Sir Samuel Ferguson not only re-organized the records department, but, as a poet, aimed at embodying in modern verse the old Irish legends. In Ireland, as in Scotland, there were some antiquarian societies. Patrick Weston Joyce manifested his love of Irish songs and of folk-music in *Ancient Irish Music* (1882), *Irish Music and Song* and *Irish*

2. *English, Scottish and Irish Scholars and Antiquaries*

The dictionary of Anglo-Saxon begun by Edward Lye was completed by Owen Manning in 1776. Benjamin Thorpe, who studied at Copenhagen under Rask, published Rask's *Anglo-Saxon Grammar*

(1823–1908) is best remembered as the author of three important works, each of them a masterpiece in its special department of study: (1) *The Coins of the Ancient Britons* (1864); (2) *The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments of Great Britain* (1872); and (3) *The Ancient Bronze Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments of Great Britain and Ireland* (1881). *A History of British Costumes*, the result of ten years' study, was published by a versatile writer, James Robinson Planché. Frederic Seebohm published *The English Village Community* (1833) and other fascinating works. *The Architectural History*

the history of libraries, entitled *The Care of Books*. The antiquities of Scotland, as well as those of England and Wales, were explored by

notes".

A high place among the literary and historical antiquaries of England is due to Thomas Wright (1810–77) who, in 1838, was associated with John Mason Neale and Thomas Crofton Croker in founding the Camden Society. Wright was further associated, in 1840, with Croker and with Alexander Dyce, J. O Halliwell (-Phillipps) and John Payne Collier, in founding the Percy Society

English language was supplied in the *Notes on Rare English Books* published in 1865 by John Payne Collier, who also printed *Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company for* 1555–70, and edited *The Roxburghe Ballads*, as well as several works for the Camden, Percy and Shakespeare societies, and the two volumes entitled *Shakespeare's Library* (1843). Collier's Shakespeare forgeries have already been mentioned. A catalogue of the manuscripts of the Chetham Library in Manchester was produced in 1841–2 by Halliwell-Phillipps, who edited many works for the Camden, Percy and Shakespeare Societies, and produced a magnificent edition of Shakespeare in twenty folio volumes, and facsimiles of the Shakespeare quartos. Richard Copley Christie left to Manchester a valuable library. His colleague Walter Arthur Copinger founded in 1892 the London Bibliographical Society, printed in the same year his *Incunabula Biblica* and published in 1895–8 his supplement to Hain's *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, in which 6832 works printed in the fifteenth century were added to the 16,311 registered by Hain. Three thousand *incunabula* (i.e. "cradle" or "infancy" books, printed before 1500) in the Bodleian were catalogued in 1891–3 by Robert Proctor, who included notes upon these in his *Index of Early Printed Books in the British Museum* (1898). A useful *Register of National Bibliography* was produced in two volumes in 1905 by William Prideaux Courtney. A remarkable knowledge of bibliography was possessed by Henry Bradshaw, librarian of the Cambridge University Library from 1867 to 1886. A society for publishing rare liturgical texts was founded in his memory. *The Book Hunter*, a discursive volume describing the delights of book-collecting, was written by John Hill Burton. Andrew Lang's *The Library* (1881) is one of several delightful bookish publications. *A Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain* was published in 1882–8 by Samuel Halkett and John Laing. Recent years have seen great extensive and intensive development in bibliographical research. The publications of The Bibliographical Society, including *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books...1475–1640* (1926) by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave and *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration* (1939, etc.) by W. W. Greg, are of the highest value. Outstanding contributions to individual bibliography are the Blake (1921), Browne (1924) and Donne (1932) of Geoffrey L. Keynes, the Trollope (1928) of Michael Sadleir and the Dryden (1939) of Hugh Macdonald. *An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets* (1934) by John Carter and Graham Pollard has the fascination of a detective story. A. W. Pollard's contributions to Shakespeare bibliography have already been mentioned. Earlier works in general bibliography are now superseded by *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (1940) edited by F. W. Bateson.

Peasant Songs in the English Language (1909). The historical antiquary Sir John Thomas Gilbert wrote *Celtic Records and Historic Literature of Ireland* (1861), and edited *Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Ireland* (1874–80). Whitley Stokes and Robert Atkinson were prolific in literary labours for Irish literature.

3. *Bibliographers*

Joseph Ames may be said to have led the way in bibliography by the publication of his *Typographical Antiquities* in 1749. William Beloe, a pupil of Samuel Parr, produced in 1806–12 six useful volumes entitled *Anecdotes of Literature and Scarce Books. Bibliographia Poetica,* a catalogue of English poets of the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries, was published by Joseph Ritson in 1802. It was severely handled by Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges in his *Censura Literaria.* Ritson was a laborious and accurate investigator, but there was an almost morbid bitterness in his criticism of other men's labours. Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges produced, in the ten volumes of his *Censura Literaria* (1805–15), "titles, abstracts, and opinions of OLD ENGLISH BOOKS". He also published *The British Bibliographer* (1810–14), and *Restituta; or Titles, Extracts, and Characters of OLD BOOKS in English* [illegible]

Madden and Thomas Wright. Richard Heber was a heroic collector, whose 150,000 volumes cost him £100,000. Thomas Frognal Dibdin (1776–1847) produced in 1809 *The Bibliomania*; but his major work is the pleasant treatise entitled *The Bibliographical Decameron, or Ten Days' Pleasant Discourse upon illuminated Manuscripts, and subjects connected with Early Engraving, Typography and Bibliography* (1817). Two bibliographical works of the highest importance were produced by a London bookseller, William Thomas Lowndes: (1) the four volumes of *The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature* (1834), and (2) *The British Librarian,* or "book-collector's guide to the formation of a library" (Parts i–xi, 1839). *The Bibliographer's Manual* was enlarged by Henry George Bohn (1857–64), whose own *magnum opus* was the *Guinea Catalogue* of old books (1841); "Bohn's Library" of reprints was a first-rate collection which retained standard rank for many years.

A bibliographical and critical account of the rarest books in the

trouble the rest of his life with the attendant evils of melancholy and depression. He made a beginning of literary activity with articles contributed to Sir David Brewster's *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*, and entered enthusiastically upon a study of the German writers. An essay on Goethe's *Faust*—really instructive for its day—appeared in *The New Edinburgh Review* for April 1822. But his first serious task as an interpreter of German literature was an excellent *Life of Schiller*, which appeared serially in *The London Magazine* and came out as a book in 1825. While writing the *Schiller*, he turned to Goethe and produced the translation called *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* (1824). This was followed by four volumes entitled *German Romance* (1827), which included stories by Musäus, Fouqué, Tieck, Hoffmann and Richter, as well as *Wilhelm Meister's Travels*. In the same year (1827) he had begun to write the outstanding series of essays on German literature contributed to *The Edinburgh Review*, *The Foreign Review* and *The Foreign Quarterly Review*, and now collected in the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*.

To a man of Carlyle's immense industry and stern frugality all this work represented a kind of success. But for one great event in his life we must go back a few years. The influence of Irving had helped him to become a tutor to Charles Buller in 1822, and he thus learned to know something of the social world above his own. He grew familiar with London, and visited Paris. In 1821 Irving introduced him to Jane Welsh of Haddington, and the acquaintance led to love and to their marriage in 1826. After a short residence in Edinburgh, the young couple took up their abode at Craigenputtock amid the solitudes of the Dumfriesshire moors, and there Mrs Carlyle, born to grace a *salon*, spent the next six years in poverty and solitude.

The influence of German literature, and especially of Goethe, upon Carlyle was considerable, but can easily be exaggerated. Carlyle was born with an original creative mind, which, like many other creative minds, needed at first the guidance of example. He called Goethe his master; but actually there were very few points of contact. Carlyle believed that Goethe had found serenity by solving for himself the eternal riddle of the relations between man and the universe. Really Goethe had solved nothing. He attained his serenity by cutting out of his life anything likely to disturb him. Goethe could not have understood Carlyle's spiritual distress; Carlyle could not have understood Goethe's amorous facility. Goethe obsequiously sought the society of princes; Carlyle, dutifully apologizing for his age, sat down in the presence of Queen Victoria, who was prepared to let him stand. There was no threatening voice of democracy in Weimar to disturb the serenity of Goethe; Carlyle could never forget "the condition-of-England question". Novalis, the theme of perhaps the most beautiful of his German essays, taught him more

CHAPTER XIII

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. PART II

I. CARLYLE

Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881) was the strongest moral force in the literature of his time. In an age of triumphant commercial success and material self-satisfaction he affirmed without fear the claims of the spirit and the eternal need for righteousness in the dealings of man with man. It is one of the oddities of literary chronology that Keats and Carlyle were born in the same year. The younger outlived the elder by sixty years, and seemed never to belong to the same world. Carlyle came from the part of Scotland and from the kind of stock that had produced Burns. People sometimes assert that Carlyle's [illegible] sheer poverty could then fight and starve its way to higher education. Carlyle strove and starved as a poor student at Edinburgh university, and though he got little from his classes or teachers, he won for himself, by hard reading, the freedom of literature. He left the university in 1814 without taking a degree. He had begun his studies with half-hearted aspirations towards the ministry; but these were soon abandoned. We do not usually consider Carlyle in a mathematical light; but it was as mathematical tutor that he first tried to make a living. At Kirkcaldy, where he was teaching, he encountered romance in the person of Margaret Gordon, a pupil of much higher social standing than his own. The intervention of her family ended the romance abruptly, and Carlyle smarted from the social as well as the personal blow. But in 1817 a more celebrated woman came decisively into his life, not as a person, but as a book. This was Madame de Staël, daughter of the lady whom Gibbon did not marry. Her book *De l'Allemagne*, however facile and unoriginal, had great vogue, because it opened to its readers the wonderland of German thought and poetry. It made Carlyle first acquainted with Goethe, Schiller and others who were to be the chief enthusiasm of his early manhood.

Weary of teaching, Carlyle returned with his friend Edward Irving (afterwards the famous preacher) to Edinburgh, and gradually drifted into miscellaneous writing. Already he had begun to suffer—perhaps through early privations—from the dyspepsia which was to

fashions. Carlyle's fashion being entirely his own, *The French Revolution* resembles no other history. It is an epic in prose, flashing with the lightning and reverberating with the thunder of stormy events. You feel that something is really happening and that the course of the world has taken a new direction. Setting out from a conviction that "the history of the world is the biography of great men", he produced both a thrilling story and a collection of marvellously vivid portraits.

The years from 1837 to 1840 were occupied by lectures, the fourth and last series of which, published in 1841 under the title *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, was the most successful. It elucidates, with the help of picturesque and contrasting portraits, the cardinal doctrine of Carlyle's romantic creed of individualism, namely, that greatness lies in the exercise of the "heroic" virtues—in the power to renounce, coupled with the will to achieve. Believing that the working-classes were both misled and exploited by the quack-radicalism of his time, Carlyle wrote a little book, *Chartism* (1840), to assert his belief that "the condition-of-england question" would be solved, not by radical doctrines of universal suffrage and political economy, but by honest service and submission to natural leadership. More successful as literature is *Past and Present* (1843), which reiterates the demands for duty, responsibility, and just dealing, and incorporates a delightful picture of the past drawn from the chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond. Seven years later, Carlyle again essayed the *rôle* of political prophet in his *Latter-Day Pamphlets* (1850), which made him many enemies and estranged some old and excellent friends like Mill and Mazzini. Carlyle's wholehearted denunciation of philanthropy, in particular, appeared to an eminently philanthropic age as the utterances of a misanthrope. *Latter-Day Pamphlets* must be read historically as a counterblast to the serious revolutionary disturbances abroad in 1848. Before *Latter-Day Pamphlets* came the welcome re-appearance of Carlyle as a historian in *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (1845). The task of rehabilitating the great Protector was peculiarly fitted to Carlyle's gifts, and he has left us an unchallengeably great historical portrait. Another memorable portrait—this time of a forgotten figure—the *Life of John Sterling* (1851), contains some of Carlyle's most trenchant writing, notably the often quoted pen-portrait of Coleridge.

The most ambitious of Carlyle's works had still to come, *The History of Friedrich II of Prussia, called Frederick the Great*. The first volume appeared in 1858, the sixth and last in March 1865. This enormous work, which exhausted the energy of its author, must be called a failure, in spite of many wonderful pages. The test is simple: industrious historians do not use it for instruction, and ordinary readers do not use it for pleasure. It is read neither in Germany nor

than Goethe, and he found inspiration in Fichte's political thought. Carlyle's real gain from Germany was romance rather than philosophy, even though it was romance mingled with philosophy. His critical essays are all touched with romance. He sought the man in the work and endeavoured to expound the creative personality. His essays are thus a landmark in English criticism. They show, of course, the limitations of that method. Carlyle was a sympathetic interpreter of his German masters and of Burns; he was a less sympathetic interpreter of Scott, Heine, Wordsworth, Coleridge and Lamb. He thought Lamb a pitiable, stuttering Tom-fool and could not endure him. Carlyle, we must remember, knew Lamb and Coleridge in their last broken years, when it must have been hard to discern a soul beneath the sheer physical wreckage. On the other hand, Carlyle was eminently fair to the eighteenth century, especially to writers so far from his sympathies as Diderot and Voltaire. Carlyle's essays are marred by excesses of manner, but they deserve reading.

But the most astonishing of the books written by Carlyle under the influence of German romance is *Sartor Resartus*, which, after [illegible]

some other books of its kind it is slightly the worse for its machinery—the elaborate discussion of an imaginary Philosophy of Clothes written by an imaginary German Professor of Things-in-General; but the reader, whether of *Sartor* or of *A Tale of a Tub*, must learn to look beyond the mere device. *Sartor* was, and is, a touchstone of the true reader's capacity. Those who are not soon absorbed in it lack something of creative understanding. It owed a little to his affectionate study of Jean Paul Richter; but essentially it is a record of his own spiritual adventures, which had already found expression in a crude, verbose unfinished autobiographical novel, *Wotton Reinfred*. Its extraordinary blend of wild humour, spiritual sincerity and imaginative contemplation makes *Sartor Resartus* a unique book in English literature.

In 1833 the Carlyles left their Scottish wilderness and in 1834 came to the house in Cheyne Row, Chelsea where they spent the rest of their lives. Refusing the temptations of ephemeral and remunerative work, Carlyle laboured unremittingly at his *French Revolution*. And, [illegible]

slowly, it came definitely, and the book has remained in general demand for over a century, in spite of all variations in historical

II. THE TENNYSONS

Alfred Tennyson (1809–92), the most representative and the most popular poet of Victorian England, was the fourth son of the rector of Somersby in Lincolnshire. His two elder brothers, Frederick and Charles, had very personal poetical gifts which the greater glory of Alfred tended to obscure. They were all men of singular physical beauty and strength, dark and stalwart, and through them ran a vein of ultra-sensitiveness and melancholy. Educated at home and at Louth Grammar School not far away, Tennyson, unlike Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Keats and Shelley, developed intense domestic and national affections, and was always to be, not wholly for the benefit of his poetry, in close sympathy with the moral and political perplexities of the nineteenth-century Englishman. Tennyson went to Cambridge, and his associates, including Arthur Henry Hallam, Gladstone's most intimate friend at Eton, were young men of high and strenuous seriousness, strangers alike to the revolutionary hopes that intoxicated the youthful Wordsworth, and to the reactionary spirit of "blood and iron" against which Byron fought and over which Shelley lamented. The era of conservative reform, of Canning and Peel, of attachment to English institutions combined with a philanthropic ardour for social improvement, had begun. Of Tennyson, as of Carlyle, it may be said that though his mind was liberal his heart was conservative. As in politics, so in religion. He shrank from extremes, and never reached the kind of certitude that wings the words and imposes assent.

Tennyson began, as a poet should, by trying to discover the style and measures in which he could best express himself. *Poems, by Two Brothers* (1827), containing work by all three, is in value entirely negligible. At Cambridge he won the Chancellor's prize with *Timbuctoo* in 1829, and in 1830 published his *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical.* They attracted no attention. It was the *Poems*, dated 1833, that announced the heir of Keats and the successor of Wordsworth. The volume actually appeared in 1832; and so such familiar "Victorian" poems as *Œnone*, *The Dream of Fair Women*, *The Palace of Art*, *The Lotus Eaters* and *The Lady of Shalott* belong to the year of the Reform Bill. The Tennyson of 1830 and 1832 was no older than the Keats of 1817 and 1818; and if he was less murderously attacked it was not because the intentions of reviewers were more benevolent, but because critical utterances had become more civilized. Angered by ribald and obtuse derision he put forth nothing further till the great *Poems. By Alfred Tennyson*, 2 vols. (1842), which first revealed his full poetic stature and aroused the highest expectations of his friends. To drastic revisions of the poems named above were added *Ulysses*,

in England. The formula of the *French Revolution* and *Heroes*, applied to a vaster canvas with an overwhelming multitude of details, here breaks down. Carlyle intended it to show the creative effect of a "hero-king" upon a people; but few men fit the part less than Frederick the Great, and few countries arouse less noble sentiments [illegible]

own university and delivered his address *On the Choice of Books*. But his triumph ended in tragedy. Before he got back to London, the news reached him that his wife had been found dead in her [illegible] ght of his life had gone [illegible] *Early Kings of Norway* [illegible] Disraeli offered him a [illegible]

To his own time Carlyle presented the difficulty that he could not be politically labelled. He was an aristocratic radical, deeply interested in the welfare of the people, but believing that the way of [illegible]

dour, much-labouring, God-fearing Scotsman. The Carlyle who remains the concern of literature is not the prophet of any creed, but [illegible] One [illegible] After [illegible] self-absorbed and had failed in some of the domestic virtues. Dyspeptic geniuses are "gey ill to live wi". Knowing how deeply he had loved, he heaped upon himself bitter reproaches which his biographer James Anthony Froude took far too literally. Upon this arose a new tribe of "Janeites", who discovered that Jane Welsh was a genius neglected [illegible]

often clever and frequently unamiable. But the chief interest of her correspondence is that it is written by the wife of Carlyle. To claim that Jane Welsh has in the history of literature a separate and original existence is to mistake sentimental interest for absolute value.

so entirely his own that we now call it by the name of his poem. And yet the poem disappointed and still disappoints. Its main defect, when judged by the standard of the highest examples, is that it remains a collection of poetical observations and does not cohere into a great creative utterance. To such an utterance Tennyson was never to attain. The separate lyrics, some weak and some assured, some valiant and some self-deceiving, have all a genuinely poetic quality. The best of them touch the topmost heights of Victorian poetry and will be treasured for their expression of mood in picture and music long after the puzzled philosophy of the whole has been forgotten. That the great riddle of life and death is not solved is no defect of the poem. With our added decades of wisdom we are no nearer a solution.

Tennyson succeeded Wordsworth as Poet Laureate in 1850, and his first official poem was the fine *Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington* (1852), a bold and successful metrical experiment, which would have astonished its subject. The titular piece in *Maud and Other Poems* (1855) employs an even bolder variety of metrical forms to tell in monodrama a story of tragic passio a The poem has real power and its measures appear the natural forch Byn their purpose. But once again Tennyson succeeds in detaservative .in large design. Yet nowhere else has Tennyson expressetutions combity of passion with such felicity of utterance. *Maud* is richr, had begun., iant or lovely and in the magical touches of descriptiogh his mino other English poet has excelled; but it disconcerted both in relino wanted comfortably sweet poems like *The Gardener's Daugh*of cad those who were prepared to acclaim the poet as the laureate of spacious period. He had, too, his own solicitings. Once more he addressed himself to the composition of a large work, and once more this took the form in which alone his genius could work at ease, a series of poems each with its own mood of feeling; and we know the result as *Idylls of the King*. Tennyson had been early attracted by the stories of Malory, and his first experiment, *Morte d'Arthur*, had appeared in 1842 as a fragment of Homeric epic. The poems were issued at intervals between 1857 and 1885, and appeared complete in 1889. In the stories as Tennyson tells them, the epic style of the first *Morte* is abandoned for the more leisurely beauty of the idyll. The blank verse is uniformly melodious and skilfully paragraphed, but it has the vital defect of unsuitability for narrative. It is too static. It pauses to be beautiful. Further, the reader is left uncertain whether his attention is to be engaged by the tale or by some vague and obvious allegory. The blunt truth is that Tennyson had no great gifts either as a teller of tales or as an inventor of allegory. Tennyson's personal addition to the stories of the Round Table is neither purpose nor vision, but something purely poetical—something that a producer of

The Vision of Sin, *Sir Galahad*, *Morte d'Arthur* and *Locksley Hall*, many familiar shorter poems, and *Of Old sat Freedom on the Heights*

tion and in revision, was to match movement with mood. But as well as a delicate ear he had a vivid and curious eye, and he divined that a picture presented with extraordinary precision and relevance of detail may contribute potently to the communication of a state of feeling—the whole secret of Pre-Raphaelitism. The outcome of the severe and continuous discipline to which Tennyson submitted his art was a verse of such extraordinary variety and melody that its beauty sometimes became its own end and beguiled him from his fuller purpose.

The poems of 1842 showed clearly that Tennyson had mastered his decorative, musical style, and that his poetry had gained in substance, in dramatic insight, and in power of feeling. The question for his anxious admirers was whether this advance would continue; and the first reply was a disappointment; for *The Princess*, first published in 1847 but revised and re-revised in 1851 and 1853,

feebler thesis, but its beautiful lyrical interludes added to the third edition.

In 1850 Tennyson published the poem upon which he had been at work since the untimely death of Arthur Henry Hallam in 1833. Called simply *In Memoriam A. H. H.* it appeared to offer the poet the great theme he needed. Not merely irrevocable and inexplicable loss, but the shadow cast by death and the larger hope of light beyond the shadow

that Tenny

poem. The

prettiness that had disfigured *The Princess*. To this the verse contributed, the celebrated stanza which had been casually used by Ben Jonson and Lord Herbert of Cherbury, but which Tennyson made

troubled, sensitive soul of Tennyson. Now and then we have outbursts of strong patriotism, but in general the poet's mind circles ever round one theme, the pathos of man doomed to wander between a faith that is rooted in fear, and a widening knowledge that dispels the fear but leaves him without hope. Tennyson was not able to expel, though he could subdue, the ghosts which haunted him. His lyrical gift never deserted him; and at the age of eighty the poet of *Tears, idle tears* could write *Crossing the Bar*, perfect in music and in feeling.

Since Shakespeare, there has been no poet so completely national in his love of the soil and scenery of England, her peasants and her great sailors and soldiers. Tennyson was not a seer, as some of his friends thought him. He had not the mental stature of a "sage-poet". He was a great sensitive soul, full of English prejudices, but also with an English conscience, anxious to render a good account of the talent entrusted to him, and to make art the handmaid of duty and faith. But the days are gone when people could turn to Tennyson for his "teaching". He survives precisely as Pope survives, as a master of poetic speech tuned to the note of his age.

Alfred Tennyson was not the only poet of his family. His fame at first overshadowed, and now has lent interest to, the work of his brothers Frederick and Charles. Frederick Tennyson (1807–98) lived much out of England. He was a great reader, a student of art and a passionate lover of music. His first volume of poems *Days and Hours* was published in 1854. Thereafter, he published nothing until 1890, when he issued a long volume of blank verse idylls called *The Isles of Greece*, followed in 1891 by a volume of classical stories, *Daphne and Other Poems*. He was deeply interested in metaphysical problems and sometimes he lost himself in a Swedenborgian mist. There was a touch of the mystic in Frederick Tennyson; and his strange unequal poems are the expression of a solitary soul.

Charles Tennyson (1808–79) took the name of Turner on succeeding to some property. The greater part of his life was spent as vicar at Grasby in Lincolnshire, where he cultivated his delicate meditative verse, writing sonnets on incidents in his daily life, public events, and theological topics. The best are inspired by aspects of natural scenery and simple incidents, and have the charm of felicitous workmanship and delicate feeling. *Letty's Globe* is a delightful example of his talent.

genius gives to a play—a creative setting or dramatic significance

and feel it". In his pictures of mood Tennyson succeeds to admiration; in his characte

any of the poems.

no greater failure t

Tennyson has made his characters Victorian is merely ignorant. Tennyson had as much right to make Arthur and Lancelot Victorian as Shakespeare had to make Hamlet and Macbeth Elizabethan. It should be remembered that Victorian warriors and their womenfolk were of the mettle that endured the Crimea and the Mutiny. Tennyson's characters fail not because they are Victorian but because they are not alive. *Idylls of the King*, once the most popular of Tennyson's works, must now take a more lowly place. The strong, epical *Morte d'Arthur* of 1842 exposes the vaguely religious and timid aspiration of the rest. Yet those who pass them by will lose a wealth of incidental colour and music.

The same defects and the same compensation can be found in the 1864,

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d owards

dramatic truth is shown more clearly in two poems which accompany *Enoch Arden*, the dialect ballads *The Grandmother* and *The Northern Farmer—Old Style*. The latter is the first successful expression of freer play with

popularity.

at they are not

dramatic. In *Queen Mary* no single character arrests and dominates our interest, and the hero of *Harold*, as of many modern plays, resembles Hamlet without being Hamlet. The strongest in interest and the most impressive in performance is *Becket*. Tennyson's plays came upon the stage with every chance of success; but they are

years old. It is probably the most consummate poem of its length ever written by a youth. What astonishes the reader who considers the age of the writer is the assurance with which the delineation of a poet's soul is attempted, together with an equal assurance in the use of language. It was a work of almost infinite promise; but though a few choice spirits were attracted by it, the public at large ignored it. In 1833 Browning visited Russia and applied unsuccessfully for a diplomatic post in Persia. During the next year he contributed poems to *The Monthly Repository*; and then in 1835, before he was quite twenty-three, appeared one of the most marvellous productions of youthful poetic genius in the history of any literature. *Pauline* was a remarkable flowering of adolescence; *Paracelsus* is very nearly a great poem. Its poise and power are astonishing; yet, in a sense, its promise was unfulfilled. Browning was to write many great shorter poems; but he never again wrote a poem of that length with such continuity of power in beauty. Both in vision and in apprehension it is the most profound of youthful poems. But though it attracted notice from the ever-faithful Fox and a few others, it brought the author neither money nor fame. However, it gained him the notice of Wordsworth, Dickens, Landor and Carlyle. He was now an accepted poet.

Browning's first two poems had shown that his expectations from his readers were very high. To follow his leaping thoughts and eager utterance was not easy, and he sometimes failed to give the clue. This defect was to be a perpetual hindrance to the appreciation of his third ambitious poem, *Sordello*, upon which he at once began work. But that work was interrupted by a request from Macready for a play. Browning, glad of a chance to show character in action, responded with *Strafford*, which was produced at Covent Garden on 1 May 1837. Browning's main defects as a dramatist are clearly apparent in it. The characters, however complex, are all simple in the sense that they remain always in one condition of mind. Situations and dramatic moments abound; but genuine dramatic movement is wanting. Apparently more vital than most literary plays, these have the radical defect of all such productions: they expatiate, they do not proceed. The characters are explained by the author; they do not explain themselves. After *Strafford* Browning returned to his third "soul-history"—the poem we know as *Sordello* (1840). Abandoning the blank verse of *Pauline* and *Paracelsus*, the poet chose the heroic couplet as his form; but it helped him as little as it had helped Keats in *Endymion*. *Sordello* remains uncompromisingly difficult reading. Its radical defect is, simply, that the reader cannot follow the author, and the fault is the author's. The unknown Guelph and Ghibelline characters, the obscure psychology and the exclamatory utterance are, so to speak, merely cast at the reader to be scrambled for. The story

III. THE BROWNINGS

Elizabeth and Robert Browning were, in the noblest sense, poets of [illegible]

complete personal union. Robert Browning (1812–89) was born in [illegible]

con- [illegible] n the

contemporary poets Tennyson and Browning. Tennyson belonged by birth, education and inclination to the "church and classics" tradition. Browning belonged by birth and upbringing to strong and independent nonconformity. Tennyson is numbered in the glorious company of Cambridge poets; school and college played no part in the life of Browning. The swarthy foreign-looking Tennyson disliked "abroad" and was scarcely ever out of England. Browning, a familiar type of Englishman in appearance, made Italy his second home and was something of a good European. Tennyson [illegible]

His father, an unusual man, allowed the boy unchecked reading in a large and comprehensive library and encouraged his diversity of interests. Side by side with his precocious literary omnivorousness went, from early childhood, careful training in music; and the Dulwich Gallery, not far away, became a beloved haunt of his childhood. The first book he bought with his own money was Ossian, and his first composition was naturally something in that seductively imitable manner. But his real teachers were Byron and Shelley. If we do not clearly understand that Browning was an ardent, and almost the first, disciple of Shelley we shall miss the secret of his first inspiration. When he was twelve years of age, a collection, under the title *Incondita*, was made of his "Byronic poems", and this was seen by W. J Fox, editor of *The Monthly Repository*, who did not forget the boy poet. *Queen Mab* made him "a professing atheist and a practising vegetarian". With some difficulty, his mother secured for him others of "Mr Shelley's atheistic[illegible]

Keats. [illegible]

The [illegible]

clearly [illegible]

appeared anonymously in January 1833, when its author was twenty

Whether this must be called a defect depends upon what we ask from a dramatic presentation. In the dramatic lyrics the insistent personality of the poet may be a gain; in the plays it is an impediment to success, and they have failed to hold a place on the stage.

It was at the end of this, the first period of his poetic life, that he met, wooed and won the fellow poet who is now chiefly remembered as his wife. Elizabeth Barrett Moulton Barrett (1806–61)—six years older than her husband—was born at Coxhoe Hall, Durham, the eldest of eleven children of Edward Moulton Barrett, a West Indian planter. An accident in her early girlhood was the occasion, if not the cause, of her being treated as an incurable invalid by her father, who was an outstanding example of the patriarchal tyrant. The Barrett family had settled in Wimpole Street, and it was here that Browning first saw Miss Barrett in 1845, after a correspondence founded on their admiration for each other's gifts. In the end they decided to marry, and Elizabeth had to escape from her father, in whose inflexible programme the marriage of his eldest daughter had no place. The two poets were married in 1846 and departed for Italy, where at Casa Guidi in Florence they made their home. *The Battle of Marathon* (1820), Elizabeth Barrett's juvenile poem in Popesque couplets, was succeeded in 1826 by *An Essay on Mind and other Poems*, a volume which bears the stamp of Pope in its title but nowhere in its contents. Then in 1833 came *Prometheus Bound*, a poor translation from Aeschylus, which the translator tried to improve in a second version (1850). *The Seraphim and other Poems* appeared in 1838, the two volumes of *Poems* following in 1844. Such was the tale of her work when Browning came into her life. The influence of her love is felt at once in the forty-four sonnets fancifully called *Sonnets from the Portuguese*. They exhibit a new intensity of feeling combined with economy of utterance very remarkable in a writer who had hitherto sprawled, even in her sonnets. The *Sonnets from the Portuguese*, first printed in *Poems* (1850), were over-valued in their day for sentimental reasons; but even with the inevitable abatement of personal interest they remain the most generally profitable part of her large production.

Of the journeys made by the poetical pair only one needs record, that in the summer of 1855 when they brought to England the manuscripts of *Men and Women* and *Aurora Leigh*, not yet completed. Elizabeth finished her poem at the end of the year and it was published in 1857. It is her most ambitious and most original work, a serious attempt at a "novel-poem", that is, a creation with the form and spirit of a poem and the matter of a contemporary novel. Mrs Browning deliberately refused to retreat to romantic antiquity and sought humanity in the drawing-rooms of her own age. That was entirely praiseworthy. Unfortunately she had no gifts of con-

of the triumph and the ultimate failure of a poet untrue to his real

the discipline of its crags and crevasses. Browning was not wilfully perverse and obscure. Indeed, he was, in the creative sense, quite

work on two tragedies for the stage—*King Victor and King Charles* and *The Return of the Druses*; but the finest immediate fruit of his Italian journey was the exquisite collection of dramatic scenes and lyrics that we know as *Pippa Passes*. Here invention and execution are both simple and lively; yet it did not escape the charge of obscurity. Even to-day people appear to believe that Pippa's little refrain "God's in his Heaven, All's right with the world", appropriate to her upon her one whole day of joy, represents Browning's own considered view of the universe. Moxon, the publisher, thought that Browning might have a better chance with the public if his

supposing that the public would instantly remember the High

called dramatic by

"so many utterances of

naturally arises whether

Browning is really dramatic either in play or in lyric. Compared with Shakespeare, he is not. Of Shakespeare's creations we can never say, "Here is the author himself"; of Browning's we can never say, "Here the author is not". Browning could not take an objective view of any character. Such is the intensity of his personal interest

world in which

It is an arranged

here energetic.

gained from these fifty varied and energetic poems than from any other part of his work. The collection contains some of his best-loved pieces and ends with *One Word More*, his unique tribute to his wife. Less agreeably inspired by Elizabeth is *Mr Sludge, the Medium*, published later in *Dramatis Personae*. A celebrated American medium, David Douglas Home, had impressed Elizabeth by his spiritualistic manifestations. Browning was alarmed and gave voice to his feelings in verse. *Mr Sludge* is a great creation. It is not a portrait of Home; it is any or every humbug. Sludge is the greatest of Browning's magnificent casuists, who themselves are new figures in poetic literature.

After the death of Elizabeth, Browning came to London and never returned to Florence, nor did he visit Italy again till 1878. He lived at first in retirement, but thought that such a life was unmanly, and in 1863 began to frequent society. He became a familiar figure in London life, although, except for a very few friends, all women, none ever saw of Browning more than "a splendid surface". He was now at the height of his powers. Rarely is his poetic work so uniformly great as in *Dramatis Personae* (1864); and there is no doubt that *The Ring and the Book* (1868–9) is the most magnificent of all his achievements, in spite of its inequalities. Browning had begun to consider this old murder story in 1860, but he put it aside in the year of his sorrow. He now resumed his work upon it. The telling of a story from several different points of view appealed to Browning. His gift of multivariety and his old delight in describing "soul-states" could display themselves fully in the different narratives. *The Ring and the Book* exhibits, as very long works invariably do, the poet's strength and weakness—his sense of tragedy, his immense pity, his mere cleverness and his love of jargon. To discuss in the abstract whether a story should be told in this fashion is totally useless. All that matters is whether the result succeeds. The best parts of *The Ring and the Book* succeed greatly; the worst parts could not succeed in any form or fashion of story-telling.

Browning having won what seemed like a reward of popularity proceeded to squander it. He ventured into the classics, and published *Balaustion's Adventure; including a Transcript from Euripides* in 1871. *Aristophanes' Apology; including a Transcript from Euripides: being the Last Adventure of Balaustion* followed in 1875. Balaustion herself is delightful. The Hercules in the first poem and the Aristophanes in the second are magnificent; but the "transcripts" are quite bad; and the *Agamemnon of Aeschylus* (1877) is merely eccentric. Even more unpopular were *Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau* (1871), *Fifine at the Fair* (1872), *Red Cotton Night-Cap Country or Turf and Towers* (1873) and *The Inn Album* (1875). Browning bantered his critics in *Pacchiarotto and how he worked in Distemper* (1876), which tells the whimsical tale of the artist who tried to reform his fellows.

struction, and the novel-poem succeeds neither as novel nor as poem.

Italy reacted very differently upon the two poets. Browning was interested in the artistic past, Elizabeth in the political present. Herself but lately escaped from a tyrant, she was profoundly moved by the agitation for freedom; and of the publications of her later life two are entirely Italian and political in theme—*Casa Guidi Windows* (1851) and *Poems before Congress* (1860). The wedded poets disagreed about Napoleon III Elizabeth defended him; Robert distrusted him. They agreed to write about him, and *Poems before Congress* represented Elizabeth's view. When Napoleon annexed Nice and Savoy Robert destroyed what he had written and expressed his opinion, unmistakably if obscurely, some years later in *Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau*. The interest of *Casa Guidi Windows* and *Poems before Congress* is now entirely historical. Neither they nor the posthumous *Last Poems* (1862) added to Elizabeth's literary reputation. She died suddenly in 1861 and was buried in Florence. A tablet on the walls of Casa Guidi expressed the gratitude of the city for her advocacy of Italian freedom. Elizabeth Barrett Browning is, in many ways, a pathetic figure. Eager-hearted and sincere, moved by noble impulses, and gifted with a poet's vision, she was denied any power of command over her material. Few close students of poetry have learned less from example. Her work, save in the *Sonnets from the Portuguese*, is chaotic, luxuriant, improvident. Yet for many years and for many people the poet Browning meant Elizabeth, not Robert. She
the writer of a
that searing
doubting whether all is yet well with the child. It is right to remember that the first and fiercest exposure of the price paid for Victorian commercialism came from a woman poet writing seven years after the accession of the Queen.

We return to Robert. Only two publications of verse marked this period—*Christmas Eve and Easter Day* (1850) and *Men and Women* (1855). He also wrote at this time an attractive essay on Shelley, by way of introduction to certain letters which were afterwards found to be fabrications. *Christmas Eve and Easter Day* probably

adequate conception of Browning's genius can be more readily

gaiety. He had his reward. He preached as insistently as Carlyle; but he preached like a man of this world; and though some of his readers found it difficult to endure the Olympian air of superiority affected by a critic who took the whole conduct of life for his province, few could resist the charm of prose discourses cast in a delightfully fresh and individual form and delivered with a disarming, if delusive, air of innocent candour. Much of Arnold's social, political and religious criticism has lost its point; but his literary criticism will live as long as the best of its kind. Only Dryden and Coleridge, poets like himself, share his pre-eminence.

Matthew Arnold (1822–88) was the eldest son of Thomas, the headmaster of Rugby. That he owed much to his father is clear; but his character and temperament developed in a strongly individual way. From Rugby he passed to Oxford in the full tide of the Tractarian movement. Though fascinated by Newman's personal charm, he stood coolly aloof from all the ecclesiastical alarums and excursions. Matthew Arnold was never the man to lose his all, even at Oxford, in a cause already lost; but Oxford, whatever its faults, was always to him a permanent bulwark against the raw and vulgar. From the worldly point of view, his subsequent career was prosaic and unspectacular. Something brilliant in the public service—perhaps in diplomacy—might have been predicted for him. But Lord Lansdowne, to whom he had been private secretary, made him an inspector of elementary schools; and that was all the public promotion he ever obtained. However, he was the greatest man who became an inspector of schools, and that inconspicuous calling has shone in his lustre ever since. Actually, nearly all Arnold's best poetry was written during the busiest years of his school inspectorate. The work did him good. He loved children, he took an interest in the work of teachers, and in the course of his journeys met many of the English types—"populace, Philistines and barbarians"—whom he was to use in his writings. What may be called his official works—*Popular Education in France* (1861), *A French Eton* (1864), *Schools and Universities on the Continent* (1868), *Special Report on Elementary Education Abroad* (1888), and *Reports on Elementary Schools* (1889)—still have a place of their own in the literature of education. His influence was entirely beneficent and his demands were thoroughly practical. Educational, though unofficial, was *A Bible Reading for Schools* (1872), a selection of chapters from Isaiah designed to make the Bible attractive as great literature. To the years of his earlier official activity belong the critical discourses *On Translating Homer* (1861) and *The Study of Celtic Literature* (1867), based on his allocutions from the chair of poetry at Oxford which he held for ten years (1857–67).

His poetical publications begin with such *juvenilia* as the Rugby

La Saisiaz and the Two Poets of Croisic followed in 1878; *Dramatic Idyls* in 1879–80; *Jocoseria* in 1883; *Ferishtah's Fancies* in 1884; and [illegible] some lovely lyrical interpolations.

Browning visited Italy several times in his last years, and lived in a house at Asolo, the little castled town of Pippa. His last volume, named from it *Asolando: Fancies and Facts*, and dated 1890, was published on 12 December 1889, the day on which he died at the Rezzonico Palace in Venice. He had not expected death, but, to the last, was full of projects, his courage unabated, his enterprise not [illegible] in his work is almost Shakespearean. So complete is the success of his "dramatic lyrics"—the poems spoken, as it were, in character—that he may be called the inventor, and, indeed, the proprietor, of that form. There was in him a curious strain of Renaissance curiosity and medieval pedantry and his utterance is at times almost deliberately [illegible] strength [illegible] power of [illegible]

IV. MATTHEW ARNOLD, ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH, JAMES THOMSON

Eminent alike as poet and critic, Matthew Arnold holds a place of singular distinction among Victorian writers. His poetical work is [illegible] movements, sensitive to all 'play of the mind', wherever and in whomsoever he found it. When, at an early period in his literary career, he abandoned poetry for prose, he at once came into touch with a wider public. His poetry exhibits some of Gray's reluctance "to speak out"; but his prose has a sense of freedom, and even of

pair, *Stanzas in Memory of the Author of Obermann* and the later *Obermann Once More*, gives us the most intimate revelations of his troubled soul. With them may be named *Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse* (1855), another personal revelation. No one who has ever felt deeply about ultimate things can read it without emotion. In *Tristram and Iseult* he can hardly be said to have accepted the challenge which came to him in this story from the shores of old romance. Arnold was never the poet of Iseult. *Rugby Chapel*, in memory of his father, and *A Southern Night*, lamenting the death of his brother, are both deeply and quietly moving. The latter is perhaps his finest poem. It is not necessary to mention other poems in detail. The poetic inspiration of Matthew Arnold is unquestionable. He did not write the verses of a man of letters. His faultiest poems exhibit the faults of poems, not the failures of poetical exercises. The peculiar charm of his best work lies in its intensity of feeling and restraint of utterance. He is as free from sentiment as from excess of diction. He suffered deeply from the malady of his time because his firm sincerity could abide no self-deception; and he attracts us because we are made to feel both his spiritual yearning and his intellectual fortitude. His range is small; but within its limits he attains perfection.

Matthew Arnold's prose writings were the work of his middle and later years. They deal with the general fabric of English civilization and culture in his day; and they are all directed against national insularity and provincialism of mind. The main body of his literary criticism is to be found in the slight but attractive lectures *On Translating Homer* (1861), and *The Study of Celtic Literature* (1867), and in the two volumes entitled *Essays in Criticism* (1865, 1889). Here, for the first time, we encounter the verbal weapons used in a lifelong campaign against the "Philistines". We hear of "the best that is known and thought in the world", "the free play of the mind", "flexibility of intelligence", "prose of the centre", "criticism of life" and other phrases destined, by reiterated use, to become familiar. Arnold had learnt much from French prose, especially from Renan and Sainte-Beuve. To French poetry his ear had never been opened, and he made in this, as in other matters, no pretence. He charged the great Victorian public with complacent vulgarity. He declared that the end and aim of all literature is a criticism of life, that poetry itself is a criticism of life. These unusual claims not only puzzled the public, but irritated (and still irritate) the literary dunces, who, as Leslie Stephen has put it, were "unable to distinguish between an epigram and a philosophical dogma". The public, however, appeared to like being provoked by Arnold, and he was led to the composition of the book called *Culture and Anarchy* (1869), which may be termed his central work in criticism other than literary. It has endured remarkably well, and its validity as an indictment is

prize poem *Alaric at Rome* (1840) and the Oxford prize poem *Cromwell* (1843). His first formal appearance was modestly made with *The Strayed Reveller, and other Poems, by A.* (1849). His second collection, *Empedocles on Etna, and other Poems, by A.* (1852), was withdrawn, like the first. In 1853, however, he published boldly, under his own name, a new volume with a preface defining his views upon some of the objects and functions of poetry. This volume included many of the poems already printed in its two predecessors, together with such notable additions as *Sohrab and Rustum* and *The Scholar-Gipsy*. In 1855 appeared *Poems by Matthew Arnold, Second* [illegible]

After that date came nothing but occasional pieces—the elegy on Stanley, and the three exquisite "animal" poems, *Geist's Grave*, *Poor Matthias* and *Kaiser Dead*, which are among the very best of their unusual kind.

A survey of Arnold's poems brings into prominence two outstanding facts—the early maturity of his genius, and his steadfast adherence throughout to certain very definite ideals of poetic art. He took his stand upon the classics and upon the practice of those moderns touched by the high seriousness of classical example. The Greeks, Goethe, Wordsworth—these are the prime literary sources of Matthew Arnold's poetical inspiration. Perhaps the most original poem in the 1849 volume is *The Forsaken Merman*, which is remarkable alike for its pathos and its metrical skill. In his picture of the Merman waiting forlorn outside the church which he could not enter, Arnold drew, no doubt unconsciously, a picture of his own religious state. The preface to the 1853 volume deserves careful reading, as it is Arnold's first published "essay in criticism" He rejects decisively the doctrine that a poet must "leave the exhausted past, and draw his subjects from matters of present import". Here is sounded the first note of his battle-song against the Philistines. We may observe that the fallacy which Arnold attacked is persistent and always popular. The truth is that the past and its themes are never exhausted; it is only poets that are exhausted. A modern subject does not make a modern poem, for it may fail to make a poem, and then the alleged modernity is unimportant Inspiration is always in the poet, never in the theme. But in spite of Arnold's own warm feeling for the classics, *Merope*, a tragedy in the Greek manner, is a frigid failure. On the other hand *Sohrab and Rustum* is both the most Homeric and the most successful of his narrative poems. The out- [illegible] *lar-Gipsy*, [illegible] s the poet [illegible] Another

From a poet of perplexity we may fitly pass to a poet of despair, James Thomson (1834–82), usually distinguished from the earlier and wholesome James Thomson by the initials "B.V.", representing "Bysshe Vanolis", a name under which he wrote. *It is ironical that* he took the first name from Shelley and the second from Novalis. His life was hard, and his later years were darkened by poverty and ill-health, largely due to insomnia and intemperate habits. He had neither friends nor faith to save him. The two separate volumes published just before his death, *The City of Dreadful Night and Other Poems* (1880) and *Vane's Story and Other Poems* (1881) contain the bulk of his verse. His lyrics are well-intentioned but do not rise above the level of the "drawing-room songs" of his time. *The City of Dreadful Night* cannot sustain the reputation it had half a century ago. It is not poetry—it is "near-poetry", and is little more than journalism in verse.

V. THE ROSSETTIS, WILLIAM MORRIS, SWINBURNE, FITZGERALD

In 1848, a few young artists and men of letters united to oppose the conventional or academic approach to art, and, as an act of homage to the simple sincerity of the early Italian painters, called themselves "the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood". The purely pictorial side of the movement is not our concern; but it happens that one of the group, Dante Gabriel (originally called Gabriel Charles Dante) Rossetti (1828–82) was remarkable both as painter and as poet, and through the force of his personality came to be regarded as the leader of the revolt. The name of the "brotherhood" unfortunately suggested some imitation of medievalism; actually its work was entirely modern, and was medieval in nothing but sincerity of spirit. Rossetti, indeed, had a pronounced idiosyncrasy of style that made imitation impossible to him. The general aim of the movement found an ardent champion in Ruskin, who defended both its works and its spirit. The brotherhood endeavoured to express its purpose in a magazine *The Germ: Thoughts towards Nature in Poetry, Literature and Art*, and defined its creed as "an entire adherence to the simplicity of art". The first number appeared in January 1850, the fourth and last in April. It is, in its interest, almost entirely a Rossetti production. Apart from Rossetti's curious story *Hand and Soul*, which is strangely like his paintings, the prose of *The Germ* is negligible. Its literary importance is mainly due to the eleven poems by Rossetti himself and the seven lyrics by his sister Christina. Some of these were "trial proofs"—*The Blessed Damozel*, for instance, being revised later.

About 1850 Rossetti met the beautiful Elizabeth Eleanor Siddal, who became his wife in 1860. In 1861 he published his first volume,

attested by the peevishness which it still excites in some critics. *Friendship's Garland* (1871), a series of satirical letters, is the most Puckish of his attacks on the great British public. The later *Mixed* [illegible] tracts for those times and have lost much of their point in these. Some of their utterances have an epigrammatic quality and are still current. Matthew Arnold's best prose is as certain of survival as his [illegible]

Their common connection with Rugby and Oxford, and the commemoration of their Oxford friendship in *Thyrsis*, link the names of Matthew Arnold and of Arthur Hugh Clough (1819–61), a saddened soul with cloistral instincts and sceptical convictions. [illegible] *Tober-na-Vuolich*. He had already written short poems, some of which have lasted very well, and these appeared in *Ambarvalia* (1849). During a visit to Rome in 1849, Clough composed his second hexameter poem, *Amours de Voyage*, and in the following year at [illegible] remains the poet of *The Bothie*. Unfortunately, as soon as "hexameters" are mentioned, some educated Englishmen cease to talk sincerely and begin to adopt attitudes Unnecessary disputes have been waged about the metre of Clough's "Long Vacation Pastoral". The real point at issue is not whether the hexameters of *The Bothie* are or are not "the strong wing'd music of Homer", but whether the poem is successful. That it is can hardly be disputed; and it owes [illegible] use of the long line. [illegible] happen to English [illegible] ey are a delightful vehicle for serio-comic verse. The same measure is used triumphantly in *Amours de Voyage*, a poem which has not attracted the attention it deserves; for though written almost a century ago, it anticipates in tone, attitude and utterance nearly everything to be found in poems considered ultra-modern during the nineteen-twenties and thirties.

writings Rossetti displayed an elaborately poetic diction, which Keats had with supreme mastery brought back into English verse.

The power of Rossetti's personality is attested by his influence over the impetuous William Morris (1834–96). Morris's early enthusiasm for the Middle Ages appeared likely to lead him into the Church; but the reading of Ruskin's chapter "The Nature of Gothic" in *The Stones of Venice* (1853) changed the current of his whole life, and after a tour among the churches of France in 1855, he and his friend Edward Burne-Jones decided to abandon their intention of taking orders and to devote themselves to art. At first, Morris studied architecture; then, under the influence of Rossetti, he turned with ardour to painting. In 1859 he married Jane Burden, whose strange exotic beauty is immortalized in many of Rossetti's pictures; and his desire to make a worthy home led him to the activities that ended in the foundation of the celebrated firm of decorative artists, which he controlled from 1861 to his death, and which revolutionized public taste in fabrics and furniture. There was no longer a strict choice between beautiful old things and hideous modern things. Even though public taste may have gone beyond the ideals of Morris, it was the work and teaching of Morris that made any advance in domestic crafts both possible and practical. The famous products of his Kelmscott Press, begun in 1891, have been criticized by later printers; but it was Morris himself who showed them the possibilities of beauty in a modern book. The tendency of the best practice since Morris has been an attempt to combine the "book beautiful" with the "book useful". Morris's revolt against the hideous products of commercialism led him to revolt against the hideousness of commercial life itself, and he became a passionate Socialist, active in the work of parties, the more astute brethren in which were content to exploit a great and simple-hearted man, and to throw him over when it suited them. The extraordinary fact about Morris as a writer is that most of his long works are *parerga*. After a hard day's work in office or workshop, he found relaxation in the composition of epic poems and prose romances.

His earliest writings are among his most remarkable. As Rossetti found himself in *The Germ*, so Morris found himself in *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* (1856), which he conducted materially and artistically for twelve months. The *Magazine* is important almost solely for the few contributions by Rossetti and the several in prose and verse by Morris. *The Hollow Land*, *The Story of the Unknown Church*, and others are little gems of semi-mystical prose narrative that clearly point to the later romances. Four of the five poems written by Morris for *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* appeared in the volume called *The Defence of Guenevere and other Poems* (1858). With all its defects of crudity, this collection contains the truest and

[illegible]
had contributed to *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* in 1856 *The Burden of Nineveh* and a new version of *The Blessed Damozel.* Other poems written during this period were copied into a manuscript book, which, when his wife died tragically in 1862, was buried with her. Rossetti himself became a victim of chronic insomnia, and [illegible]

work exhibits a marked strain of the sensual and the mystic—a sense of the flesh and a sense of the spirit. The extremes are naturally more evident in his pictures than in his writings. *The Blessed Damozel*—the poem, not the picture—is almost perversely fascinating, because it has every quality of a mystically religious creation, except religious conviction. It is a triumphant attempt to figure forth the indescribable and transmit a vision of the beyond; and the triumph is secured, not by dim suggestion, but by a daring use of almost trivial detail. In this respect Rossetti is a descendant of the Keats who wrote *The Eve of St Agnes* and *The Eve of St Mark*—the latter of which might be [illegible]

could blend the romantic with the supernatural in *Sister Helen* and [illegible]

succeed; but when he does succeed he is unique.

Rossetti's two prose tales, *Hand and Soul* and the unfinished *Saint Agnes of Intercession,* have a moving "other-worldly" quality. None of his work in any form of art offers the least justification for the pseudonymous attack made upon him and Swinburne by the disappointed poetaster and novelist Robert Buchanan in an article called *The Fleshly School of Poetry,* to which Rossetti replied contemptuously in *The Stealthy School of Criticism.* The incident has, at this date, very little importance. The work of Rossetti as a translator [illegible]

of the series, and *The Sundering Flood* (1897), completed less than a month before his death. The prose of these stories is at first a little disconcerting in its archaism. But the style was as natural to Morris as the style of *The Faerie Queene* was to Spenser, and, after the first discomfort, is just as sweetly readable. What one misses in all the tales of Morris, whether in prose or in verse, is a touch of the wholesome, saving, Dickensian "commonness" of Chaucer.

It is impossible to catalogue here Morris's scattered propagandist tracts and lectures, and bare mention must suffice of his version of *Beowulf* and of his share in the *Saga Library*. It is a curious fact that, in this country, to be any kind of revolutionist is to incur suspicion of literary unsoundness. Even Matthew Arnold was never quite at ease with Shelley. For a long time the prevailing view about William Morris was that, being a Socialist, he either could not write anything worth reading, or else what he wrote was subtly mingled with political poison. Morris was a lifelong propagandist; but his energy was directed against Ugliness. When he wrote politically there was no concealment of his purpose. His normal works of literature are as free from propaganda, open or concealed, as those of Tennyson or Trollope. Nor was he a sentimental medievalist. He was a wholesome, vigorous, tempestuous man of his own world. His love of the beautiful work of the past, material and imaginative, stood for him in the place of religious fervour, and his whole strength of purpose was dedicated to the reconstitution of modern life upon conditions that would bring beauty back to all men. Like Ruskin and Carlyle, Morris can be numbered with the saints who in the days of triumphant commercialism strove unweariedly against its crimes.

Algernon Charles Swinburne (1837–1909) announced his allegiance to Rossetti in the dedication of his first book—*The Queen Mother and Rosamond* (1860), two poetical dramas written in elaborate blank verse. Swinburne, born in London of an old Northumbrian family, was, as befits the son of an admiral, a lover and singer of the sea. He was a strange odd child, physically immature and intellectually precocious. At Eton and Oxford he developed his love of poetry, and when he came into association with the Rossetti circle it was with a taste already formed for many kinds of verse. He was a good classic, and his poetical patriotism was bestowed equally upon ancient Greece and Elizabethan England. His sympathy with republican freedom was learned from Landor and Shelley and, last but not least, from Victor Hugo, who shared with Shakespeare the shrine of his lifelong idolatry. With all his metrical originality, Swinburne was in substance an "echo" poet; and there was no writer who so completely furnished him with inspiration as Victor Hugo. He began with youthfully daring atheism and youthfully outspoken republicanism; and he never quite grew up. His convictions were

most original poetry that Morris wrote. The now familiar pieces show us a spirit intoxicated with the romance of the past and striving after a perfect transmission of its beauty. In *The Life and* [illegible]

[illegible]

of the stories, told by elders of the city, come from classical sources; the other twelve, told by the wanderers, are derived chiefly from [illegible]

[illegible]

tous, others are tense and vigorous. Its masterpiece is *The Lovers of Gudrun*, a version of the *Laxdaela Saga* in heroic couplets. In spite of its occasional failures and flatnesses *The Earthly Paradise* remains a fine achievement of narrative art. The interludes of the months have a special attractiveness.

Love is Enough (1873), a morality, has not been very popular. The narrative poet returns in *The Aeneids of Virgil* (1876) which reads as if it had been translated from an Icelandic original. But after a small volume of actual Icelandic translations Morris showed his power [illegible]

[illegible]

freshness; and in the climax of the story the poet rises to the height of his power. After *Sigurd*, Morris practically abandoned poetry, save for his translation of the *Odyssey*, and his last original book of verse was the collection of lyrics and ballads, *Poems by the Way*, [illegible]

[illegible]

(1888), and the Utopian *News from Nowhere* (1891). In 1889 he essayed pure romance with a prose story *The House of the Wolfings.* This was followed in 1890 by *The Roots of the Mountains* and in 1891 by *The Story of the Glittering Plain*—first of the Kelmscott Press books. *The Wood beyond the World* came in 1895 and *The Well at the World's End* in 1896. Two more romances were published posthumously, *The Water of the Wondrous Isles* (1897), the most fairylike

constant loftiness and majesty. A second series of *Poems and Ballads* (1878), as musical as the first, was more chastened in matter. *Studies in Song* and *Songs of the Springtides*, in 1880, were full of love of the sea, the prevailing passion of the poet's later verse. As if he had become aware of his own excess in utterance, he turned to parody, and in the anonymous *Heptalogia: or The Seven Against Sense* (1880) produced gravely elaborate burlesques of Tennyson, Browning, Rossetti, Patmore and others, as well as himself. His touch was a little too heavy for perfect parody; and of his own *Nephelidia* it may be said that he was always capable of writing some of its lines in poems not intended to be amusing.

Most admirers of Swinburne felt that the *Tristram of Lyonesse* volume, published in 1882, was the crown of his mature work. The title-piece is, like Morris's *Jason*, a long narrative in couplets; but with the kind of music that Morris could (and perhaps would) not have made. *Tristram of Lyonesse* is Wagnerian. It is a glorification of bodily passion. In form it is a marvellous study in the use of the couplet; in substance it is most permanently successful in its sea passages. That it is verbose, excessive, extenuated and monotonous can hardly be denied. The same volume also contained the series of sonnets on the Elizabethan dramatists, sometimes uncritical in enthusiasm but always memorable in expression. *A Century of Roundels* (1883) is remarkable as an exhibition of poetical dexterity which makes much of a slight metrical form. In 1881 Swinburne concluded with *Mary Stuart* the trilogy begun with *Chastelard* and continued with *Bothwell*. After *A Midsummer Holiday* (1884), he returned to drama in *Marino Faliero* (1885), a subject which he felt had been handled unworthily by Byron. *Locrine* (1887), his next drama, was an original experiment in which each scene was presented in rhymes of a recurring stanza-form; it is more intricate than dramatic. Two years later came the third series of *Poems and Ballads* (1889). In its lighter pieces and especially in such ballads as *The Jacobite's Lament* there is much of the accustomed freshness of spirit; but there are signs of flagging energy; nor did the poet recapture his inspiration in the later volumes, *Astrophel* (1894), *A Tale of Balen* (1896), *A Channel Passage* (1904) and the plays, *The Sisters* (1892), *Rosamund Queen of the Lombards* (1899) and *The Duke of Gandia* (1908). A surprising development was the sudden flaming of "Imperialism", at the time of the South African War, in a poet hitherto dedicated to republicanism.

In addition to his poetry, Swinburne published from 1868 onwards several volumes of literary criticism. His *Essays and Studies* and *Miscellanies* bear striking testimony to his knowledge and love of poetry and his scholarly insight. Of his numerous monographs and essays upon individual writers, *A Study of Shakespeare* takes the first

always passionate and always literary. It is a curious fact that no [illegible]

Atalanta in Calydon and *Chastelard* in 1865 and *Poems and Ballads* in 1866 won Swinburne both celebrity and notoriety. *Chastelard*, the first of his three plays upon the life of Mary Queen of Scots, is a romantic drama in the style of his two earlier works. *Atalanta*, classical in subject, is an attempt to reproduce the characteristic forms of Greek drama in English verse. The avowed atheism of *Atalanta* might pass unchallenged, as long as it was partly veiled in the decent [illegible]

except religious conviction, so Swinburne's sensual poems had everything except sensual conviction But the new metres captured the young, who chanted the music of *Dolores* without quite knowing what it was all about.

Sagacious friends tried to divert the poet's ecstasies to other channels. He was persuaded to be active in the cause of Italian freedom. All the elements needed to excite him were there—the Papacy, the Austrian Empire, and, above all, Napoleon the Little, dearest enemy of Victor Hugo. And so the ardent poet whose hymns of lust and satiety had dazzled the young turned suddenly and sang the praises of Mazzini and Garibaldi in *A Song of Italy* (1867). *Songs before Sunrise* (1871) was a collection of poems written during the final struggle for Italian freedom. It includes much of Swinburne's best work, the majestic *Hertha*, the lament for captive Italy in *Super Flumina Babylonis* and the apostrophe to France in *Quia Multum Amavit*. *Songs of Two Nations* (1875) continued his [illegible] political strains But there is no conviction in his ardours A [illegible]

(1876) followed *Atalanta* with equal eloquence and with closer relation to the spirit of Greek tragic form The lyric choruses of *Erechtheus*, less enchanting than those in *Atalanta*, have a more

of Women (1870), *Lays of France* (1872) (founded on the lays of Marie de France) and *Music and Moonlight* (1874) abound in Swinburnian stanza forms, though the story of *Chaitivel* in *Lays of France* borrows the delightful measure of Samuel Daniel's *Ulisses and the Syren.* "We are the music-makers" and a few other pieces deserve a place in the anthologies, where alone O'Shaughnessy is likely to survive.

Edward FitzGerald (1809–83) is remarkable as a poet who has won immortality by translations. Apart from his charming prose dialogue, *Euphranor* (1851), and his letters, which are among the very best in our language, he wrote scarcely any original work. He was independent in the worldly sense, and as a kind of hermit in Suffolk was independent in every other sense. One of his friends was Bernard Barton, the friend of Charles Lamb, and with Barton's daughter he contracted a marriage which was immediately repented. Yet another friend was the Reverend George Crabbe, grandson of the poet, whose works he strove to make more widely known by his *Readings in Crabbe* (1883). The two great events in his life were the study of Spanish and the study of Persian. From the study of Spanish came first *Six Dramas of Calderon* (1853), very free translations in blank verse and prose in which he attempted to adapt a foreign author to English thought. Then followed *The Mighty Magician* and *Such Stuff as Dreams are made of* (1865), with which he took such liberties that the result is neither Spanish nor English. The two great tragedies of Calderon can hardly fail in any version, and there will always be somebody to enjoy FitzGerald's perversions. The *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus and the two *Oedipus* tragedies of Sophocles were also adapted in the same free fashion. They are quite unimportant. The study of Persian led FitzGerald to begin a version of *Salámán and Absál* of Jámí, and in 1862 he completed *A Bird's Eye View of Faríd-Uddín Attar's Bird-Parliament.* These, however, were mere experiments. The true kindling of his genius came when he read the *Rubáiyát* or aphoristic quatrains of Omar Khayyám, the astronomer-poet of Persia. Over these he brooded with delight, and then produced in 1859 what is, in effect, an English poem of seventy-five quatrains based upon selections and combinations of the original stanzas. Later editions revised the expression and extended the length. But the book may be said to have been concealed rather than published. Eminent Orientalists have protested against English devotion to an inferior Persian poet. They have missed the point. No English reader cares about the Persian poet, and other attempts to present Omar have gained no success. English readers care only about FitzGerald's Omar, which is an English poem with Persian allusions. Its bold scepticism proved singularly attractive, when at last the poem was allowed to become generally known; but, apart from its matter, the Augustan beauty and perfection of phrase and

place. His criticism, however, was too much [illegible]

[illegible]

of one person appears to be [illegible]

[illegible] sought to instruct. Receptive of manifold influences, classical, English and foreign, he reproduced them in a style wholly individual. He was fearless in the poetic proclamation of what he believed to be his ideals of liberty and justice, and tireless in the metrical ingenuity with which he fashioned his astonishing fluency into poetic forms both musical and memorable. The long sustained brilliance of his song has no parallel in English literature. Compared with Swinburne the poets of a later age are half-dumb bleaters and stammerers.

The first number of *The Germ* contained, as well as Rossetti's *My Sister's Sleep*, two lyrics by his sister Christina Georgina Rossetti (1830–94), which gave evidence of clear and quite original genius. Unlike her brother, whose sympathy with religion was merely artistic, and still more unlike Swinburne, whose attitude was openly hostile, Christina Rossetti was, to the end of her life, a devout Christian, finding the highest inspiration in her faith, and investing [illegible] Her volumes of [illegible] *oems* in 1862 and [illegible] brother William Michael, are rich in devotional feeling. Her religious ecstasy is [illegible]

[illegible] love over human passion. Readers of *Sonnets from the Portuguese* should never omit to read the different story of *Monna Innominata*. The woman in Christina Rossetti is most delightfully apparent in *Sing-Song, a Nursery Rhyme Book* (1872). It is difficult to find any [illegible]

[illegible] of Francis Thompson.

To the group of poets here considered may be added Arthur O'Shaughnessy (1844–91), friend of Rossetti. His volumes, *An Epic*

is dissatisfied, the fault is in the criticism, not in the poems. There the question must be left.

Martin Farquhar Tupper (1810–89) and his *Proverbial Philosophy*, first published in 1838 and steadily enlarged till the final edition of 1876, lie at the other extreme of the literary scale. Neither in form nor in matter does that celebrated book approach the nature of poetry; yet it sold in unbelievable numbers, though even from the beginning there were scoffers young and old. An attempt has been made to discuss the prosody of Tupper; but no one can discuss the non-existent. Ossianic models and forms have been suggested; but Tupper was quite deliberately imitative of Scriptural utterance, especially the Book of Proverbs. When he fell, as occasionally he did, into a recognisable metrical form, we can be sure it was by accident. Tupper was a voluminous writer; but the only other work needing mention is the autobiography, *My Life as an Author* (1886). Incredible as it may seem, Tupper was an Oxford M.A. and D.C.L. and a barrister of Lincoln's Inn. If it is objected that his *Proverbial Philosophy* is beneath the notice of history, the answer is that the book is important as evidence of what myriads of people thought might be poetry during the reign of Tennyson and Browning.

Philip James Bailey (1816–1909) and his poetical drama *Festus*, first published in 1839 and steadily enlarged up to the "jubilee" edition of 1889, represent a different kind of nonsense. People admired Tupper because he was homely and appeared to be scriptural; people admired Bailey because he was ambitious and appeared to be profound. *Festus* really imposed in its time upon some very eminent people and is doubtless still cherished by the semi-literate to-day. It is a long verse drama written in imitation of Goethe's *Faust*. We need not describe its attempts to scale the heights of poetical philosophy. It is enough to say that the first scene is laid in Heaven and that the first speaker is God. Bailey's other flights, *The Angel World* (1850) and *The Mystic* (1855), failed to attract readers, and he therefore incorporated portions of them into *Festus*, thus expanding the comparatively short original of 20,000 lines or thereabouts into a monstrous compilation. Readers who desire to cultivate a taste for *Festus* should confine themselves rigorously to the first edition of 1839. Actually *Festus* does not deserve respect, otherwise than as a piece of well-meant industry. The poverty of its intellectual content is matched by the poverty of its poetic expression. In fact, *Festus* is not poetry at all. It is "near-poetry", and no more. The passages once quoted with admiration are "purple patches" in the strictest sense—very purple and very patchy.

Thus we have three types of popular minor poetry; the sincere and simple *Lays* accepted by the public and contemned by the loftier critics; the common shop-parlour moralizing of *Proverbial Philosophy*,

the supple grace of melody and rhythm have earned it a permanent place among the masterpieces of English poetry. Its stanza was a novelty which others, like Swinburne in his *Laus Veneris*, were not slow to borrow. In an age when scepticism was sorrowful and reluctant, FitzGerald was frank and undismayed He faced boldly what had to be faced and put lamentation and complaint resolutely behind him. Though the end was Death, was there not Life? There is comfort as well as courage in his song.

VI. LESSER POETS OF THE MIDDLE AND LATER NINETEENTH CENTURY: WITH SOME ADDITIONS

I

names of many authors in such a summary as the present would consume more space than the volume affords. Nothing but a general sketch can be given. Those who wish for precise information must refer to the larger work or to the exceedingly useful compilation of Alfred H. Miles, *The Poets and the Poetry of the Nineteenth Century* (12 vols.).

Our survey may usefully begin with three figures of importance

The final answer to any objections from even the highest regions of criticism is that in the evolutionary processes of literature only the fit survive. Some extinctions may be regretted, the survivals must be accepted. The *Lays* have never at any time shown symptoms of not surviving. That the singular constitution of Macaulay included a strain of real poetry is proved by the classical pathos of the *Epitaph on a Jacobite*, the romantic strangeness of *The Last Buccaneer*, and the music of many paragraphs in his prose works Anyone who denies the name of poetry to *The Battle of Lake Regillus* and *The Prophecy of Capys* must reconsider his definitions The *Lays* have swiftness of movement in narrative and epic simplicity of style. They are not only good poetry of their kind, but they have the special merit

Moreover they remain (as we have said) obstinately alive. If criticism

had one clear mark of greatness: it was not afraid to laugh at itself. It was free from the resentful, querulous portentousness which marks the age of little writers, and which manifests itself in nothing more clearly than in an ill-tempered refusal to be teased. The century had begun well with the bards of *The Anti-Jacobin*. Three years after the accession of Queen Victoria came the first series of *The Ingoldsby Legends*. *Punch* was founded in 1841. *Bon Gaultier* appeared in 1845 and Lear's *Book of Nonsense* in 1846. Numerous "Bohemians" inhabiting Prowse's "beautiful city of Prague" carry us on to *Alice* (1865) and Gilbert's *Bab Ballads* (1869), and thence to the work of C. S. Calverley and J. K. Stephen. Its light verse alone would make the Victorian era notable. Aytoun's best-known work is the *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers* (1849), which once had great popularity, and which now bears the marks of a special kind of "near-poetry", namely "near-balladry". His more durable work was of the comic or serio-comic kind. *Firmilian: or the Student of Badajoz. A Spasmodic Tragedy* (1855) is, as the title implies, a burlesque of the whole spasmodic school, reaching back to Bailey and the Byronists, and forward, by anticipation, to Mrs Browning. The famous *Book of Ballads. Edited by Bon Gaultier* (1845), was the work of Aytoun and Theodore Martin. It still endures.

Percival Leigh (1813–89) in *Punch* and William Jeffery Prowse (1836–70) in *Fun* are excellent representatives of periodical light verse. Mortimer Collins (1827–76), a better scholar than either, wrote away his talents in trying to make a living, but left some charming love-poetry and some brilliant satiric verse, as in *The British Birds*, with its title after Aristophanes. The first great writer of nonsense verse, Edward Lear (1812–88), was a traveller, a painter, and a teacher of drawing to Queen Victoria. He was in no sense a Bohemian. For the grandchildren of his patron the Earl of Derby he composed and illustrated *A Book of Nonsense* (1846)—the verses being in the delightfully concise form mysteriously called the "Limerick", now always associated with his name. Other volumes contain pieces familiar to every happy child. Lear combines sense and nonsense, after the specially English fashion, in a way never known before, and excelled only by his successor Lewis Carroll. Another laureate of the nursery is William Brighty Rands (1823–80), almost forgotten as the author (under various disguises) of useful, serious works, but sure of remembrance as the author of some delightful little poems contained in his *Lilliput Levee* (1864) and *Lilliput Lectures* (1871).

Frederick Locker, afterwards Locker-Lampson (1821–95), was one of the few English writers who have devoted themselves wholly to what is called "verse of society". Most of it is found in *London Lyrics* (1857), and some in the remarkable and too little known

accepted as poetry by the groundlings and disdained by the better-instructed; and the pretentious exhalations of *Festus* taken as true inspiration by reputable people who firmly believed that they knew real poetry when they met it. The examples are worth remembering for our instruction. The age of Tupper and Bailey is not the only age deceived in its poetic belief.

[illegible] ear-poetry". [illegible] Smith and S[illegible] "spasmodic school". There were political poets like Ebenezer Jones and Ernest Jones. There were slightly agitated writers, William Bell Scott and Thomas Gordon Hake, who, after showing "spasmodic" signs, became, as it were, outside Pre-Raphaelites later.

Ernest Jones (1819–69), like many other political rebels, was of good birth and liberal education. He was an ardent Chartist and suffered two years' imprisonment for his inflammatory speeches. Among his several works, the poems in *Songs of Democracy* (1856–7) alone are remembered, and of these *The Song of the Lower Classes* is [illegible] Ebenezer Jones (1820–60), another [illegible] *Studies of Sensation and* [illegible] work, shows a quite unmistakable poetic faculty, undeveloped, and never to be developed in the short and troublous time allowed him. Poets of unorthodox causes are always likely to be praised for unpoetical reasons. We must beware of dispraising them for unpoetical reasons. But it must be frankly said that though the two Joneses wrote things that are both original and poetical, their failure to survive is due to intrinsic lack of staying power, and not to any extraneous circumstances

[illegible]

Smith's *Life Drama* and Dobell's *Balder* both appeared in 1854. Smith's *City Songs* (1857), alleged to contain close copies from Tennyson, and *Edwin of Deira* (1861) did not achieve success Dobell was the better poet of the two, but his best amounts to very little. *The* [illegible] *Time* [illegible] came [illegible] poem, and is generally called *Keith of Ravelston*.

Consideration of the "spasmodic school" leads us naturally to William Edmondstoune Aytoun (1813–65), the Scottish lawyer and man of letters, by whom that term was invented. The Victorian age

mathematical and not classical differentiates him at once from the Calverley-Stephen kind of humour; for there is something of the manipulation of symbols in his logical absurdity and the nonsensical preciseness of his humour. Some, indeed, of his collegiate and private skits were actually mathematical in form. *Alice in Wonderland* (1865) and *Through the Looking-Glass* (1871), originating in stories told to little girls, have become an enduring part of English "nonsense literature" appealing to all ages. It is the verse of his books that is our immediate concern, and most remarkable verse it is, whether it takes the form of the inspired jargon of *Jabberwocky*, or of the transmutation of plain sense into pure nonsense of *The Walrus and the Carpenter*. Less popular than it deserves to be, *The Hunting of the Snark* (1876) has nevertheless become part of the national mythology.

Women writers of verse were conspicuous all through the century. Mrs Browning exceeded all her predecessors in popularity; and when she died, Christina Rossetti took up the succession. The work of these two and of George Eliot and Emily Brontë is noticed elsewhere. First in the century comes Caroline Archer Clive (1801–73), author of two novels once famous, *Paul Ferrol* and *Why Paul Ferrol Killed His Wife*, who published in 1840 *IX Poems by V*—the last letter being not another numeral but an initial. She was not prolific; but almost everything is worth reading. She is curiously free from contemporary influences, and, indeed, sometimes suggests the eighteenth century. The prevailing melancholy of her work is strangely in keeping with her tragic death by fire. Sarah Flower Adams (1805–48) was ambitious, but survives almost solely in her hymn *Nearer, my God, to Thee*. Of two sister Sheridans, alike beautiful and witty, Lady Dufferin wrote some pretty songs; her sister, the Hon. Mrs Norton (as she is still almost invariably called, though she was Lady Stirling-Maxwell before she died) wrote much that has not worn well. Her life was very unhappy, and to many she is famous as the original of the heroine in *Diana of the Crossways*, though innocent of the political crime there charged against Diana. To the next generation belong Menella Bute Smedley (1820–77) and Dora Greenwell (1821–82), both rather facile writers who have not kept a public. Dinah Craik (Mulock) is simply the authoress of *John Halifax, Gentleman*; her *Poems* (1859) and even her *Children's Poems* (1881) have not survived. The mild talent of Adelaide Anne Procter (1825–64), daughter of Barry Cornwall, found its fitting expression in *A Lost Chord*, the almost perfect example of what seems to be poetry and is not. Jean Ingelow (1820–97), once important enough to be parodied, has actually achieved a collected edition within the present century. The one poem which almost everyone knows is *The High Tide on the Coast of Lincolnshire*, 1571. Her affectations and gushings called aloud for burlesque, and received it. She wrote too much and too

collection of prose and verse called *Patchwork* (1879). Locker's anthology *Lyra Elegantiarum* (1867), scrappy though it be, is always delightful. If his work must be called thin it must likewise be called

born Blayds (1831–84), was educated at Harrow, Oxford and Cambridge. A disastrous accident accounts for his comparatively early death and the comparatively small quantity of his work. His *Verses and Translations* (1862), and *Fly Leaves* (1866), together with his *Literary Remains* (1885), had a vogue which they have never lost. Indeed, his light verse, whether parody or original, remains the standard by which all such efforts are usually tried. He was a sound critic, a student of the theory of verse as well as a skilled practitioner in it, and, above all, he was a genuine poet. His translations, whether from the classics or from the medieval hymns, have real worth. Like Calverley in spirit and in the physical misfortune that produced decay and early death was James Kenneth Stephen (1859–92), of

has continued to flourish. The two volumes, *Echoes from the Oxford Magazine* (1890) and *More Echoes from the Oxford Magazine* (1896), contain an abundance of delightful poems by various hands normally occupied with graver tasks. The two outstanding names are those of Alfred Denis G… Quiller-Couch (1863), b… Godley in *Verses to Order* … Godley's note was chiefly … as his model for imitation. The tradition was well maintained by Owen Seaman (1861–1936), long editor of *Punch*, in *The Battle of the Bays*

explanation.

A very different kind of "university wit" was Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (1832–98), beloved as "Lewis Carroll" Educated at Rugby and Oxford, he took deacon's orders in 1861 and from 1855 to 1881 was mathematical lecturer at Christ Church. That his vein was

celebrated decade, and cite two contemporaries of Tennyson, Richard Monckton Milnes, Lord Houghton (1809–85) and Thomas Gordon Hake (1809–95). Milnes, famous in political and social life, is assured of immortality as the first editor of Keats; his life as an original poet is already over. Hake, partly "spasmodic" and partly "Pre-Raphaelite", sought for strangeness at the cost of broken music and seems now little more than a fallen example of vaulting ambition. Very different from both was Sir Francis Hastings Doyle (1810–88) who is certain of life as a practitioner in that difficult kind of verse, poems of military life. *The Red Thread of Honour* and *The Private of the Buffs* anticipate and challenge later things of the same kind; and his lines on the loss of the "Birkenhead" will die only when that great example of courage is forgotten.

Another small group of poets born before 1820 is formed of three men, each of whom exercised other arts or professions besides poetry—Alfred Domett (1811–87), William James Linton (1812–98) and William Bell Scott (1811–90). Domett was the "Waring" of Browning's vivid and grotesque poem, and fulfilled expectations other than poetic by becoming Prime Minister of New Zealand. His verse, printed and praised in *Blackwood*, is now forgotten. The other two, W. J. Linton and W. B. Scott, were artists as well as poets; and Linton had very much the advantage in both professions. The excellence of his engravings is universally known; his skill in verse, translated and original, less so. He was (in the Greek sense) an epigrammatist, that is, a writer of short poems on definite subjects, finished off in a manner suggesting the arts of design as well as those of poetic expression. W. B. Scott, contentious in everything, put forward various theories of poetry, affected considerable contempt of others, and in striving not to resemble his greater friends became merely difficult and pretentious.

A little later come Aubrey de Vere, Thomas Westwood and Charles Mackay, who were all born in 1814. De Vere, the son of a verse-writer of merit, was a disciple of Wordsworth. He found inspiration in legends, sacred, classical and Irish—the confusion of categories being a necessity of the situation, for his strong Irish feeling, expressed in the prose *English Misdeeds and Irish Misrule* (1848) and in the poetical *Legends of St Patrick* (1872) had definite influence on the later revival of more pagan Irish literature. Westwood (1814–88), a notable angler, was one of the members of Charles Lamb's circle; but he did not publish till much later. His most ambitious piece *The Quest of the Sancgreall* (1868) was over-shadowed by Tennyson. But he had the touch of a poet. Charles Mackay was a hard-working journalist and man-of-letters-of-all-work. He wrote rollicking songs, like *Cheer, boys, cheer*, but one of his serious pieces, the *Cholera Chant*, has higher merit. He is a typical "journalist-poet". He was the father of Marie Corelli.

long. The period
in the number,
Harriet Eleanor
but tedious, *The Disciples* (1873)—a sort of Italomaniac epic influenced in spirit by the Brownings. Another very serious poetess was Augusta Webster (1837–94), translator from the Greek, who,

Sinclair" but to her receiving the dedication of the whole book. Her best known piece, *Denzil Place*, offers the modern reader no solution of the difficulty. An overlooked poetess is Margaret Veley (1843–87), whose scanty but excellent verse will be found in a posthumous collection prefaced by Leslie Stephen and entitled *A Marriage of Shadows and other Poems.* Mathilde Blind (1841–96), daughter of the more celebrated German refugee Karl, wrote much verse in unimpeachable English, showing strong literary sympathies and correct versification. The two ladies Katherine Harris Bradley (1846–1914) and Edith Emma Cooper (1862–1913), aunt and niece, who wrote together as "Michael Field", produced specimens of tragic drama which were believed to be eminently suitable for a national theatre (when it arrived), together with some lyrics which were credited with high qualities. The modern reader finds little in any of them but amiable and sedulous literariness. There was more genuine fire in two others, who both died young, Constance Naden (1858–89) and Amy Levy (1861–89). Constance Naden showed signs of over-seriousness and over-anxiety to be literary; but Amy Levy's *London Plane Tree* has a passionate and almost triumphant intensity

almost legendary figure, and with her husband Wilfrid Meynell, himself an accomplished man of letters, befriended many stray singers, especially Francis Thompson Her essays, slight in substance, have singular tenacity of purpose. A very remarkable figure among later poetesses was Mary Elizabeth Coleridge (1861–1907) whose *Poems* (1907) appeared after death. Her work is charged with melancholy, and it has a note of high sincerity.

We must now pass to a long list of poets not easily classified Some later writers might be grouped as "poets of the Nineties", but such grouping would be little more than a pretence, for Ernest Dowson the languid failure and Rudyard Kipling the resounding success were both "poets of the Nineties". We must begin further back than that

his time have more diffused poetry about them; had it been less diffused he would have lasted better.

Francis Turner Palgrave (1824–97) lives as the compiler (under Tennyson's inspiration) of *The Golden Treasury*, the first and finest collection of its kind. Neither his own verses nor his other anthologies show any superlative quality. Exquisiteness and idiosyncrasy rather than force of general appeal were the characteristics of the work in verse of the author of *Ionica* (1858), William Johnson (1823–89), otherwise Cory. He has been rebuked for "modern paganism"; but as he tried specifically to recapture the tone and style of the Greek anthologists, he could hardly have avoided the appearance of paganism, even had he so desired. The most familiar of his poems is the short translated epigram *Heraclitus*. *Mimnermus in Church* is another favourite. Only a few of his verses really survive, and they deserve their immortality. In its classical perfection Cory's work resembles that of A. E. Housman, who probably learnt something from the older poet's practice.

The next decade, from 1830 to 1839, was very fertile in poets of the second rank. The best were Thomas Edward Brown and Richard Watson Dixon. To these may be added, as lesser lights, Sebastian Evans, Robert, Earl of Lytton (better known as a poet by his pseudonym Owen Meredith), Sir Edwin Arnold, Sir Lewis Morris, Sir Alfred Lyall, Roden Noel, Alfred Austin, Lord de Tabley, and Theodore Watts. Some of these gained great popularity as writers; some were men of affairs; all belonged to the period influenced by Tennyson and Browning.

Thomas Edward Brown (1830–97) once suffered from indiscriminate praise, and now suffers from indiscriminate contempt. Much of his life was spent as a master at Clifton, and he made of many boys his firm but not always discreet disciples. Except the short and remarkable "fo'c's'le yarn", *Betsy Lee* (1873), he published nothing till he was over fifty. There is an uplifted and mystical quality about his best lyrics suggesting an affinity with Vaughan, with Blake, and with Wordsworth; but his attempt to combine this quality with a kind of bluff familiarity in expression is not always successful. Nor could he sustain a high strain for long. In his narrative pieces he raises the dialect question rather acutely, and it may be his fate to live in an epithet as the "Manx" poet. No literate Englishman feels that the language of Chaucer or of Burns is an obstacle to appreciation; but he is inclined to feel that a local patois deliberately adopted is a wanton interference with his comfort. It is an incubated, not a spontaneous, language for literature. The point in question is not inspiration but transmission; and the three series of *Fo'c's'le Yarns*, however good, must be held to be forbiddingly transmitted. Brown is a poet full of matter and inspiration im-

The Twenties saw the birth of a fair number of poets who were to be of note, especially Coventry Patmore, William Allingham, Francis Turner Palgrave, George Macdonald and the remarkable writer known bo[illegible] the rather [illegible] (1825–92). [illegible] and miscellaneous poetry has sometimes been commended on the non-poetical ground that he was a self-educated man and that his career gave George Eliot some hints for *Felix Holt*. Modern readers will fail to find conviction in either reason. Thomas Woolner, the [illegible]

[illegible] endure in the anthologies His Irish work is noticed in a later chapter. Some of the other poets named have left more lasting work. Coventry Patmore (1823–96) was a very remarkable writer—not least in seeming to be two different poets, the author of *The Angel in the House* (1854–6) and the author of *The Unknown Eros* (1877). The [illegible]

[illegible] the effect of *The Angel*. When, however, after changes of family, faith and circumstance, Patmore produced a book of odes, entitled *The Unknown Eros*, he seemed to have become a different person. Instead of the smooth trim metre of *The Angel* we have abrupt Pindaric measures challenging, and sometimes attaining, splendour but, at the same time, risking, and sometimes achieving, harshness and dissonance. Patmore, often for reasons not poetical, has been over-praised; but he is original enough to survive Those who know *The Angel in the House* merely by ill-report should endeavour to know it at first-hand. Patmore wrote also some interesting prose [illegible]

[illegible] was an accomplished anthologist. Perhaps he tried rather dangerously to combine the supernatural and the natural, the romantic and the grotesque, the allegorical and the humanly passionate. Work of this kind requires more creative genius in invention and more intellectual genius in self-criticism than Macdonald possessed. Few writers

vastly popular work *The Light of Asia*, which brought Buddhism inoffensively to every suburban home, belongs to the tribe of *Festus*, and intends nobly, however ill it succeeds. His other works need not be named. Like Owen Meredith he was fluent and facile; but there were many (among them Lafcadio Hearn) to whom the poet Arnold meant Edwin, not Matthew.

Sir Lewis Morris (1833–1907), unjustly styled the Tupper of his day, was another fluent writer with the prosperous faculty of writing what looked like poetry till one began to examine it a little. *Songs of Two Worlds* and the more ambitious *Epic of Hades* (the title of which invited a ribald inversion) achieved the feat of seeming almost as good as Tennyson. The qualities of Lewis Morris are mainly negative—there is no offence of any kind in his matter or his manner, and he could still be read by those who desire the plains and not the peaks of poesy; but neither in long nor in short pieces will there be found any artistic urgency.

Sir Alfred Comyn Lyall (1835–1911), a great Indian administrator who lived through the Mutiny, wrote verses few but fit, in a style very much his own, collected as *Verses written in India* (1889). The best is the well-known *Theology in Extremis*, and of its spiritually "problematic" kind there is nothing better. Though his verses may be called the recreation of a man of action, they must also be called veritable poems with character, and sometimes music.

Alfred Austin (1835–1913) had the misfortune to be made Poet Laureate after Tennyson by a cynical Prime Minister. From that moment people remembered only that he had been a journalist and forgot that he had ever been a poet, nor did his later feats do anything to change their belief. His poetic past was behind him, and it could not be transmitted to the future. *Prince Lucifer* and *The Human Tragedy* both belong to the tribe of *Festus*. His prose criticism was never more than journalism.

Roden Berkeley Wriothesley Noel (1834–94) comes nearly into the category of major poets; but he suffered, as did many poets of the Victorian age, from undue literariness. Roden Noel's most remarkable single book, *A Little Child's Monument*, in memory of his son, who died at five, has true poignancy of feeling. Indeed, almost everything he wrote is rewarding.

John Byrne Leicester Warren, Lord de Tabley (1835–95) was a man of wide culture and diverse interests who wrote under various names. It was unfortunate for him that his period of earlier poetic production coincided with that of Morris, Swinburne and Rossetti, to whose stature he did not and could not attain. *Philoctetes*, in particular, his first really important work, came in the most unlucky fashion just after *Atalanta in Calydon*, and was lost in the Swinburnian blaze. He was silent in poetry for a long time, and at the end of his

perfectly fused in expression. A striving spirit is always discernible; an achieved utterance only rarely.

A more remarkable and less popular poet than Brown was Richard Watson Dixon (1833–1900), Canon of Carlisle for many years, a strenuous worker in two northern dioceses, an ecclesiastical historian of the first rank, and an early follower of the Pre-Raphaelites in their literary activity. His affinities are with Coleridge and Blake. *Mano*, the longest and most ambitious of his attempts, contains beautiful passages, but troubles the reader with the effort inseparable from the use of *terza rima* by any but the masters. *Love's Consolation*, much shorter, is a beautiful but incoherent Pre-Raphaelite dream. [illegible]
their sh[illegible]
understa[illegible]
doubt about the quality of his poetry.

[illegible]
script (1865), but he holds more certain title to fame as translator of Geoffrey of Monmouth from the Latin and of *The High History of the Holy Grail* from the French into English prose of unforced medieval flavour. It is a poet's prose.

Three damaging charges have been brought against Edward Robert Bulwer, second Baron and first Earl Lytton (1831–91), Viceroy of India, Ambassador at Paris, and author (mainly as "Owen Meredith") of a long series of books in various kinds of verse. The first charge accuses him of affectation and insincerity, and it amounts to little more than saying that his way of writing (like his father's) [illegible]
and fatal fluency; and though sheer quantity may be a virtue rather than a crime, no one can deny that Owen Meredith attained bulk at the cost of quality. He had a fancy for extensive verse-novels, such as *Lucile* and *Glenaveril*; and his satiric-epic-fantasy *King Poppy*, which he enlarged by constant revision, would be much better if it were half the length. That he had real poetic gifts cannot be denied, and he will probably be remembered best by derivative work, like *Serbski Pesme* (from the Serbian) that imposed some restraint on his fluency.

Sir Edwin Arnold (1832–1904) was so closely connected with *The Daily Telegraph*, the literary manner of which was the object of Matthew Arnold's unceasing mirth, that a temptation to regard him as a journalist-versifier is not unnatural. But in fact his exotic and

in a poem of some length. His touch, as a metrist, is delicate and personal; but there is no real substance in his lyrics. His verse, like his prose criticism, is literary in the least good sense.

The work of Andrew Lang (1844–1912) in verse was only a small part of an enormous literary activity, the varied products of which were all stamped with individuality and touched with charm. His poetry includes one long piece, *Helen of Troy*, imitations and translations chiefly of French poetry, and a considerable body of lyrics. After a serious beginning, he seemed to find himself in the lighter forms of verse, especially the old French forms—ballade, rondeau, triolet, sestina and chant royal. In these forms, which, with their repetitions and refrains, have the charming effect of a carillon, Lang was singularly successful. His volume *Lays and Lyrics of Old France* was a revelation of new possibilities in measures which Théodore de Banville had recently revived in France. Drummond of Hawthornden (an accomplished sonneteer) twice used the sestina; and Leigh Hunt's "Jenny kiss'd me" is very nearly a correct rondeau; but who first accomplished an English ballade is not easily ascertained. These French forms had been used in the Sixties by Swinburne and Rossetti for their versions of Villon, the master-poet of the ballade, and they were eagerly adopted by Lang, Austin Dobson and Henley, who really acclimatized them here. Abstract objections to artificial forms have no validity. A ballade or rondeau is no more artificial than a sonnet. All that matters is the result. One of the most moving and most popular poems arising from the War of 1914–18 is the rondeau, *In Flanders Fields*, by the Canadian John McCrae. Andrew Lang in these and in more English lyrical forms wrote excellent and attractive poetry.

William Ernest Henley (1849–1903), like Lang, was an indefatigable journalist, reviewer, essayist and editor as well as a poet. He imposed his authority as a critic upon a generation of readers and quite a number of eminent persons believed in him. But his hectoring, opinionated, emphatic assertiveness has been his ruin; and he is now readable only as a curiosity in criticism. As a poet, however, he survives. Henley was a student not merely of French literature, but of French art; and these influences helped to make him the first French impressionist in English poetry. The set of pieces called *In Hospital* is a series of little realistic pictorial impressions. Very beautiful things can be found in *Echoes*, *Hawthorn and Lavender*, and *London Voluntaries*. Henley's use of the French verse-forms was consummate. The paradox of this violent man is that his sweetness is much stronger than his lashed-up strength. We gladly forget the bragging that proclaimed him "master of his fate and captain of his soul" in the happier recollection of his more appealing strains.

Charles Montagu Doughty (1843–1926) concealed rather than

life published in 1903 a collection of his verse which contains little that cannot be called true poetry—quiet, scholarly and unresounding, but unmistakably the real thing.

Theodore Watts—afterwards Watts-Dunton (1832–1914)—was a sonneteer and the author of a once popular novel *Aylwin*, as well as a serious critic of poetry. He will continue to be remembered as the faithful friend and almost necessary custodian of Swinburne. *The Coming of Love* contains his poetry. Its bulk and its value are not very great. Theodore Watts is not to be confused with Alaric Alexander Watts (1797–1864), journalist and compiler, whose *Lyrics of the Heart* appeared in 1850.

Another chronological group may be made of those whose birth falls within the next decade—John Addington Symonds, Robert Buchanan, Frederic Myers, Gerard Hopkins, Andrew Lang, William Ernest Henley, Robert Bridges, Charles Montagu Doughty, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, Austin Dobson and Thomas Hardy.

John Addington Symonds (1840–93) comes up later for consideration as a writer of prose. That, like his verse, was over-written and too literary. A similarity of title at once provokes a comparison between Gautier's *La Chimère* and Symonds's *Le jeune homme caressant sa Chimère*. Both have beauty, but the poetic effect of the French poem is heightened by brevity, by discipline of phrase and by increasing [illegible] attempt to transmit the Latin verses of the wandering scholars in *Wine, Women and Song* (1884).

Robert Buchanan (1841–1901) had many gifts which defects of character, intellect and temper prevented him from using to full advantage. His novels and plays, none of lasting worth, do not concern us here. He became unhappily conspicuous through his pseudonymous attack on Rossetti and Swinburne called *The Fleshly School of Poetry*, for what was evil in the onslaught was made worse by the furtive manner of its delivery. His verse, though produced mainly in the earlier part of his career, was voluminous, and very unequal; but it has what many of its contemporaries lacked, a certain tough sincerity of fibre. His *Judas Iscariot* in the ballad stanza and style is genuinely impressive through its sheer restraint.

Frederic William Henry Myers (1843–1901) was, like Matthew [illegible]

have been over-estimated. Far different was Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–94), who, spending his life in the vain pursuit of health, was as full of buoyancy as Marston was lacking in it. *A Child's Garden of Verses* is the best thing of its kind—the kind being not (as too easily supposed) a book of verse for children, but a book of verse about children. Children, of course, like many of the pieces; but essentially the poems are a disclosure of a child's mind—Stevenson's own mind in fact, the inaction caused by his delicacy having given him more than the ordinary child's leisure for wondering about things. The wonderings are sometimes a little fantastic and unusual; but then the child was fantastic and unusual. Never was there a set of playful verses about children more completely free from mawkishness and sentimentalizing. There is no attempt to make them songs of innocence. The other collections, *Underwoods* and *Songs of Travel*, contain an excellent variety of poems, some very moving. *The Moral Emblems*, written to accompany rough woodcuts, are an excellent poetic "lark", with more merit than such humorous sallies are supposed to possess. The "attitude", unpleasantly obvious in some of Stevenson's over-laboured prose, is scarcely discernible in the poems.

The sonnets, called *Echoes from Theocritus*, of Edward Cracroft Lefroy (1855–91), the precocious achievement of Oliver Madox Brown (1855–74) and the neo-Ossianism of "Fiona Macleod", i.e., William Sharp (1856–1902), must receive bare mention. A few more notable persons call for consideration. John Davidson (1857–1909) had genius ill-balanced and ill-controlled. He began with dramas, *Bruce*, *Smith*, *Scaramouch in Naxos*, showing great ability, but too inorganic to establish a reputation. Attempts at novels or stories, unusual and ill-organized, miscellaneous journalism, which was wholly against the grain, and a barren rebellious pseudo-philosophy, which had its root in temper not in intellect, diverted him from his proper work. He could not reconcile himself to life, and at last committed suicide. But he was not the failure that this implies. His *Fleet Street Eclogues* (1893), *Ballads and Songs* (1894) and a second series of *Fleet Street Eclogues* (1895) were among the most admired poetical volumes of their time. A later series of poetical *Testaments* (1901–8) disconcerted admirers of his better poetry by a return to the barrenness of his philosophy. There is hardly any part of Davidson's true poetical work which does not deserve to be read. He was completely original, and he wrote nothing that lacks the gleam of real poetry.

Curiously akin to Davidson, but at the opposite extreme, is Francis Thompson (1859–1907), a more pronounced failure in life, but as pronounced a believer as Davidson was a doubter. During the latter years of his life he was "taken up", both in person and in reputation, by benevolent persons in a powerful coterie, as Davidson never was.

published the record of his Eastern adventures in the deliberately archaic prose of *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (1888). The same great qualities and defects can be found in his massive contributions to poetry—*The Dawn in Britain* (1906), *Adam Cast Forth* (1908), *The Cliffs* (1909), *The Clouds* (1912), *The Titans* (1916) and *Mansoul* (1920), which resemble the vast primitive Mayan statuary in disdain of normal scale and proportion. As usual, their very difficulty was made a merit by the kind of critics who praise poetry for unpoetical reasons. In his deliberate difficulty of speech, in his vagueness of huge and unfamiliar mythology, and in his disdain of mere intelligibility, Doug [illegible] be eas [illegible] man [illegible] large legacy of time and energy undiverted to general employment. But his remarkable mind deserves close exploration, and he should not be neglected.

[illegible] born rebel. With many [illegible] an intensely nationalist [illegible] iment, and was ready to pay the price. His intransigence is seen in his very original verse, which submits unwillingly to form and order. Most renowned of his compositions are the *Love Sonnets of Proteus* (1880) and *The Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia* (1903); but individual lyrics expressing his characteristic love of Sussex and horses are likely to remain most popular. His prose *Diaries* are as individual as his verse. Blunt is a very considerable poet and his work, now collected, must not be ignored among the many and various strains of Victorian poetry.

Henry Austin Dobson (1840–1921), unlike Blunt and Doughty, [illegible] his liking for the old [illegible] but he had his own [illegible] courtly artificiality [illegible]

Gerard Manley Hopkins (1844–89) was much let and hindered in writing, and his fragmentary poems have only recently become known. He belongs in spirit to a later period and is noted here merely for chronological reasons. He will be mentioned again. Thomas Hardy and Robert Bridges must also be reserved for separate discussion.

Space allows but a summary account of certain later poets. Two, born in the dividing year of the century, at once attract notice. The first, Philip Bourke Marston (1850–87), led a life saddened by many afflictions, blindness being the last. For this reason his not very powerful verses, contained in *Song-Tide*, *All in All* and *Wind [illegible]*,

learned by Chatterton and Blake, but not by poets generally till we reach *The Ancient Mariner* of 1798. Johnson's parody "I put my hat upon my head" leaves the old ballads unscathed; but it catches exactly the pusillanimous sing-song of eighteenth-century ballad imitation. Chatterton saw the light and followed it; Blake saw it and followed it more boldly; and Burns, who inherited his freedom from Scottish song, set the new tune of verse running in the heads of all his readers.

It is difficult for people unread in prosodic history to understand the refusal of the eighteenth-century ear to accept the principle of substitution. We recognize at once the beauty of the variation in—

> The king sits in Dunfermline town,
> Drinking the blood red wine;

but there was a time when that sounded irregular, and therefore faulty—when the ear expected the mechanical regularity of this:

> The king sat in Dunfermline town,
> And drank the blood red wine;

and was irritated when it received something different, even though the difference here is not in the number of syllables, as it is in a variation like the third and fourth lines of the same stanza:

> O where will I get a skeely skipper
> To sail this new ship of mine.

The correct eighteenth-century versifier complained that such lines were "licentious" and "rustic", that they lacked "smoothness" and "numbers", and that they had the "rudeness of a Scottish song". To us the substitution of a three-syllabled foot for a two-syllabled foot and the replacing of an "iamb" with its "rise" by a "trochee" with its "fall" are neither faults nor anomalies, but the touches that transmute metre into rhythm. In listening to Chatterton and Blake and Coleridge we must not take these things for granted; we must make an imaginative retreat in audition, and hear the liberties of the new poetry as they first fell upon ears attuned to the regularity and smoothness practised by the poets who came after Pope, and prescribed by the theorists who formulated the principles they expected the poets to practise. But the end of the century saw many signs of revolt against mechanical regularity. The older poets, especially Spenser and Milton, steadily regained popularity and new writers ventured upon experiments which sometimes sheltered themselves behind classical authority. Southey's "sapphics" annoyed the Anti-Jacobins as much by their form as by their matter. Southey is not usually considered an innovator in prosody; yet the free rhymeless

Between [illegible] poetry-lo[illegible] sang hym[illegible] was also [illegible] that of Crashaw, and, in more recent styles, of Coventry Patmore—the Patmore of the *Odes*. His most famous poem, *The Hound of Heaven*, is an irregular "Pindaric" of a thoroughly seventeenth-century kind. But the Fletchers sometimes come in to blend with Crashaw, and the result is too often an aureate literariness. Thompson's music was not solely an ecstatic voice in the celestial consort. The cricket of his native Lancashire found in him its inspired bard. Francis Thompson will always have fullest admiration among [illegible]

laureateship and to have received a knighthood for his literary eminence. His published work begins as early as 1880; but the first volumes to attract notice were *Epigrams of Art, Life and Nature* (1884), *Wordsworth's Grave* (1890) and *Lachrymae Musarum* (1892), which contained work of large utterance and even larger promise. In subsequent volumes the utterance remained large, but the promise was unfulfilled. Watson took up national themes He punished England in sonnets for neglecting to save the Armenians from the Turks. He was excited about the Irish question. He wrote on the War. His singing took a note that is fatal to song—it became important, and even importunate. He was no longer listened to, and at his death was almost forgotten. But, at his best, he is a poet of fine vision with a command of sonorous language Some worthy examples of his art can be found in the anthologies. He does not rise or extend beyond them. Of A. E. Housman, almost his contemporary, mention will be made later.

A kind of likeness can be made out between Ernest Dowson (1867–1900) and Richard Middleton (1882–1911) though they were not in any sense contemporaries. Both died at about thirty, and both were, in the worldly sense, failures. The unhappiness of both has led to extravagant praise, though the actual work they did was scanty [illegible]

my fashion, is couched in unusual metre and has singular music Most of his pieces ask to be read again, and they leave a distinctive memory. Middleton is not distinctive. He had facility, a sense of form, and of course a youthful desire to shock, what he had not was any creative originality. Once the latest voice of youth, he is now recalled only by the elderly.

century, he carried some of its merits into the nineteenth. He fails in none of the metres he attempted—certainly not in blank verse or the heroic couplet. His Spenserians are naturally (and allowably) Byronic; as a personal use of this form it would be difficult to surpass the best stanzas of *Childe Harold*. *The Assyrian came down* challenges the anapaests of *Lochinvar*, and his continuous octosyllabics, whether pure or mixed, have, at their best, a greater intensity than Scott's. But Byron's greatest metrical triumph is, assuredly, to be found in the octaves of *Beppo* and *Don Juan*. For light narrative and satiric running commentary, as well as for description of the kind required, Byron's *ottava rima* cannot be excelled and certainly has not been equalled.

The prosodic variety of Shelley is immense; there is, perhaps, hardly a poet who has written so consummately in so large a number of measures. But the curious fact is that he begins, even in his larger works, with imitation before he finds himself. *Queen Mab* follows *Thalaba*; the blank verse of *Alastor* is Wordsworthian; *The Revolt of Islam* begins with a touch of *Childe Harold*, and even *Adonais* does not entirely escape a suggestion of Byron. It is in the more lyrical forms that he offers the perfect results of emancipated prosody. If we meet with what seem to be occasional failures we have to remember that many of his poems were prepared for publication by another hand.

Keats, unlike Shelley, was not a poet who caught at a mere suggestion from another, but a diligent worker from models. In the couplets of *Endymion* he may have followed Hunt, but it is probable that he had also read Chamberlayne's *Pharonnida*. Knowing that he had been excessive, he set to work upon a corrective study of Milton and Dryden, with *Hyperion* and *Lamia* as the result. The octaves of *Isabella* show less definite following; but *The Eve of St Agnes* has evidently profited from a study of Spenser, and the singularly beautiful *Eve of St Mark* has clearly gone back to the quiet coolness of Gower. In a study of this kind there is nothing inimical to creative originality. *La Belle Dame sans Merci* is, like *Proud Maisie*, a triumphant variation of the ballad measure, and the management of the larger odes is simply consummate.

The minor poets have immense prosodic interest, but we must be content with a reference to a strongly contrasted pair, Macaulay and Hood, both of whom show finished mastery. The success of *The Bridge of Sighs* seems won almost against the very nature of the metre that gives it such intensity of pathos.

The prosodic practice of the new school of poets did not fail to arouse the wrath of the critical. The *Quarterly* reviewer disclosed his abject critical incapacity in the single sentence which condemns *Endymion* because "there is hardly a complete couplet enclosing a complete idea throughout the book". The names of writers on

stanzas of *Thalaba* (to name nothing else) can be taken as a bold declaration of metrical independence.

The major poets of the nineteenth century went ahead without any theories of prosody. One of the landmarks of English metrical study, Guest's *A History of English Rhythms* (1838), appeared at the very time of the new era in poetry marked by Tennyson's *Poems* of [illegible] great poets said what they had to say without pausing for explanation or defence; and their metrical achievements were magnificent. Speculations upon prosody abound; but they are the work of scholars or of poets below the first rank.

Wordsworth, who argued much about diction and little about [illegible] supreme contribution to poetic form is the rediscovery of the sonnet, scarcely used since the time of Milton. The eighteenth century was curiously shy of the sonnet, which seemed to offer many invitations to "correctness"; but its dangers were evident and the narrower plot of the couplet was felt to be safer. Pope would attempt an ode, but not a sonnet.

Coleridge was certain to be interested in prosody, and whether the famous introductory note to *Christabel* be a satisfactory account of the *Christabel* metre or not, the statement itself remains one of the most important in the history of the subject. But it is odd that he should have said so little more. His actual experiments show that his natural ear, assisted by his study of Shakespeare, had made him thoroughly conscious of that principle of substitution which strikes the difference between the old prosody and the new, and which *The Ancient Mariner* and *Christabel* were to make familiar to the next three generations.

From Scott one would not expect prosodic study, yet he, too, makes illuminating remarks, e.g. in the Introduction to *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*; and as to practice he stands almost in the first rank. He was greatly interested in the unpublished specimens of *Christabel* he had seen. The ballads, which he knew by ear rather [illegible] could be done with anapaests

Byron, usually undervalued as a poet, is also undervalued as a prosodist. The expressed admirer and champion of the eighteenth

usually ignored. When Milton composed poems in Latin, he wanted them to resemble Latin poems. When English scholars turn English poems into Greek iambics or Latin elegiacs they want them to read like Greek or Latin originals. But when an English poet writes English hexameters, does he want them to seem like Greek or Latin or English? Are they meant to be metrically intelligible to every reader or only to those who can call in aid a knowledge of classical prosody? The question is really decisive; for if the hexameters succeed in being English poetry, then obviously the hexameters are successful, whether strictly classical or not; but if they succeed only in being imitation Greek or Latin they have not succeeded as poetry, and the metre is therefore unimportant. Whether the English language lends itself readily to the hexameter can be proved only by a poet in his practice, and not by any prosodist in his theory. There is at present no great English poem in that metre. *Andromeda* would be no better in any other form. A brief technical explanation may serve to make clear some of the difficulties. Greek prosody depended upon "quantity", "length", or "duration" of syllables. A "long" (-) was equal to two shorts (◡◡). Thus a dactyl (-◡◡) was the equivalent of a spondee (--) and one could take the place of the other. Latin prosody was taken over from the Greek, and, for a short period, the classical Latin poets used quantitative measures. Medieval Latin, like modern Greek, ignored quantity. A syllable was "long by nature" if it contained a long vowel, as in "lēgēs"; a syllable was "long by position" if a vowel was followed by two consonants, as in "ars". There were other rules, but they need not trouble us here. English words clearly have quantity. Thus in "lever" the first syllable is long and the second short. In "ever" both syllables are short. In "banker" the first syllable is long and the second short. In "bankrupt" both syllables are long—"bankrupt" is a "spondee" (--). But the English ear is not trained to notice and employ quantity in English, as it is trained to notice and employ quantity in Greek or Latin. A Latin hexameter line contained six feet, the "type" being five dactyls *plus* a final spondee, thus:

| - ◡ ◡ | - ◡ ◡ | - ◡ ◡ | - ◡ ◡ | - ◡ ◡ | - - |

Here is a famous line of this pattern:

Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum.

Spondees, being the equivalent of dactyls, could be substituted for them, but usually a dactyl was retained in the fifth foot. The last syllable was "common". Now if the word-stress coincides with the metrical shape in the last two feet (as in the line given above) we get what has been called the "strawberry jam-pots" ending. In Latin, with the quantities clearly recognizable, this can be avoided; in

prosody in the early years of the century must be sought in the larger *History*. They are all unimportant. Guest alone deserves attention [illegible]

accentual and syllabic, and he will not admit the existence of "feet", but prefers "sections" of syllables. This is little more than a question of nomenclature. His first most disputable contention is that the laws of Old English verse apply to modern verse. The second is that, [illegible]

Chaucer at least) is an unclean [illegible] were partly necessitated, partly a [illegible] ries of minor judgments which [illegible] fact, was "indefatigable in collecting and arranging examples, not trustworthy in judging them"; and his book has probably done as much harm as good.

Prosodic practice flowed smoothly and prosperously during the nineteenth century; but prosodic theory remained contentious. The poets, apparently, failed in reading each other's poems. Even Coleridge "could hardly scan" some of Tennyson's verses; he thought the younger poet "did not very well know what metre is", and wished him "to write for two or three years in none but well known and correctly defined" measures Yet there is nothing in the Tennyson of 1833 rebellious to the principles embodied in *The Ancient Mariner* and *Christabel*. Even after the volumes of 1842 an acute critic could be found denouncing the Hollyhock song ("A spirit haunts the year's last hours") as outlandish, ear-torturing, and altogether metrically indefensible and unintelligible

The nineteenth century concerned itself considerably with the English hexameter. As we have seen, Stanyhurst attempted hexameters in a translation of Virgil I–IV as long ago as 1582, and unimportant poets had made essays in that metre during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The translations from the German by William Taylor of Norwich carried the experiment into the nine-[illegible]

History. One important question, however, should be raised, as it

special pleading for some personal view of writing. Of great value on the associated side of sound-values are the works of Henry Sweet in phonetics and the monumental treatise of Alexander J. Ellis on English pronunciation. Another work of special interest is the *Shakespearean Grammar* of E. A. Abbott, which discusses Shakespeare's versification somewhat rigidly. Useful surveys can be found in J. B. Mayor's *Chapters on English Metre* and *A Handbook of Modern English Metre.* Among later prosodists is T. S. Omond, whose *Study of Metre* (1903), *Metrical Rhythm* (1905) and *English Metrists in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (1907) are among the books which should be read by all students of verse-structure. Exceedingly useful on the historical side are two foreign handbooks, *A Short History of English Versification* by Max Kaluza (1911) and *A History of English Versification* by Jakob Schipper (1910). The standard and necessary treatise, delightful to read and delightful even to differ from, is *A History of English Prosody* (1906–10) by George Saintsbury, with its wealth of illustration and *obiter dicta.*

The subsequent story tells of the continued application of the new prosodical practice by poets up to our day. The supremacy of Tennyson and Browning during the nineteenth century is attested as much by their immense prosodic variety as by their poetic achievement. William Morris is as remarkable for the variety of his poetic forms as for the extent of his production. "Run-on" couplets, heroic or octosyllabic, in the style of the old romances, were used for his poetic stories. In *Love is Enough*, he tried a bolder but less successful archaism by reviving alliterative and rhymeless movements; but later, in *Sigurd the Volsung*, he refashioned the old rhymed fourteener into a really splendid metre for narrative purposes. In metrical virtuosity (as distinguished from rhythmic mastery), it may be doubted whether Swinburne has ever had a superior. Swinburne's *Dolores* stanza, Tennyson's *In Memoriam* stanza and FitzGerald's *Omar* stanza, to whatever extent anticipated, have been definitely added to English metres by those poets.

In general it may be said by way of summary that after the uncertain movements of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries came the magnificent accomplishment of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Then the Shakespeares and the Miltons did as they would, but always did right; others did as they would and frequently did wrong. So English verse had to undergo the bondage of restraint and endure it for a century and a half. Then it got free, and arose, and walked, and flew. The poets have continued to claim and to exercise freedom, and justify themselves when they succeed.

English, with the quantities scarcely recognizable and the stresses insistent, this can hardly be avoided. The writer of English hexameters is therefore in a difficulty. If he gives us line upon line of "strawberry jam-pots" he risks monotony; if he tries to avoid the "strawberry jam-pots" by variation of stress or of foot he risks metrical unintelligibility. An English reader can make a fair shot at a line like this, even though at first it seems a little odd:

Fell by slumber opprest unheedfully into the wide sea;

but a line like this he will probably fail to read correctly:

In so far as unimpeded by an alien evil.

The radical trouble with English hexameters, quantitative or accentual, is that they tend to break up and rearrange themselves into a different kind of metre. Almost any line of Kingsley's *Andromeda* can be read in this way:

× Skil | ful with nee | dle and loom | and the arts | of the dy | er and weav | er

Can such a line be regarded as a hexameter? Is it very different from a line like this?

Glory to Man in the highest, for Man is the master of things.

But Swinburne never supposed that the substitution of "all things" for "things" would turn his line into a hexameter. The most im-

oddities of spelling that he used later in *The Testament of Beauty*, refuse to sound really English Bridges was an ardent prosodist, and his tract, *Milton's Prosody* (1893), enlarged later, is one of the little books that must be read by every student of poetry. Much discussion of the hexameter in English is rendered uncritical by the curious classical "snobbery" affected by some scholars during the nineteenth century and later—a mistaken loyalty that compelled them to proclaim the inferiority of English to the classical languages It is a humorous commentary on the claims of the hexameter to be taken seriously that the only really enjoyable English poem in that kind is Clough's *Bothie*. In other words, the metre, whether regarded

matter. And there we must leave it.

In the considerable prosodical literature of the latter half of the century there is very little of permanent interest. Much of it is

Coleridge, Godwin, Lord Byron, Mary Russell Mitford, Disraeli and others, composed tragedies, some of which were produced upon the stage, while others remained polite exercises in a literary form.

The three most famous writers of stage tragedy in the first part of the century were Richard Lalor Sheil (1791–1851), like Sheridan a politician; Charles Robert Maturin (1782–1824), an Irish clergyman; and Henry Hart Milman (1791–1868), Dean of St Paul's (1849). Sheil's chief plays are *Adelaide* (1814), *The Apostate* (1817) and *Bellamira* (1818), the last perhaps the best. He also made adaptations of earlier pieces. One line from *The Apostate*,

This is too much for any mortal creature,

tells most of the truth about Sheil as a writer of plays. He has no importance either in literature or in drama. The influence of the German tragic romance of horror (typified by Schiller's *The Robbers*) went to the making of Maturin (see p. 612), whose three tragedies—*Bertram; or, The Castle of St Aldobrond*, *Manuel* and *Fredolfo*—were produced in London in the years 1816 and 1817. There was a strain of poetry in Maturin, but he has now only the interest of curiosity. Milman is of a higher order than either Sheil or Maturin. *Fazio*, acted in 1818, is good drama if not good tragedy, and had a long stage life. *The Fall of Jerusalem* (1820) and *The Martyr of Antioch* (1822) are both founded upon a legitimately conceived struggle between two passions or ideas. *Belshazzar* (1822) contains some good lyrics. Milman was a writer of genuine and varied power; but he hardly survives as a tragic poet. James Sheridan Knowles (1784–1862), a prolific writer who arouses little interest to-day, takes an honourable place in the history of nineteenth-century drama as the author of sincere if rather ingenuous plays owing nothing to German extravagance or to feats of wild and whirling verbiage. His chief tragedies and comedies—*Caius Gracchus* (1815), *Virginius* (1820), *William Tell* (1825), *The Hunchback* (1832) and *The Love Chase* (1837)—had genuine success on the stage and are not intolerable to read. The tragedies of Richard "Hengist" Horne (see p. 646), *Cosmo de' Medici* (1837), *Gregory VII* (1840) and *Judas Iscariot* (1848) were literary rather than dramatic. His one genuine success was a short piece, *The Death of Marlowe* (1837). Once famous were the now forgotten *Ion* (1835) and *Glencoe* (1840) of Sir Thomas Noon Talfourd, the biographer of Lamb. They were acted with some success; but they remain obstinately unvital.

The tragedies we have mentioned were all attempts to write in the manner of past centuries. John Westland Marston (1819–90) was the first writer of his time to attempt a poetical tragedy of contemporary life, *The Patrician's Daughter* (1842). Marston was a mystic, a poet and a scholar; and he showed courage in writing what was so near to

VIII. NINETEENTH-CENTURY DRAMA

Of nineteenth-century drama it may be said that though it is [illegible] gleams of intelligence; if adapted from work originally intelligent, it removed or overlaid the intelligence as a hindrance to success. The larger figures in literature whose work includes acted plays are considered in their own place. We are concerned here with those whose theatrical compositions are their chief claim to notice.

The theatre of Congreve and Sheridan appealed to an educated public; but there was always an uneducated public that wanted amusement of the cruder kind; and that kind of public rapidly increased during the nineteenth century. We have in our own time seen the enormous growth of an uneducated public which has set the standards for the picture-theatres. The unintelligent public of the [illegible] Garden, and the theatre in the Haymarket. These were insufficient for the public. The patent houses, especially Drury Lane, were enlarged till any play not of the roaring kind was engulfed; and other theatres furtively struggled into existence by the simple expedient of pretending not to be theatres, but "places of entertainment". Not till 1843 did the Theatre Regulation Act legalize the position of [illegible] phemy or sedition. This power, conferred by the Licensing Act of 1737 as a political retort to Fielding (see p. 505), still insults the [illegible] used to suppress [illegible] it entertainments [illegible] ved. The plays of the nineteenth century are therefore, in general, unimportant either [illegible] was a homely, crude melodrama, very moral, very sententious, and entirely unreal. Nevertheless, tragedy was a favourite exercise with men of letters. Wordsworth had already tried his hand·

which has been acted within living memory. The dramas of John Baldwin Buckstone (1802–79), most of them written for the Adelphi Theatre, are the origin of the familiar term, "Adelphi melodrama". They are extravagantly turgid and sentimental; but they are well constructed. Both *The Green Bushes* (1845) and *The Flower of the Forest* (1849) kept the stage till the end of the century.

The writer who gave melodrama the definite form that was to distinguish it completely from the drama of serious interest was Dionysius Lardner Bourcicault (1820–90) who shortened his name to Dion Boucicault. By all the rules he should have failed. Neither his plots nor his incidents are original. His characters are fixed theatrical types. But he had a sure instinct for what actors could deliver and audiences accept with conviction; moreover he could add to his fables what the unsophisticated took for romance. And so his three Irish dramas, *The Colleen Bawn* (which had a second life as Benedict's opera *The Lily of Killarney*), *Arrah-na-Pogue* and *The Shaughraun*, though belonging to the late Fifties and Sixties, have lived on to be seen by living playgoers, and are always liable to revival. Boucicault's one famous comedy will be noticed later. The Boucicault type of melodrama was carried on in the Adelphi plays of George R. Sims and Henry Pettitt and in the Drury Lane plays of the Augustus Harris regime, though these harked back to the "real horses" and "real water" of Moncrieff.

The next playwright to show distinctive merit was Tom Taylor (1817–80), who wrote melodrama suitable for polite society, as well as "costume" dramas. Very little of his work is original; but in *Plot and Passion* (1853), *Still Waters Run Deep* (1855), and *The Ticket-of-Leave Man* (1863) he proved himself a capable playwright. His one famous comedy is *Our American Cousin* (1858), with the popular character, Lord Dundreary. His romantic "costume" plays, all founded upon other men's work, had great success. The best of them was *Twixt Axe and Crown* (1870). In the field of historical drama, Taylor's eminence was shared by William Gorman Wills (1828–91). For Wills, historical truth had no existence. His Oliver Cromwell in *Charles I* (1872) and his John Knox in *Marie Stuart* (1874) are almost farcical in the intensity of their villainy. *Claudian* was written in collaboration with Henry Herman, another melodramatist. Wills is further remembered for his adaptations *Olivia* and *Faust*—the last a mere pantomime caricature of Goethe—in which he owed his theatrical success to the genius of Irving, which sometimes shone brightest in the worst plays.

The comedy of the period, for the most part, is as unconvincing as the serious drama. Almost the only attempt to carry on the tradition of English high comedy was a feeble work of Boucicault's youth, *London Assurance* (1841); in fact on the modern stage this play is

onsideration. His later plays, *A Life's Ransom* (1857), *A Hard Struggle* (1858) and *Life for Life* (1869)—there were many more—had ome merits.

The pressure of public demand for entertainment caused brisk ramatic activity during much of the century. Comedy, farce, xtravaganza, burlesque, opera and melodrama were vamped up rom any handy materials by practised hands. Scott, Dumas and Dickens were eagerly drawn upon, for no copyright then protected the

Lord Chamberlain and the lessees of the patent theatres. The special ramatic form evolved to fit the mid-nineteenth-century audience was melodrama, a term borrowed from the French Whatever part music had played in melodrama soon vanished, and the name tood, and still stands, for plays of a peculiarly stagey kind. Melo-drama divided human nature into the entirely good and the entirely bad. It was in its way a "criticism of life" as understood in the age of the French Revolution, Parliamentary Reform, Chartism, and the Corn Laws. It allied itself boldly with the democratic against the aristocratic. To be rich and well-born was, almost inevitably, to be wicked; to be poor and humble was a guarantee of virtue. To be a baronet was to be doomed to a life of crime. Hero, heroine and villain, comic and virtuous retainers, heavy father (with Scriptural curses), fading and ultimately dying mother, dishonest solicitor juggling with title-deeds and marriage-lines—these and similar figures were expected from any melodrama that desired success The morals were unexceptionable. Virtue was sumptuously rewarded and vice punished with poverty or prison.

Isaac Pocock (1782–1835), the author of *The Miller and his Men*, took the subject of his innumerable melodramas from French or

drama, *The Dandy Family*, and won fame by supplying Drury Lane with a romantic melodrama called *The Cataract of the Ganges; or, The Rajah's Daughter*, in which real horses and a real waterfall

William Jerrold (1803–57)

The most famous of his

owns, quite a good piece

sketches of character. The influence of Robertson did not produce further Robertsons, but it prepared the public for better plays than his own. Both Henry James Byron (1834–84) and James Albery (1838–89), author of *Two Roses*, in which Irving made his first great success, and adapter of *The Pink Dominoes*, in which Wyndham played with brilliance, followed Robertson. Albery had a natural gift for comedy which he failed to use fully: circumstances were too much for him. Byron was clever, but had not the genuine feeling of Robertson. His comedies, *Our Boys* (1875) and *Uncle Dick's Darling* (1869), were resoundingly popular and often revived. With the naturalistic plays came an attempt at naturalistic scenery instead of the cataclysmic scenes of melodrama.

The Bancrofts made comedy fashionable, and the Robertson period was followed by what may be called a French period, when the better-class theatres based their productions on French plays, especially those of Sardou and Dumas *fils*. Sardou was an ingenious fabricator of "well-made" plays; Dumas was more serious, and attempted some "criticism of life" of a narrowly limited kind. Sardou's *Diplomacy* (1878) can still bear revival. The fashionable comedies began to be increasingly artificial and concerned with the unimportant conventions and the sham emotions of "Society".

A unique place in the history of the English stage is held by William Schwenck Gilbert (1836–1911). His earlier pieces were burlesques of no importance. To his second period belong *The Palace of Truth* (1870), *The Wicked World* (1873), *Pygmalion and Galatea* (1871), and *Broken Hearts* (1875). These plays are all founded upon a single idea, that of unaware self-revelation by characters under the influence of some supernatural interference. The satire is shrewd, but not profound; the young author had not learned to make the best use of his curiously logical fancy. His prose plays, such as *Sweethearts* (1874), *Dan'l Druce* (1876), *Engaged* (1877) and *Comedy and Tragedy* (1884), are incurably old-fashioned and lead nowhere. No one could predict from them *The Bab Ballads* (1869), a collection in the right line of English humorous verse, still less the famous series of comic operas beginning with *Trial by Jury* in 1875 and ending with *The Grand Duke* in 1896. Nearly all of them were set by Sir Arthur Sullivan and his light operatic compositions form the most considerable addition made by England to modern music. Gilbert was a metrical humorist of a very skilful order, and he raised the quality of burlesque or extravaganza to a height never reached before. In some respects he was "common": he has moments that can only be called vulgar. The peculiarity of Gilbert's humour is a logical and wholly unpoetical use of fantasy. He carries out absurd ideas, with exact logic, from premise to conclusion. To the mind of an old-fashioned high-school headmistress he joined the fantastic

usually classed among "old comedies". Sheridan Knowles, in *The* [illegible]

[illegible]

produced to be played, in the lavish fashion of the time, either as "curtain-raisers" or as "after-pieces". Adelphi "screamers" became, under J. B. Buckstone, as famous as Adelphi melodramas. One of the earliest and best of the farce-writers was John Poole (1786–1872), most famous as author of *Paul Pry* (1825), in which several actors (including J. L. Toole) found a suitable field for their comic talent. Indeed, without a natural comedian most of the farces are naught, and cannot be read with patience. The one outstanding exception is *Box and Cox*, adapted from the French by John Maddison Morton (1811–91), though it reads like an original work. Whether in Morton's farce *Box and Cox*, or in the Burnand-Sullivan opera *Cox and Box*, the pair of lodgers must be reckoned as part of the national mythology. James Robinson Planché (1796–1880), the [illegible]

topical fun. [illegible]

Pinero, once a "utility" actor, had first-hand knowledge of what he sets forth. The sketches of the old-time "mummers" are perfect; but the main theme of the play is the coming of Thomas William Robertson (1829–71), called "Tom Wrench" in *Trelawny*. To the middle of the nineteenth century, the drama remained wholly stagey and spoke a language altogether its own. Robertson was really a "new" dramatist. Incurably old-fashioned as much of his work now seems, its naturalness of theme and simplicity of diction were revolutionary and were much resented by the orotund spouters of "platform" drama, who could find "nothing to get their teeth into". A new kind of actor had to be found for what was called the "cup and saucer" comedy of Robertson, and he was fortunate in [illegible]

play of the Crimean War) in 1866, *Caste* in 1867, *School* in 1869, and others of less interest. *Caste*, the best of the series, though it evades rather than solves the problems of caste implicit in the story, has genuine dramatic interest and feeling, and introduces some excellent

dramatic possibilities in the actual lives of commonplace people in commonplace circumstances. Several attempts had been made to introduce Ibsen to the English public, but his plays did not become generally known till William Archer (with some assistance) translated the bulk of his work. In 1891 The Independent Theatre, founded by J. T. Grein, began its activity, and produced the work of Ibsen and other serious Continental dramatists on the English stage. It is difficult for a reader of to-day to understand the violence of execration with which Ibsen was greeted by the accredited critics of drama and the general playgoing public. "Muck-ferreting dog" was among the gentler terms applied to him. The prosecution of all concerned in the production of his plays was loudly demanded. But, detested as he was, Ibsen made it impossible for English playwrights to go on with their theatrical deceptions. Jones developed his unexploited vein of serious comedy and produced more reputable work in *The Liars* (1894) and *The Case of Rebellious Susan* (1897). Pinero made a bold attempt at stating social problems in *The Second Mrs Tanqueray* (1893), *The Benefit of the Doubt* (1895), *Iris* (1901), *Letty* (1903) and *His House in Order* (1906). But they appeared to express a conviction that the only problem for the theatre was that concerning women who had made, or were contemplating, breaches of the Seventh Commandment. Moreover, the plain fact is that, while Ibsen is a great writer, Jones and Pinero had no existence as men of letters. Pinero wisely confined himself to stage-work. Jones incautiously rushed into published criticism and demonstrated both his intellectual poverty and his inherent commonness—the usual origin of a grandiose, pulpiteering manner. The numerous plays of these two writers cannot even be named here. Jones has no longer any place on the stage or in the study. The one play of Pinero with genuine life is *Trelawny of the Wells* (1898), which, despite a muddled ending and some failure of character, is sincerely written and has actual relation to life. As we have already indicated, its theme is the passing of the old melodrama of the Sixties and the coming of a new dramatist, with the reactions of the change upon the lives of a group of players. Few other names of the period deserve mention. Charles Haddon Chambers, who had begun with polite melodrama in *Captain Swift*, wrote one comedy almost of the first rank in *The Tyranny of Tears* (1899). Other writers, hovering on the border of the twentieth century, are best considered as belonging to it.

A brilliant interlude in the Jones-Pinero period was the sudden emergence as playwright of Oscar Wilde (1856–1900), who, in *Lady Windermere's Fan* (1892), *A Woman of No Importance* (1893) and *An Ideal Husband* (1894) showed that he could write with insolent ease and polished utterance better bad plays than the regular pur-

logic of a fairy world. That he has given us the self-explanatory epithet "Gilbertian" is a tribute to his originality. So neatly does Gilbert comment satirically, with the added point of Sullivan's music, on the pretensions and follies of his world, that the last quarter-century of the Victorian era may come to be known as the Gilbert-and-Sullivan period. Two familiar classes of persons will always dislike the Gilbert and Sullivan operas; the clever, who are professionally bound to disdain what is popular, and the dunces, who can never believe that anything is good unless it is heavy. The students of music and of drama can, however, draw valuable lessons from the enduring success of these light, popular works.

The last two decades of the nineteenth century saw a gradual rise in the general level of acted plays. Robertson and adaptations of contemporary French drama had brought "Society" back to the theatre; but the player rather than the play was sometimes the attraction. Irving, Wyndham and the Bancrofts were fashionable actors and drew audiences for pieces of almost any quality. Still, plays were written, and two new authors began to attract attention, Henry Arthur Jones (1851–1929) and Arthur Wing Pinero (1859–1934). From the beginning there was evident in Jones a strain of the grandiose and the hortatory. His first London play, *A Clerical Error*, was acted in 1879; but his real success came with *The Silver King* (1882), which raised melodrama almost to the level of art. It remains his best play. *Saints and Sinners* (1884), *The Middleman* (1889), *Judah* (1890), and *The Dancing Girl* (1891), were all strong, heavy, and utterly stagey. Jones even attempted a blank-verse tragedy, *The*

theme, but destroyed the whole effect of his story by surrendering to the popular demand for a happy ending Indeed, the stage-work of Jones, Pinero and such less notable people as Sydney

in the expected theatrical manner. The literary counterpart of the popular play was not the novel, but the novelette. No contemporary English writer of the first rank paid any attention to the theatre. What shook the English stage into some recognition of its artistic ineptitude was the tremendous impact of Ibsen with his relentless, unsentimental criticism of life and his revealing exhibition of the

5 vols. (1894–8), and Shaw's in *Dramatic Opinions and Essays*, 1894–8, 2 vols. (1907). Both are readable for their own sake and invaluable as sources for the dramatic history of the decade. Walkley's *Playhouse Impressions* (1892) and *Drama and Life* (1937) are excellent.

IX. THACKERAY

It is a little saddening to examine the row of Thackeray's works and to find that of this long and once famous line only three, *Vanity Fair* and *Esmond*, with *Pendennis* lagging far behind, remain in the general repertory of "the great variety of readers". By a select body of Thackerayans everything he wrote can be read. By a larger body of serious readers, the *Roundabouts*, the *Sketches*, the *Lectures*, *The Rose and the Ring*, the *Burlesques*, the *Ballads* and the rest of the novels will not be overlooked. Nevertheless, to the greater number Thackeray is the author of two or perhaps three novels. We have already noted the fact that some of the great Victorians seem to run in pairs. Probably people are born Dickensians or Thackerayans, as they are born Platonists or Aristotelians, or as they used to be born Liberals or Conservatives. That readers may have general preferences and that critics may use one writer to illustrate the other are matters not to be questioned. What is wrong is that devotees of one writer should encamp aggressively against devotees of the other, and exhibit their devotion by the intensity of their hate. The attempt, now less often made, to label Thackeray "select" and Dickens "vulgar" is worse than bad taste, it is bad sense.

The versatility of Thackeray's invention as novelist, essayist, humorist, rhymester and draughtsman makes him less easy to judge than more homogeneous writers. His feebler work obstructs his best. At once satirist and sentimentalist, he combined two points of view and, in both capacities, he worked with a refinement that does not make for general popularity. William Makepeace Thackeray (1811–63) was born near Calcutta, the son of a "collector"—the important office held by the great Jos Sedley. Thackeray was another of our writers with a homeless childhood, for his father died in 1815, and his mother soon remarried. The small boy of six was sent to England, and when the ship called at St Helena he saw Napoleon walking in the garden of Longwood. He attended various schools, the last being Charterhouse ("Greyfriars"), then in London, and entered Trinity, Cambridge, which he soon left without achieving anything but the friendship of Tennyson, FitzGerald and other seriously inclined young men. From Cambridge he passed to Weimar, began to read law in the Middle Temple, and then made a home in Paris, where he gained acquaintance (and lost money) with a shady, shabby-genteel set of wasters, who furnished him with

veyors of dramatic fare could produce with their most laboured efforts. They could still be revived as period pieces and they can still be read for their sallies of wit. Wilde reached the height of his achievement in *The Importance of Being Earnest* (1595), the perfection of artificial comedy, produced in the year of his tragic downfall. [illegible] reaches forward to the next century and must be reserved for later discussion.

Still another pleasing interlude was provided by the brief but definite success of Stephen Phillips (1868–1915) as a writer of poetical plays. Phillips had come into notice with his early publications *Christ in Hades* (1896) and *Poems* (1897). He seemed to be a new and original voice in the post-Tennysonian chorus, and some of his metrical irregularities aroused equal applause and reprobation. Unfortunately no one can say precisely whether his apparently bold effects were produced by design or by inadvertence—whether he had a metrical scheme of his own or whether he had a bad ear. The question was hotly discussed, and may be usefully remembered now. Devotees can always find beauty in blunders. Phillips was so far in the news as a poet that he was asked by George Alexander to write a play, and *Paolo and Francesca* (printed 1899, acted 1902) had great success. Herbert Beerbohm Tree then secured from him *Herod* (1901) and *Ulysses* (1902). But either the poet's inspiration failed or the actor's curious megalomania intervened unfavourably, for the two plays, successful dramatically, were less sincere as poems. They approached the region of grand opera and suggested Meyerbeer and *Le Prophète*. *The Sin of David* (1904) was poor, and *Nero* (1906) was almost pure Meyerbeer. Only the first three are important. To-day they seem feeble and futile, but they cannot be entirely ignored. Phillips succeeded where Tennyson and Browning had failed—he put poetry of a kind on the stage and made it popular. *Paolo and Francesca* is the best of his plays. It is full of the lush diction which, at [illegible] drama.

The last decade of the century had better critics than writers of [illegible] place for. Archer's work is preserved in *The Theatrical World*

man, and it was not until the new novel was well advanced in its serial course that popular interest was aroused. Much of the work that Thackeray had produced during the ten years preceding *Vanity Fair* was purely fugitive, and even flat and poor in quality. But he had acquired practice in a style which he was to use with perfection in his later books. That Thackeray loved the eighteenth century is clear; that he ever directly imitated any eighteenth-century writer is an absurd supposition. He had a natural affinity with the period of the essayists; moreover, in Fielding's tolerant view of life he found the closest response to his own appreciation of generosity and hatred of meanness. His long apprenticeship to journalistic character-sketches gave him command over the *dramatis personae* of his great story. There is not a failure in it; and its greatest strength lies, not in its deservedly famous incidents, but in its entirely homogeneous life, uncoloured by inappropriate sentiment and undiverted to the delusive comfort of any "happy ending".

The objective and impartial nature of Thackeray's character-drawing, clear to every reader of *Vanity Fair*, is triumphantly exhibited in *Pendennis*, the first number of which was published in November 1848. There must have been strong temptation to optimize the character of a hero whose early career bears so close a resemblance to Thackeray's own; but the temptation is resisted, and Pendennis, though likeable, is frequently irritating and sometimes detestable. The success of the book lies in its wealth of minor characters—if such triumphs as the Captain, the Major and Morgan can be called minor. Among the women, Blanche is unfailingly amusing, Laura is too good to be true, and Helen is such a convincing compound of motherly worship and feminine unfairness that she is among the best drawn of Thackeray's women. Warrington, the nearest approach to a sentimental sketch, is also the nearest approach to a failure.

In *The History of Henry Esmond*, published in 1852, Thackeray applied his powers to a drama of the Queen Anne period, with a wide knowledge of its social and literary history and a natural liking for its idiom of speech. The book triumphs over a major difficulty of form—a narrative in the first person by its grave and modest hero, and over a major difficulty of incident—the transfer of the hero's love from a daughter to her mother. The general texture is even richer and more rewarding than in *Vanity Fair*, and the details are exquisite. The reader, like the hero, cannot help falling captive to Beatrix when first she is seen, descending the stairs candle in hand, in all the splendour of her young beauty. The ending, which avoids a conventional close, is a moving piece of drama. Thackeray's creative imagination is at its height in *Esmond*.

The rest of Thackeray's own story is disappointing. From

naterial for later sketches. Thereafter he began to inhabit the Bohemian world of letters, writing and drawing in various papers

[illegible]

key Solomons junior (1839–40) was an attempt to ridicule "with olemn sneer" the romantic burglars, highwaymen and murderers of Lytton and Ainsworth. It is quite successful. *A Shabby Genteel Story*, which appeared in *Fraser* during 1840, is the unpleasing recursor of the later *Philip*. In this year occurred the greatest alamity of Thackeray's life. He had felt able to marry in 1836; four ears later his wife became insane and they were separated for ever. She outlived him by nearly thirty years. This personal tragedy cannot e forgotten when we meet in the books some half-expressed and quickly suppressed tenderness or something like the deliberate and even ill-timed mockery that is often a sufferer's only shield against ears.

The pseudonym "Michael Angelo Titmarsh", which was assumed by the author of *The Great Hoggarty Diamond* (1841), and had been first used in 1840 for *The Paris Sketch Book*, also appeared in 1841 on the title-page of *Comic Tales and Sketches* as the name of the editor

[illegible]

clubman. Fitz-Boodle, as "editor", began to supply *Fraser* in 1844 with the remarkable work called *The Luck of Barry Lyndon*, Thackeray's most substantial work of fiction before *Vanity Fair*. It is a very able and very unpleasant piece of work. With it may be mentioned *The Irish Sketch Book* (1843), notable for its observation of a people in whom the novelist found an abundance of material. Thackeray's earliest *Punch* contributions (1842) are unimportant. Not until he hit upon the parodies known as *Punch's Prize Novelists* (1847) did he find

[illegible]

name. His protean changes of pseudonym had obscured the real

died quite suddenly. That each should have left a highly promising unfinished story makes the parallel of their lives curiously complete.

Thackeray was never a "crusader" and propounded no problems. His range of character is limited compared with that of Dickens, and the sentiments and actions of his people are far more restrained by the usual conventions; he kept closely to the world he knew, and did not, like Dickens, create a vast world of fantasy. His sense of human littleness and his preoccupation with the ways of snobbery do not endear him to the great multitude of readers; but when the cynical author, genuinely moved, trembles on the brink of tears, he is irresistible. Like Fielding, he saw that in life it is hard to draw a clear line between vice and virtue, but that it is not hard to know the difference between moral geniality and moral meanness. This kindly understanding is transmitted in prose not, indeed, free from mannerisms and imperfections, but endowed with a flexibility that responds to every demand, and suffused with a personal charm that brings writer and reader into unstrained communication. It should be added that Thackeray's humorous verse is excellent of its kind and that the general Thackerayan gospel of life is summed up in the lightly serious stanzas called *The End of the Play*.

X. DICKENS

The first clear fact about Dickens is the immense and enduring popularity of his work. Much more than a century has passed since his birth; more than a century has passed since the publication of *Pickwick*; and the celebration of the *Pickwick* centenary indicated that the bicentenary will be celebrated with no less heartiness. For this unique popularity there must be some reasons. The most important are easily found. The first is that, with the exception of Shakespeare, there is no greater example of creative force in our literature. Every figure the creative finger of Dickens touched came alive, from Mr Pickwick's cabman to Mr Wegg's hoarse charioteer. The stock objection that Dickens's creations are not characters but caricatures can at once be answered: Where there is no character there can be no caricature. Caricature is an artistic excess of character. Vitality, exuberance, idiosyncrasy—these are the notes of Dickens's characters. They are sometimes more lively than life itself, and they are never forgotten. That is the first reason for his popularity. The second is his humour. The great humorists of the world can be counted on the fingers of a single hand, and Dickens is of that choice company. The third is the sheer abundance and variety of his invention. We have in Dickens, then, an astonishing combination of creative vigour, unstaled humour and abundant variety. His world-

Christmas to Christmas appeared the series of books beginning in 1847 with *Mrs Perkins's Ball* and ending with the ever-delightful *The Rose and the Ring* in 1855. He yielded in 1851 to the temptation of lecturing and produced, as a result, *The English Humorists of the Eighteenth Century*, which is satisfying neither as literature nor as criticism. The celebrated peroration to the lecture on Swift, beginning "Only a woman's hair", showed that Thackeray could out-Dickens Dickens himself in lush sentimentality. A second series of lectures, *The Four Georges*, delivered in 1855 and 1856, remains unprofitable as history or as literature.

Thackeray, like Balzac and Dumas, carried over some of his characters from one book into another, and *The Newcomes* (1853–5) is ostensibly edited by Pendennis, domesticated with his Laura. Once a great favourite, *The Newcomes* finds few enthusiasts to-day. The celebrated death scene of the Colonel is now as disconcerting as the death scenes of Little Nell and Paul Dombey. Nor do other of the principal characters succeed. Barnes Newcome is as incredible a villain as Ralph Nickleby, and Mrs Mackenzie's unresting malignity is more tiresome than convincing. On the other hand, Ethel is one of Thackeray's best female characters, and Lady Kew the most perfectly drawn of his shrewd and cynical old women of the world. Colonel Newcome is Thackeray's attempt to transmit in character the ideals which were in the minds of serious young poets and artists [illegible] ants of Henry Esmond. It commits the crime of being uninteresting and the blunder of reviving Beatrix as Baroness Bernstein, raddled, decayed and horrible. She points no moral and she disadorns the tale. Authors really have duties to the characters they have brought into the world.

The first number of *The Cornhill Magazine* (January 1860) under Thackeray's editorship contained the first instalment of *Lovel the Widower*, a short story in his early manner, and the first of *Round-* [illegible] subject he returned to the characters of *A Shabby Genteel Story*; but the tale tells us nothing new and presents no truly memorable invention. Thackeray's last work of fiction, *Denis Duval*, was left unfinished at his death. Like *Esmond*, it is historical, though its period is that of the French, not the English, Revolution. The fragment recovers much of the old charm, mellowed and enriched, and so the last work that came from Thackeray's hand leaves us with happy memories of his best achievements. Thackeray, like Dickens,

Scott, in Trollope, in Jane Austen. Dickens used just as much of life as he needed; no artist is required to use more. Another charge is that his work contains "no body of thought". But a work of art is not required to contain a "body of thought". What it must contain is a spirit of life. We have dealt with these general considerations at the outset because they apply to the whole vast range of Dickens's work, a range more restricted than the universe of Shakespeare, but more extensive than that of any other English writer. We will add that Dickens has been as variously praised and condemned, for reasons of no validity in literature, as even Shakespeare himself. One peculiarity of these criticisms will call for attention a little later.

No great creative artist ever had a more unpromising birth and upbringing. Charles John Huffam Dickens (1812–70) was born in Portsmouth. His father was Mr Micawber; his mother was Mrs Nickleby. The father was a dockyard clerk, and a transfer to Chatham made the child familiar with the neighbouring Rochester and its ancient appeal. A further transfer to Somerset House brought the family to London, where, after living in a sordid suburb, the acutely sensitive child became painfully familiar with another great national institution, a debtors' prison, the Marshalsea, to which the father was consigned. To the privations and humiliation of dire poverty was added the degrading experience, at the age of twelve, of potting and labelling blacking in a small factory with which some member of the family was connected. The release of the father led to a reconsideration of the family position. Dickens's father proposed to send Charles to school; but his mother was in favour of his return to the blacking pots. This was the deepest wound made in his young soul, the one cruelty that he never forgot. But the father prevailed, and the boy was released from the indignities that had wounded his eager spirit. It is a point for high admiration that Dickens nowhere writes with a sense of resentment, and never indulges in self-pity. The chapters in *David Copperfield* are the sole record in a story of his tragedy, though David was far better off than Dickens ever was. For Dickens there was no beneficent Betsy Trotwood, no transfer to a great school and no entry into a dignified profession. Dickens passed from a shabby school to a boy clerk's job in a solicitor's office, taught himself shorthand, became a reporter for several papers, and, in that sense, entered the House of Commons. It is often forgotten that Dickens's frequent gibes at "Government" came from a man thoroughly familiar with Parliamentary procedure.

Here we may return appropriately to that point in the general criticism of Dickens which we have mentioned above. There can hardly be two young lives more unlike than those of Dickens and Thackeray. Thackeray, of gentle birth, passed to a public school and university, studied law, dabbled in art and lived the ordinary social

wide popularity is certain of endurance. Nevertheless some general charges are seriously made against him and must be considered. [illegible] question". That our most popular novelist devoted some of his talent to the exposure of oppression and injustice is a great piece of [illegible] But good intentions never made a work of art, and in this [illegible] his hand, and sometimes the Crusader obstructed the Inimitable. The Inimitable made a hungry workhouse boy ask for "more", the Crusader made an old woman struggle melodramatically against pauperdom. The vital question is not which of these two is a finer document in social criticism, but which comes home to the heart. Everyone remembers Oliver Twist; nobody remembers Betty [illegible] Dickens, in the interests of philanthropy, sometimes falsified his values and ceased to be an artist. Another charge is that Dickens had a strong histrionic bent: that, living in the age of melodrama, he sometimes introduced into his books figures that mean nothing off the transpontine boards. Among these are minor villains like Monks, Gride and Gashford, moving dimly in the greenish light of melodramatic gloom and never entering the real world of Dickens, because the creative finger has never touched them. These must be frankly accepted as blunders, hard to forgive, though fortunately easy to forget. The common charge of sentimentalism and lush pathos can be at once admitted and dismissed. It affects, actually, a very small quantity of Dickens's work. Excess of sentiment is part of the price that has to be paid for sensitiveness. That Dickens wrote sincerely in the tone of his period is evident from the tidal wave of tears that washed over these islands and across the Atlantic when Little Nell died. We do not like the tremulant, cinema-organ pathos of Dickens; but our forbears did, and there's an end of the matter. Another charge, gravely made, is that Dickens did not "face the facts of life"—even more, that he deliberately avoided them, and left us nothing but young men and young women who are sexually null and void. We may at once admit that this is true, and rejoice that it is true. Those who seek for sexual superexcitation or for "modern psychological" revelations of inhibition or introversion or

Vanity Fair and *Esmond*. Thackeray wrote because he had to live; Dickens wrote because he had to write. Both prove the unimportance of mere schooling. The only education worth having is that which "an experiencing nature" gives itself. Dickens got his first literary enthusiasm from an intense and excited reading in childhood of the great classics of fiction, original or translated. So he was early prepared to write. His reportership gave him a hold on the fringe of literature, and he soon fastened that hold on the garment itself. He had plenty of material. He had the observing eye and the experiencing nature. His travels as a reporter made him familiar with places and people, with coaches and inns, where, as Cervantes tells us, all adventures should begin. Like many great originals, he got his first impulse from others. Very inferior work will sometimes give the born writer his cue. He reads something, and says inwardly "I could do that", and proceeds to do it, till he does better. Dickens's first aim was the right one, though apparently, and only apparently, a lowly one, namely, to produce what editors would print and readers enjoy. From the very beginning he was himself, and continued to be himself to the end. This self-sufficiency, in the best sense, did not necessarily bring with it the counterbalancing gift which idiosyncrasy requires—the gift of self-discipline and self-criticism, and we have to deplore some examples of arrogance, cocksureness and doubtful taste, and some undue indulgence in "tricks and manners". These defects do not arise from "defective education" or "humble origin", they are the defects of great qualities, the seamy side of intense originality. Very many writers, poets as well as novelists, have had small powers of self-discipline and self-criticism, and have obstinately gone on writing what everyone, save the authors, knew to be inferior work.

The very earliest of his writings deserve consideration. The *Sketches of Young Gentlemen*, *Sketches of Young Couples* and *The Mudfog Papers*, never reprinted by Dickens himself, are good samples of journalism, with a certain touch of individuality in them which might come to something or might not. What came immediately is not the great novels, but the *Sketches by Boz*, which themselves promise something more. They indicate the arrival of a writer whose competence is unquestionable and whose note of authority causes a hush of expectation. Not much good is gained by seeking for resemblances to the forgotten Hunt or the unreadable Hook or others. The fact is that Dickens, Thackeray and other "sketch" writers were all trying to reach the same kind of public. Dickens's first sketch, *A Dinner at Poplar Walk*, retitled *Mr Minns and his Cousin*, was published in December 1833. After that he wrote numerous tales and sketches, and in a year or two had enough from which to make two selections, *Sketches by Boz. Illustrative of Every-Day Life,*

life of a young gentleman. Dickens, of lowly origin, passed from sordid poverty to familiarity with life in a debtors' prison, to the degradation of repulsive employment while still a mere child, to a school of no account, and thence to the reporters' gallery. There is nothing in either life to frustrate or determine a literary career. The influence of life on literature, when the creative power is very strong, can be easily exaggerated. All the arts abound in instances of the lowly born or the gently born becoming the authentic voice of a society they seem never to have known by experience. Thinking people accept all this as a matter of course. But the great variety of readers, Victorian and post-Victorian, thought otherwise. To them the matter was simple: Thackeray was a gentleman, and therefore [illegible]

a gentleman. A celebrated church dignitary has confessed that he was brought up not to like Dickens. That he might have looked into the matter for himself apparently did not occur to him. Another famous critic proudly declared that the only volume of Dickens in his house was a *Pickwick* which he had got at a bookstall to verify an allusion. He would have been ashamed not to possess all Jane Austen and all Balzac, because they represent culture, and Dickens does not represent culture. John Brown of the *Horae Subsecivae* was strong against Dickens, the hard and shrill, and eager for Thackeray, the true and tender-hearted. Samuel Butler was shocked when Dickens [illegible]

horrid woman with the wedding-dress. It will be observed that these antipathies are non-literary. They imply no critical judgment at all. They are usually mere social prejudices. Equally stupid, on the other side, is the kind of enthusiasm which admires Dickens because he was so nice about the poor and the workhouses. The matter is worth notice, because the lover of books (or indeed any of the arts) must be careful not to confuse critical judgment with mere local and temporary prejudice.

One point in the Dickens-Thackeray controversy may be mentioned before the subject is dismissed. Dickens was a more instinctive writer than Thackeray. When Thackeray lost his money as a young man and found it necessary to do something, he thought first of his skill in drawing. Nothing would have kept Dickens from writing.

vast and vigorous world, with its three hundred characters and twenty-two inns, was created by a young man of four-and-twenty is one of the miracles of art.

The immense success of *Pickwick* made Dickens his own man for ever. He could now write just what he liked, and it is very interesting to notice what he liked. The humorist vanishes, and in the almost contemporary *Oliver Twist* (1837–8) and *Nicholas Nickleby* (1838–9) we behold the crusader with wrongs to set right, the journalist with evils to expose, the philanthropist with causes to proclaim, and the melodramatist with villains to denounce. Dickens at once put the extravaganza of *Pickwick* behind him, and at no time did he make any attempt to repeat his resounding success in that manner. This is a point overlooked by those who think of him as more a showman than an artist. *Oliver Twist* is, by general consent, in the lower rank of Dickens's novels. Oliver himself, save in his one sublime moment, is uninteresting. Indeed, only the "bad" characters, and not all of those, are really memorable. Bumble has given a deathless name to something which is often with us, which is likely to be still more with us, and which, under whatever alias, is always certain to be evil. Fagin is such a masterpiece of grotesque fantasy that we are inclined to resent the terrible realism of his end. Tremendous in parts, feeble in others (and those standing for virtue), *Oliver Twist* fails to be properly successful, though it remains singularly impressive. It will never cease to be read.

The faults of *Oliver Twist* reappear in *Nicholas Nickleby*; but the book is on a very much larger scale; it is more varied in scene and character, and almost all the new elements are sheer gain. The horrors of Dotheboys Hall are not too heavily exploited and are enlivened with excellent comedy. Mrs Nickleby is the hen-brained silly woman of all times and places. Out of mere absence of understanding Mrs Nickleby is as ready to consign her daughter to an evil marriage as Mrs Dickens was to consign her son to the blacking factory. To modern readers the most repellent character is Smike. The one thing that may not be done artistically to a mentally deficient youth is to make him romantic, and this Dickens tries hard to do. Mr Crummles and those about him remain, like all the best things in Dickens, joys unspeakable and inexhaustible for ever; and they are not ill-seconded by the Mantalinis, the Kenwigses and the delightful Newman Noggs. The book regains and displays that abundance which only the greatest "makers" in verse and prose possess.

What Dickens "liked to do" next was to commit a blunder, as he soon recognized. To us, who accept the "omniscient narrator" of our fiction as an unnoticed part of the machinery, there seems something odd in the anxiety of the older novelists to account for the way in which they got their information. Collections of letters, edited

and Every-day People (1835) and a second series (1836). The full title is worth notice. Thus, in his twenty-third year, Dickens was moderately well-known as the author of journalistic or magazine contributions, and no more. What happened next is like a fairy tale. Publishers are nothing if not imitative. The success of the "Jorrocks" sketches of Surtees made Messrs Chapman and Hall believe that some humorous letterpress written to accompany humorous sporting pictures might also be successful. Into the story of early mishaps and misunderstandings we are not required to enter. The essential fact is that Dickens was asked to add the written matter to the pictures, not because he was a heaven-sent genius, but because his "Boz" sketches in *The Monthly Magazine* were recalled and there was a chance that he had the journalistic invention desired. The work so casually conceived was to become one of the world's comic masterpieces. The first monthly number appeared in April 1836 and bore on its wrappers the title, *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club, Containing a Faithful Record of the Perambulations, Perils, Travels, Adventures and Sporting Transactions of the Corresponding Members. Edited by Boz.* One specimen of the verbose titles then thought humorous will suffice. The new venture did not begin well. Dickens was writing to order and had not found himself. The earlier chapters are stiff, crude and unrewarding; but with the cab journey from Goswell Street to the Golden Cross we enter an entirely new world and are never shut out of it until Death performs the ungracious office and leaves the story of *Edwin Drood* half told. There is no book like *Pickwick* anywhere; it is a Rabelaisian fairy-tale, with a stout little man in tights and spectacles as the presiding genius. In nothing does *Pickwick* more clearly foreshadow what was to come than in its creation of a world, which, like the different Gilbertian world, is this familiar world, with a curiously refracting atmosphere that makes the values unfamiliar. Dickens is not always true to his own fantasies, and disconcerts us at times by dragging in "economic" beings from the statistical world of Blue Books and Reports. In *Pickwick* there is very little confusion of the planes, save in the final "happy endings", and in some of the interpolated stories, which are thoroughly bad, always excepting, of course, the delightful bagman's tales. Certain other characteristics of Dickens are clearly seen in *Pickwick*—his power (to use the Aristotelian phrase) of rendering impossibility probable or not improbable, his creation of real conversation, and his power of imparting, not indeed the complexity, variety and depth of life, but a certain "external intensity" of it. The "swarry" at Bath is a defiance of verisimilitude, and is yet in essence so true that it may outlast the Roman baths and the Georgian crescents of the city itself. In short *Pickwick* is a triumph of the curious and difficult process that we may call realism disrealized. That its

In 1842 Dickens paid a long-contemplated visit to America—the first of the tours abroad, which became frequent and exercised a great influence on his work. This particular voyage produced *American Notes* and *Martin Chuzzlewit*. The *American Notes* (1842) have lost much of their face value. As a book it is fairly amusing, but it lacks the peculiar fantastic attraction of the novels. It is not really unkind; but only excessive flattery would have been acceptable. Much more severe is the criticism contained in *Martin Chuzzlewit* (parts 1843–4), which contains a fair number of failures—or at least of unsuccesses. Tom Pinch is mere sentimentalism; Mark Tapley is rather tiresome. But the worst blunder is Mercy Pecksniff, who is first proffered as a grotesque for our laughter, and next proffered as a tragic woman for our tears. The countervailing recompense, however, is enormous. Mrs Gamp, "Todgers's", Betsy, Bailey, and the rest of a whole army of minor figures display the true Dickensian abundance.

The year 1843 gave us *A Christmas Carol*, first of the endearing Christmas books, which continued annually with *The Chimes*, *The Cricket on the Hearth*, *The Battle of Life* and *The Haunted Man*, and only ceased when the establishment of *Household Words* changed them to shorter Christmas stories which, in that paper and in *All the Year Round*, were scattered over the rest of the writer's life. The claim that Dickens created the popular notion of Christmas as a season of enlarged heart and waistcoat cannot be maintained. Washington Irving had written *Bracebridge Hall* when Dickens was still at the blacking factory. Moreover, those who think that Dickens preached nothing but a gospel of hearty feeding at Christmas have evidently left unread the four uncomfortable and disturbing stories that follow the *Carol*. What Dickens did in the five Christmas stories was to indulge in some moral stock-taking at the traditional season of good will; and what he claimed in them was the right of all, even of the poorest, to enjoy themselves in their own way, undeterred by economists, statisticians and professional philanthropists. It has been charged against Dickens that he was equally ready to denounce, in the name of humanity, those who left things alone, and, in the name of liberty, those who tried to make things better. The charge is too abstract to carry conviction. Everything depends upon the kind of "letting alone" and the kind of "making better". There are plenty of middle courses between Bourbonism and Bolshevism. What Dickens is solidly against, from his first book to his last, is the tendency to brigade a population, either into submerged masses for neglect or into intimidated masses for improvement. He is, to use the old-fashioned word, an out-and-out individualist, denying the right of Scrooge to grind the humanity out of Cratchit, and affirming the right of Cratchit to squander his money on goose and gin at the Christmas season. The continued popularity of the Christmas books

memoirs, discovered manuscripts and so forth had all been used. Dickens tried the device of "Master Humphrey's Clock", inside the case of which the members of a club placed their manuscripts. Worse still, he attempted to revive, not *Pickwick* itself, but a post-Pickwickian Pickwick and Sam Weller. The inset tales of *Master Humphrey's* [illegible]

Dickens make any more attempts to manufacture "machinery" of narration or to re-introduce old characters.

The Old Curiosity Shop (book form 1841) is remarkable for the [illegible]

generation and scoff in the next, is one of the Dickens characters in some need of revaluation. Those who, from report, think of Little Nell as a Dicl [illegible]
should really [illegible]
be done with [illegible]
and whose cl [illegible]
other characters are superb—the showmen, Mrs Jarley, the Brasses, Quilp, and above all, Mr Swiveller and the Marchioness, the last a triumphant example of what the Inimitable could do for the oppressed when the Crusader did not impede him.

Barnaby [illegible]
Dickens [illegible]
fiction, an [illegible]
alleged: he did not know enough; but what he needed could easily have been acquired· he was not interested in the past; but he wrote *A Child's History of England,* and his sense of the past was strong. The most probable reason is that his large manner was cramped by the strict limits of space and time. Neither of the historical tales can be [illegible]

Cities. *Barnaby Rudge* contains much excellent matter and a few Dickensian characters—is the world not full of Tappertits? Its most elaborate efforts (such as Sir John Chester) are the least successful. A most curious demonstration of the artistic truth of the Dickensian world is this, that whereas *Pickwick*, which is an extravaganza of unrelated scenes, appears to be a whole thing, *Barnaby*, which is elaborately planned and closely written, seems to be a collection of incidents.

of the story and many of the characters are attractive in spite of the gloom of the underworld and the brooding air of crime. Even Poor Jo is not too grossly sentimentalized. For whatever faults it possesses *Bleak House* has abundant recompense, and it takes high rank in the opinion of many whose views deserve respect.

Next in chronological order comes *A Child's History of England* (three volumes, 1852, 1853, 1854) which had, no doubt, a life of its own in the domestic circle, and should have been confined there. *Hard Times. For these Times* (1854, after appearance in *Household Words*) is not one of the books that arouse much controversy, for, except the Sleary group and Mr Gradgrind (ever useful in political speeches), nobody loves any of it. But Louisa is interesting as an attempt at the character of a real live girl of the nineteenth century. Much of the book is mere crusading, and refuses to come to life as art. It is Dickens's most conspicuous failure.

Now for the first time comes a pause in the astonishing stream of production. Perhaps editorial work became an impediment, perhaps domestic infelicity checked the natural outflow. Not till the end of 1857 did the first part of *Little Dorrit* appear, to be completed in 1858. This is a book that can easily be misjudged. A single reading leaves an impression of dullness. A second reading shows that what seemed dullness is a rather unusual homogeneity. The shadow of the Marshalsea broods over it, and the "Fall of the House of Clennam" intensifies the gloom. There is some crusading and some melodrama; but the tale is so well-ordered and so enriched with subsidiary figures, that its faults cease to tease, and it becomes as re-readable as any but the very best.

Two important events belong to this period. In 1859 Dickens ended *Household Words* and began *All the Year Round*, on rather more literary lines. It continued till his death. But he also began those celebrated readings from his works, which, by all report, were so intensely dramatic that they rapidly consumed what was left of his vitality. In *All the Year Round* he led off with *A Tale of Two Cities* and the papers afterwards collected as *The Uncommercial Traveller* (1861), a singularly rich volume, which has never had the popularity it deserves. *A Tale of Two Cities* owes something to Carlyle's *French Revolution* and something to the old melodrama *The Dead Heart*. The story is well-plotted and closely woven, and has a romantic "hero with a weakness", who never fails to appeal to a female auditory. The adventures of the book in forms other than the novel have been extensive. Many people who do not care for the rest of Dickens like it greatly; many who are enthusiastic about Dickens refuse to give it a second reading. It is the least Dickensian of all the tales. On the other hand, *Great Expectations* (1860–1) is undoubtedly Dickens, and some of it both new and of the best. Pip is even better than David.

owes much to the general instinct that more is meant than meets the ear. The general instinct is right. They are wonderful fables.

Between the first and the last of the Christmas books Dickens did much other work. *Pictures from Italy* (1846) can be dismissed as unimportant. *Dombey and Son* (the usual abbreviation of a thirteen- [illegible]

[illegible]

justified its title and which, with its sequel, *All the Year Round*, he carried on till his death. These contained, thenceforward, a great deal of his own work, and they enriched popular literature with a great deal of good work by many other writers.

[illegible]

something of what the young Dickens wanted to be Yet it contains no accusation against the world—indeed, it is the sweetest of all the stories. That it is one of the few really great English novels cannot be denied except by the perverse. The abundance of life and vitality, the range of characters, the close-knit texture of the story and the high quality of the writing can hardly be paralleled. There is no "crusading", but there is, unfortunately, some melodrama. Does one really care much about what happened to Little Em'ly at any ti [illegible] idea of a [illegible] Mi- c [illegible] mes a [illegible]

In the spring of 1852 Dickens began *Bleak House* (parts 1852–3), a rather grave book which is very variously received. Dislike for the [illegible]

would-be impressive passages in early books (e.g. *The Old Curiosity Shop*) can be made to read as bad blank verse by people with a bad ear for that metre; next: that a tendency to metrical form is implicit in all impressive prose, by whomsoever written; next: that the prose of Dickens in general is entirely free from this imperfection—as far as it is an imperfection—and offers examples of almost every excellence in an immense range of effects. Dickens's sense of words is exquisite and his genius in coining names unsurpassed. "Sir Mulberry Hawk" instantly draws and colours a picture. In the difficult art of maintaining conversation through a long book Dickens has no equal among English novelists. Perhaps the most remarkable quality in his work, apart from its miraculous variety, is the ever-present touch of fantasy, as if the pen that wrote in prose were moved by some impulse from the spirit of poesy. And so characters that seem almost as far from real existence as Ariel or Caliban have genuine and enduring life. Such is the unity in his immense variety that the whole collection of works can be read and re-read as one vast human comedy, ranging from the expansive fun of *Pickwick* to the haunting tragedy of *Drood*. With Shakespeare, Dickens is the most English of writers, and, like Shakespeare, he has conquered the world. The faults of Dickens are the faults of the English character; his virtues are the virtues of the English character; and these in their richest abundance he has expressed with an exuberant fertility of device, a daemonic energy of creation and a vast universal charity to which there is only one parallel in literature.

XI. THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL NOVEL: DISRAELI, CHARLES KINGSLEY, MRS GASKELL, GEORGE ELIOT

Of the men and women named above, the first three represent the social and political movements of a period, and the fourth supplements them by providing a background of scene and reflection. The "condition-of-England" question had become increasingly acute. Country, under the two-fold attack of Free Trade and industrial competition, was being beaten into bankruptcy, and Town, swollen by the success of factory production, was enlarging into a spawning mass of insanitary slums inhabited by discontented operatives. At the other extreme of the social scale, the great estates of titled and historic landlords were being bought up by the new commercial magnates, who had yet to learn that property means duty and not merely opportunity. In circumstances such as these was born "the condition-of-England" novel, the novel that is "historical" in the sense of responding to impulses derived from political and social

Estella is an attractive attempt at a hitherto unattempted kind of

Lack of space prevents any enumeration of the Christmas numbers of *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*, which contain some of Dickens's best shorter works, including the exquisite *Holly-Tree* story of juvenile love. One long tale, *Our Mutual Friend* (parts 1864–5), was the last he completed. For reasons difficult to understand this fine novel had to fight its way through indifference and positive dislike to its present assured popularity. It is possible that the apparent solecism of the title has offended the numerous guardians of the English tongue. Few of its predecessors are so rich in exuber-

detect fatigue and failing powers in *Our Mutual Friend*; and the last tale of all, *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* (1870), begins superbly. As usual, the part of the story that has attracted most attention is that which was never written, and one is compelled to conclude that the public likes its stories and its symphonies unfinished. All the "continuators" seem to have overlooked the fact that what matters most is not the story but the way Dickens tells the story. Edwin Drood and Denis Duval, consorting in the paradise of literary creations, must often smile at the efforts of lesser mortals to wield the weapons of their masters.

Dickens was lucky in his sudden death. He was spared the decay of Scott and the dotage of Swift. Popular as he always was, he seems to be arriving at a new and more rational popularity We have

But we should not forget, in estimating the prose compositions of Disraeli, that he wrote and published ambitious verse, and that both Shelley and Byron contributed to the formation of his mind. His definite political writings are few and unimportant. The *Vindication of the English Constitution* (1835), which enunciated with extraordinary gusto his views on the three estates of the realm, was followed by *Letters of Runnymede*, which, after appearing in *The Times*, were published anonymously in 1836 with a brief congenial diatribe, *The Spirit of Whiggism*. Much more important is the life of his patron, *Lord George Bentinck: A Political Biography* (1852), in which principles rather than personal details take first place. The book is remarkable for a glowing chapter on the destiny of the Jewish race, which has nothing to do with the subject and which is sublimely excused in the opening of the next chapter.

Disraeli's earliest novel, *Vivian Grey* (1826), is a young man's book, wild and melodramatic; but it contains some good sketches of character and some brilliant sallies of wit. The story—left half-told—is not constructively political, though it moves easily among political intrigues. *The Young Duke* (1830) embodies some pungent political criticism, but deals almost exclusively with the world of fashion. *Contarini Fleming* (1832), "the psychological romance", is a Disraelian attempt at a *Wilhelm Meister*. *Alroy* (1833) and *The Rise of Iskander* (1835) are historical, or quasi-historical, romances of a more or less conventional type. *Henrietta Temple*, which rightly calls itself "a Love Story", and *Venetia* (both 1837), have nothing to do with political or social problems. The latter contains a very good portrait of Byron and a very bad portrait of Shelley.

So far, Disraeli's novels hardly entitle him to a place among "political and social writers" in the serious sense, in spite of their political flavour and their brilliant society scenes. He becomes a new person, however, with what is called his "Young England" trilogy, *Coningsby, or The New Generation* (1844), *Sybil, or The Two Nations* (1845) and *Tancred, or The New Crusade* (1847). Disraeli's solution of the "condition-of-England" problem resembles the homespun remedy of Cobbett made brilliant and aristocratic. It is a return to some imagined medievalism—always a handy and attractive proposal. England was to be saved neither by the old Toryism nor the new Radicalism, but by a new Toryism that accepted the new conditions but assimilated them to the old traditions. The Crown must govern, the Church must inspire, the Aristocracy must lead, the Commons must construct. The watchword must be, "the few for the many, not the many for the few". There must be no more political scheming of greedy manufacturers exploiting wretched factory-hands or of greedy landowners exploiting an impoverished peasantry. These views are set forth persuasively in brilliant character

conditions. Dickens, as we have already seen, was deeply moved by the social evils of his day; but the essentially fantastic, non-realistic nature of his genius gave him success in characters rather than in causes. When he tried to

purpose in narrative form. Her two novels, *Deerbrook* (1839) and

accompanying pauperization was made, not by any solemn revolutionary but by the vivacious dandy who became Prime Minister

wrote was devoid of self-consciousness; but we must beware of supposing, as many have supposed, that self-consciousness is another name for insincerity. Few people suspected the indomitable courage and inexorable tenacity of the insolent, over-dressed dandy who thought he could capture a dull House of Commons by witticisms.

that which, like Vivian Grey, he found for himself in his father's library. During much of his life he was burdened by debt; but he made "the grand tour" and found, like Napoleon, that the East is a

1864) and *Count Alarcos, a Tragedy* (1839). The former (far from unreadable) shows that he admired the sentiments of Byron and the allegories of Shelley, the latter shows nothing but what may be called "common form" in literary tragedy—opera without music.

fetid homes and filthy factories wore away their short lives in the sacred cause of commercial prosperity. But the "Christian Socialists" were to learn, as others have learned since, that they were most deeply suspected by the people they were trying unselfishly to help. Kingsley's placard to the "Workmen of England" posted up two days after the Chartist fiasco, his papers signed "Parson Lot" in *Politics for the People*, his contributions to *The Christian Socialist*, *The Journal of Association* and *The People's Friend*, and his numerous tracts and pamphlets, of which the most famous was *Cheap Clothes and Nasty*, preached in one form or another the unwelcome doctrine that salvation must be sought, not in Acts of Parliament, but in personal striving for improvement. "Be wise", he said in effect, "and then you must be free, for you will be fit to be free." But those most concerned were not eager to be wise or free: they wanted to be "on top". Socialist as he was willing to be called, Kingsley was the most pronounced advocate of individual judgment. Neither the teetotal movement nor the agitation for the rights of women could reckon him among its champions. He thought sanitary reform more important than either. The first of his novels to be planned was *Yeast, a Problem* (1851), though *Alton Locke* (1850) was published a year sooner. Both are well-intentioned pamphlets in the form of stories. *Yeast* began to appear in *Fraser's Magazine* in the fateful year of revolutions, 1848, but the proprietors took fright, induced Kingsley to cut it short and refused to publish its successor. *Yeast* is far less successful than *Alton Locke*, but neither is a really successful novel, and even as pamphlets they are vague, unvital and inconclusive. *Alton Locke, Tailor and Poet* can still be read for its social facts, but is never likely to attract the readers of fiction.

For a moment the crusader rested, and began in 1851 the publication, once more in *Fraser's Magazine*, of *Hypatia, or New Foes with an Old Face* (1853). *Hypatia* is not Kingsley's most popular novel, but it is his finest in conception and in construction. The scene is Alexandria at the period of the downfall of the Western Empire, and the novelist's purpose is to depict the antagonism between an aggressive church and a decrepit state, and the tragedy of a noble philosophical faith without regenerative power. One of the "new foes with an old face" is scepticism, an attitude of mind which Kingsley also treated in an essay under the title *Phaethon, or Loose Thoughts for Loose Thinkers* (1852), one of the freshest and brightest of his lesser productions. In *Hypatia* Kingsley is honestly fair to all parties; and the real tragedy he presents is the church's rejection of an alliance with grace and beauty and its acceptance of asceticism as the symbol of righteousness.

In 1855 was published the most successful of all his novels, *Westward Ho! or the Voyages and Adventures of Sir Amyas Leigh, Knight, of*

sketches, dazzling society functions and a glitter of epigrammatic fireworks. Given though he was to hyperbole and excess, there is, nevertheless, a fine quality in Disraeli's best work. The vividness, subtle humour and attractive lightness of his general prose style reached their height in *Coningsby* and *Sybil*; but the more earnest note in the writing of *Tancred* and *Lothair* deserves both attention and admiration. These books, with the much later *Endymion*, show his genius for depicting the conflict of great ideas. In general effect of characterization the novels of Disraeli may be called Winterhalter translated into literature. Everyone is beautified; but the colours are brilliant and remain fresh. Few writers have excelled Disraeli in depicting brilliantly attractive young men and women. But his

Disraeli's strong interest in religion, and *Endymion* depicts the rise and success of a great political adventurer, with Louis Napoleon as model.

Disraeli's brilliant pictures of contemporary life and manners have

regarded by some nineteenth-century critics as a joke. The joke has outlasted the critics. Disraeli has never ceased to find readers. No other novelist has approached him in ability to use politics as the matter or the background of novels. What he might have written *had he not entered Parliament in 1837 and fought his way implacably* through the warfare of politics till he became Prime Minister in 1868 is a matter for speculation. What remains of him in literature affords no evidence of a sense of frustration.

The life of Charles Kingsley (1819–75) was, in outward circumstances, as simple and modest as the career of Disraeli was world-

actual first publication was a drama in prose and verse, *The Saint's Tragedy*, which appeared in the year of the Chartist fiasco. Kingsley, Maurice and other devoted, chosen spirits took up the cause of the over-worked, under-nourished men, women and children, who in

(1810–65), a beautiful Chelsea girl who married William Gaskell, a high-minded Unitarian minister of Manchester, brought to her work neither Disraeli's exotic genius nor Kingsley's crusading spirit, but a clear, shining creative soul that shed light into some very dark places; and her pictures of the social horrors that made the Thirties and Forties in England a perpetual shame endure because her first aim was to tell a story and not to exploit grievances. Most of her girlhood was spent with relatives at Knutsford in Cheshire, and most of her adult life in Manchester. The first was to be the scene of her best-loved book, the latter was to be the inspiration of her strongest. Mrs Gaskell's impulse to write came naturally from her knowledge of the lives led by the Manchester factory-hands, and her first model was Crabbe. *Mary Barton, a Tale of Manchester Life* (1848) is another famous book published in the Chartist year, though it depicts the life of a period ten years earlier. It is the first "labour" novel—the first novel that finds its central conflict between those who, in hard times, are cut short in "things for show" and those who have to stint in "things for life". It is a powerful and disturbing book—so disturbing in its day that the political economists fell upon it and proved by science how wrong it all was. It has not ceased to be disturbing. Mrs Gaskell's remedy—the bringing about of a good understanding between masters and men—had only just begun to be applied in the period with which *Mary Barton* deals; but even to these beginnings she pays a tribute. The book, as might be expected from a first effort, was in places crude and melodramatic. Its story has been summed up as "seven deathbeds and a murder". It is both powerful and fair; and if it proved nothing economically, it proved that the writer was a born story-teller. The success of *Mary Barton* brought Mrs Gaskell into association with the great writers of her day, especially with Dickens, who showed her, as a writer in *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*, the highest consideration and regard. A remarkable tribute to the purity of her creative gift is that contact with Dickens never once tempted her into imitation. And indeed, after *The Moorland Cottage* (1850), a simple story, she produced from contributions to *Household Words* her most original, most popular, and most exquisite book, the prose idyll that we know as *Cranford* (1853). This intimate record of a few ordinary lives in a Cheshire village combines humour and pathos with an irresistible touch of delicate understanding and it has taken unquestioned rank as one of our minor prose classics.

Ruth (1853) suddenly returns to problems—this time moral, not social; and for its time it was courageously outspoken. More important is *North and South* (1855), which returns to the matter of *Mary Barton*, though the manner is not the same. Like its companion it is a moving and powerful story. From this strong effort of creation

Burrough in the County of Devon, in the reign of Her Most Glorious Majesty Queen Elizabeth. The book breathes the spirit of martial heroism and naval enterprise typified by the Elizabethan age and the

led him into the accusation of mendacity that produced Newman's *Apologia*. Newman was open to serious charges, but not to that charge, and he might have been attacked in several ways, but not in that way. Newman was a scrupulously exact writer; Kingsley was the kind of bluff Christian who believed that anything beyond plain Yes or No was an attempt to tamper with the truth. Of *Westward Ho!*, now relegated to the juvenile department, it is hardly necessary to say anything. Though not as notable a literary performance as *Hypatia*, it is an excellent tale of its kind.

In *Two Years Ago* (1857) Kingsley once more returned to contemporary life, and endeavoured to show that suffering calls out from man the great virtues of faith, hope and self-sacrifice—the kind of spiritual giving which is the only way of receiving The story, in spite of its vivid Crimean and cholera episodes, does not hold the attention. Kingsley's last completed novel, *Hereward the Wake*, was not published till 1866. It is a work of much vigour and freshness, and hardly inferior to *Westward Ho!* in the picturesque vividness of its setting; but it has never been really popular, perhaps because the

The Sands of Dee, and *The Three Fishers*. His lectures as Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge hardly concern the history of literature. A visit to the West Indies in 1869 gave him the inspiration of *At Last* (1871).

circumstances caused the Evans family to move near Coventry and Miss Evans herself to become acquainted with the unorthodox Charles Bray, author of *The Philosophy of Necessity* (1841), and his brother-in-law Charles Hennell, author of *An Inquiry concerning the Origin of Christianity* (1838), the sometime evangelical and ascetic began to move towards free thought in religion, and presently took over from the Hennells a translation of Strauss's *Life of Jesus critically examined* (1846), then the last word in unorthodoxy. From that time Miss Evans became a figure in "advanced" circles. Chapman, the publisher of Strauss, had acquired *The Westminster Review* from Mill, and Miss Evans became the actual, though not the acknowledged, editor. She lodged with the Chapmans, and met many of the figures in "advanced" thought, including Herbert Spencer, who introduced her to George Henry Lewes, a man of considerable gifts. Attracted by his extraordinary intellectual vivacity and quickness of sympathy, she made an unofficial "marriage" with him. His own home had for some time been broken up, and on his three sons she bestowed the fullest maternal affection. He showed to her unsurpassable devotion, and watched over her literary labours with unremitting care. It is difficult to follow the critics who have called this spiritual or intellectual marriage "the great mistake of her life", for it transformed Mary Ann Evans into George Eliot.

Besides translating Ludwig Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity* (1854)—the only work of "Marian Evans" published under her name—she was heavily engaged with the *Review*. Lewes himself was working at his *Life of Goethe* (1855). One day he discovered a story which she had written during 1856 in the intervals of journalistic business—*The Sad Fortunes of the Rev. Amos Barton*. He insisted on its being brought to light; and it began to appear in *Blackwood* in January 1857, and was followed, in the course of the same year, by *Mr Gilfil's Love Story* and *Janet's Repentance*. All three bore the signature "George Eliot"—a name chosen almost at random. The completed work, *Scenes of Clerical Life*, appeared in 1858. Thackeray thought the author a man; but Dickens was sure of the woman. Both great novelists were warm in their admiration, as also were Bulwer Lytton, Anthony Trollope and Mrs Gaskell. In *Amos Barton* there is some abruptness in the sequence of incidents, and in *Janet's Repentance*, the most powerful of the tales, the construction is not sound; but in *Mr Gilfil's Love Story* there is scarcely a fault, and it remains one of the best English short stories. The whole book clearly showed that a new writer with true creative genius had arrived.

The appearance of *Adam Bede* in 1859 satisfied the high expectations aroused by the *Scenes*. It is a great story, and it succeeds by daring to be simple. The keynote of the story—the belief that the divine spirit which works in man works through man's own

Mrs Gaskell turned aside to a kind of literature in which she was a novice, and wrote her *Life of Charlotte Brontë* (1857), a book which so completely fills its essential purpose that no later treatment of the theme will ever supersede it. With her natural honesty she had included domestic details which (the Brontë father being still alive) were resented; and, indeed, not all her information was well-founded. But in substance the book is as true as it is good, and its hostile reception checked for a time her desire to write. With *Sylvia's Lovers* (1863) she not only found herself again, but found a new setting for her genius in the wild Yorkshire coast which here serves as a background to a domestic drama of extraordinary power. In striking contrast is its successor, *Cousin Phillis* (1865), which tells exquisitely the story of a broken heart, without any circumstances of storm-swept tragedy. It is one of the loveliest books of its kind. Mrs Gaskell's last story, *Wives and Daughters* (1866), left on the very edge of completion when death took her in full enjoyment of her powers, is in many ways her best. Her humour, already shown in *Cranford*, had now mellowed into a delicious softness, and even in depicting the serious conflicts through which the souls of men and women have to pass she had learnt the value of "the subdued colouring—the half-tints of real life"—which George Eliot had desiderated in *Ruth*.

In Mrs Gaskell's hands the social novel developed into a form of fiction which she made entirely her own. She knew instinctively how to subdue controversial matter to the service of art; and the [illegible]

Cranford, they do put vividly before us a figure that stands for a [illegible]

Constable had painted and the countrymen that Morland had drawn. Mary Ann Evans (1819-81) spent her early years in a rural home on a great estate of which her father was agent. When quite young she was compelled by circumstances to assume the charge of her father's house, and acquired singular self-reliance and self-control. She never ceased to read and study, and her acquirements became both deep [illegible]

was to suggest later the character of Dinah Morris. The religious inquirer, unless overcome by fear, does not stand still; and when

find briefer amusement; those who find it too long for its matter have perhaps not observed a method (lately re-applied or re-discovered) which produces an effect by the careful accumulation of detail. Actually, *Middlemarch* is a great piece of constructive art. Nothing is forced, nothing is heightened beyond the kind of life depicted. In tenseness of interest it may fall below *Adam Bede* or *The Mill on the Floss*; but in amplitude of scene, character and humour it is as great as any. *Daniel Deronda* (1876), the last of George Eliot's novels, disappointed her admirers at the time, and has never been liked. We are curiously reminded of Disraeli and his visions by Daniel himself, and the "racial" ending is rather forced.

George Eliot attempted no more fiction. She felt that the labour of long creative work was beyond her, and the death of Lewes in 1878 removed her watchful adviser. The romance of her life continued to the very end, when in 1880 she married John Walter Cross, an old and devoted friend, who became her biographer. *The Impressions of Theophrastus Such*, not published till 1879, is a series of essays of a kind that failed to liberate her best qualities. George Eliot's own prose is careful, heavy and slow. She is oppressive when she speaks in her own person; but she quickens miraculously into life when she speaks through her characters. The verse of George Eliot is not an important part of her work. *The Spanish Gypsy*, *The Legend of Jubal* and *Armgart* may interest enthusiasts, but will very improbably find general readers. Some of the shorter pieces are better known. But George Eliot is not in essence a poet. Her fame rests upon her novels; and though the number of her readers may vary with the rise and fall of fashions, her place in the story of English fiction is secure. In command of pathos, humour and tragedy, she is excelled by no English writer of her sex.

XII. THE BRONTËS

It is a matter for regret that the three Brontë sisters (as well as the brother and the father) have been "taken up" by enthusiasts of many kinds with theses to maintain, theories to propound, cases to prove and even personal interests to serve. The range of *Bronteana* includes details, not merely about the family, but about everybody who can be shown to have had any kind of association with any member of it. Most of this extraneous matter is totally devoid of literary value and should be ignored. The story of the Brontës in literature is so far peculiar that it must begin with the father (1777-1861), who came from Co. Down in Ireland with the unpromising name of Patrick Prunty or Brunty, which he happily changed to Brontë—perhaps with a glance at Nelson's Sicilian dukedom. A later Mr Shandy might amuse himself with speculating whether

response to its call—dominates the narrative from first to last. In Adam's own words, "it isn't notions sets people doing the right thing—it's feeling". What no one could have expected from the prophetess of *The Westminster Review* was the large Shakespearean humour that accompanies the presentation of the tragedy. Mrs Poyser is part of the national mythology.

dantly the experiences of her own early life. Like its predecessor, *The Mill on the Floss* is rich in character and description, but it is more ample in scope and scale. *Silas Marner*, which followed in 1861, is smaller in scale than its predecessors, but it is smaller in no other respects. Silas, Eppie and the company at the Rainbow engage our interest as keenly as any of the characters in the larger works. The tenderness of fancy and humour and the strong simplicity of invention make *Silas Marner* a perfect story.

"I began *Romola* a young woman; I finished it an old woman." So said the author herself. It was published in 1863, only two years after *Silas Marner*; but into those two years George Eliot had put the intensity of many. Perhaps *Romola* might be more permanently endeared to us if the author had laboured less and had written with a larger creative freedom. The historical reconstruction of Medicean Florence is magnificently arranged; the tragedy of Savonarola is fitly narrated; the minor figures are sketched with divining insight. Only the central human tragedy fails to touch our deepest convictions. Tito is almost too bad; Romola is almost too good. Romola is both more than human and less than human, and she cannot take her

devoted readers.

George Eliot's next novel, unpromisingly called *Felix Holt, the*

(1871–2) George Eliot happily returned to her first and best manner—the relation of domestic tragedy and comedy set in the English scene. The book is very long. Those who find it merely long can easily

dental technique which converts a recital of facts into a creation with a life of its own. In *Jane Eyre* by "Currer Bell" (1847) Charlotte Brontë found herself. Naturally, she chose a story of unhappy experience and troubled love. One difficulty in the book is capable of explanation. How came the "good" Rochester to plan deliberate bigamy? It is possible that Charlotte had met a somewhat similar story by Le Fanu, published in a magazine in 1839, and had found in it the starting point of her own invention, which presently developed in its own different way; for the important fact is that, according to Jane's understanding, the bigamous intentions of Rochester were "honourable", even tragically honourable—he was not proposing a union of "shame", and Jane could respond with full outflow of feeling. Jane is so much the modern woman that even Mrs Gaskell, herself a pioneer, was a little shocked by what may be called the positiveness of her love. *Jane Eyre* is a unique Victorian book because in it purity becomes passionate and outspoken. Gone is the "man's woman"; here is woman herself, confronting man on equal terms. *Jane Eyre* is the first modern novel, the first to envelop the life of a plain, ordinary woman with romance. The voice of free insurgent woman, free to feel and to speak as she feels, first comes clearly into modern literature out of the remote Haworth parsonage.

The other sisters were writing, too; for in 1847 appeared *Wuthering Heights* by "Ellis Bell" with a bound-in "third volume" called *Agnes Grey* by "Acton Bell"—all novels of the period were expected to be in three volumes. *Wuthering Heights* has been a kind of battle ground for the contentions of those who declare that it is the equal of *King Lear* and those who declare that it is full of wasteful and ridiculous excess. The book is unique. There was nothing like it before, there has been nothing like it since, there will be nothing like it again; for the combination of high imagination with pure ignorance—in the fullest literal sense of the words—will not be found in any woman of these later generations. The wickedness of *Wuthering Heights* appals us because it is pure wickedness, free from any taint of the flesh. About the events of *Jane Eyre* one feels that they might have happened to anyone anywhere; about the events of *Wuthering Heights* one feels that they could not have happened out of hell. The passion is fierce and consuming, but it is not physical. Indeed, of all the books by the Brontë sisters we may say that, out of the innocence of the heart, the mouth speaketh. Into the question whether *Wuthering Heights* owed anything in any way to Branwell Brontë this is not the place to enter. The matter has small intrinsic importance, and attracts chiefly those whose interest in literature is unliterary. Anne's qualities have been underrated because she is less vehement than her sisters; but *Agnes Grey* is a moving personal record and *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* shows clear signs of undeveloped

Charlotte Prunty would ever have achieved the fame of Charlotte Brontë or whether Emily Brunty could have written *Wuthering Heights.* By some means, the Irishman got himself into St John's College, Cambridge, in 1802, and, after holding minor clerical posts, became perpetual curate of Haworth, in a wild and lonely moorland district of Yorkshire, and there remained till his death. He had married in 1812 and by 1822 his wife was dead and he was left with six children, Maria, Elizabeth, Charlotte, Patrick Branwell, Emil [illegible]
not [illegible]
and [illegible]
graves that neighboured the melancholy house. The children roamed the moors, and amused themselves with writing. They got some instruction fro [illegible]
the elder girls [illegible]
the daughters [illegible]
that it killed Maria and Elizabeth, that it nearly killed Charlotte, and that it served as the model for Lowood in *Jane Eyre.* When Charlotte was nearly fifteen she was again sent to a boarding-school. A little later, Charlotte returned as a kind of teacher, with Emily and Anne as pupils. Charlotte was unhappy in her work, and left it after [illegible]

Charlotte found herself attracted by Constantin Heger, a man of [illegible]

Brussels in 1843 to teach English in the Heger establishment. But the arrangement failed. Heger had attracted her both as a man and as the expounder of life and literature, and in a year she was home again, very unhappy. To her beloved professor Charlotte then wrote the four letters first completely printed in 1913. They are, as we should expect, full of deep feeling honourably expressed. Heger was firmly silent, and she found relief in authorship.

In 1846, Charlotte (1816–55), Emily (1818–48) and Anne (1820–49) united in producing *Poems by Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell.* The volume was not successful. Charlotte then embodied some of her experiences in a novel, *The Professor,* which was rejected But the effort was not wasted. It gave her practice. Though she was a born writer, she had to learn her technique, and especially the transcen-

batch of novels we encounter the interesting criminal. *The Disowned* (1829) and *Lucretia* (1846) use as incidents the crimes of Fauntleroy and Wainewright; and *Paul Clifford* (1830) and *Eugene Aram* (1832) make heroes of the highwayman and the murderer. Lytton's next profitable venture was the historical novel—*The Last Days of Pompeii* (1834), *Rienzi* (1835), *The Last of the Barons* (1843) and *Harold* (1848). His skill in construction and invention is heavily handicapped, however, by the diction he chose to use as the appropriate vehicle of historical narrative. Of the humour and magnanimity of Scott he has no trace. After crime and history came the occult—*Zanoni* (1842), *A Strange Story* (1862), and the short tale *The Haunted and the Haunters* (1859) in which everything is satisfactory but the explanation. Another interesting group is formed by his pleasantly garrulous novels of quiet daily life—*The Caxtons* (1849), *My Novel* (1853) and *What will he do with it* (1858). In 1871 Lytton broke new ground with *The Coming Race*, an interesting forerunner of the now numerous descriptions of some future perfection of "planned" government and social order. Supremacy reposes upon that *desideratum* of all dictators, an intangible, irresistible force, here called "Vril". The book was published a year before Butler's satirical *Erewhon*—a curious coincidence, if it be a coincidence. Lytton concluded his long line of inventions with *Kenelm Chillingly* (1873) and *The Parisians* (1873), picturing the feverish political and social activities in England and the Paris of the Second Empire. Even in an age of voluminousness, Lytton was extraordinarily fertile. To his novels must be added a great mass of epic, satirical and translated verse, much essay-writing, pamphleteering and a number of successful plays, three of which are theatrical classics, *Richelieu* (1838), *The Lady of Lyons* (1838) and *Money* (1840). Had he concentrated his powers Lytton might have taken a more considerable place in the history of literature. But, like his son after him, he was ruined by a fatal facility of production. Yet, rhetorical and excessive as he may appear to later generations, he cannot be scoffed out of existence. His talent was various and his invention copious. Some parts of his work will always attract, and deserve to attract, some kinds of readers. More than that is not given to many.

Anthony Trollope (1815–82) is a "lesser" novelist only by comparison with the giants. After a wretched boyhood and youth, of which he gives some glimpses in his *Autobiography* and in *The Three Clerks* (1858), he entered upon a doubly prosperous career as a civil servant in the Post Office and as a man of letters. Of his sixty novels the best are to be found among the tales of "Barset", a county as genuinely a part of English literary geography as the more heavily-soiled Wessex of Hardy. Two Irish stories, *The Macdermots of Ballycloran* (1847) and *The Kellys and the O'Kellys* (1848), and

[illegible]

Charlotte was alone.
[illegible]
fir [illegible]
to [illegible]
London, where she received much appreciation and encouragement,
[illegible]
published in 1857 after her death, is to see the difference between material transformed and material merely used. But material still counts for too much; and though *Villette* is brilliant and a work of genius, it does not entirely escape the defects of a personal record. It was the last of Charlotte's books. Two chapters of a novel called *Emma* were all that she left. She had married her father's curate, A. B. Nicholls in 1854, and in 1855 she was dead before she was thirty-nine, when happiness seemed at last to be coming. The old man at Haworth lived on in his implacable loneliness.

Of the poems by the three sisters only those of Emily have intrinsic importance. She has quiet strength and fine metrical music, though she, like the other two, failed to carry her inspiration throughout a whole poem, except in such short pieces as *The Old Stoic*, *Remembrance* and the so-called *Last Lines*. But her poems have what her one unique novel has, character, strong, gripping, inescapable. Whether the intenser poems are read as impersonally as we read the novel, or whether they are taken as intimations of some personal crisis undisclosed, they are clearly the outpourings of a rare and ardent spirit.

XIII. OTHER NOVELISTS

Edward George Earle Lytton Bulwer (1803–73), who took the additional name of Lytton on succeeding to the Knebworth estate and was created Baron Lytton of Knebworth in 1866, continued, in the midst of numerous social, editorial and political activities and disastrous matrimonial quarrels, to produce quantities of fiction, verse, drama and miscellaneous prose until his death. His versatility was extraordinary and he had a keen sense of what the public was going to want. His first novel, *Falkland*, appeared in 1827. His second, *Pelham, or The Adventures of a Gentleman* (1828), bears some resemblance to the contemporary *Vivian Grey* in its excesses and its more impudent qualities. Both are supreme examples of what might be called the dandiacal-Byronic style in fiction. In Lytton's next

methods anticipated Zola. His documentary novels are not all of one kind. There are, first, those in which he makes use of his knowledge, Defoe-like in its intimacy, of trades and occupations; such are *The Autobiography of a Thief* (1858), *Jack of all Trades* (1858) and *A Hero and a Martyr* (1874). Secondly, there are stories of philanthropic purpose; in these Reade sweeps aside Godwin's theories and Lytton's sentiment, replacing them by fact irrefutably established and by fierce denunciation. The ghastly cranks and collars and jackets of *It is never too late to mend* (1856) were things he had seen in the gaols of Durham, Oxford, and Reading. He could cite precedent for every single horror of the asylum scenes in *Hard Cash* (1863); on all the other abuses which he attacked—"ship-knacking" in *Foul Play* (1869), "rattening" in *Put Yourself in his Place* (1870), insanitary village life in *A Woman Hater* (1877)—he wrote as an authority on scandals flagrant at the moment. Pitiless, insistent hammering at the social conscience is the method of these novels, which remind us at times of Victor Hugo, at times of Eugène Sue and at times of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Reade's habit of challenging attention by capitals, dashes, short emphatic paragraphs, and so forth, accentuates the general impression of urgency and anticipates the devices of modern journalism. But his novels, however documentary, are masterly as narratives, and contain scenes of "actuality"—fire, flood and shipwreck—that are as thrilling in print as they would be on the stage. The greatest triumph of his documentary method is the historical novel, *The Cloister and the Hearth* (1861), enlarged from the first version tamely entitled *A Good Fight*, which, as it does not contain Denys, omits one of his greatest creations. The remoteness of the scene helps to mitigate Reade's indignant crusading, but even here he is "out" against one abuse, the celibacy of the clergy, to which he recurred in *Griffith Gaunt* (1866). It is a story of conflict between ecclesiastical tyranny and domestic life—between cloister and hearth. In spaciousness of design, in variety of interest, in range of knowledge, in fertility of creation, in narrative art and in emotional power, the book is unique; the age must be rich indeed which can afford to consider the author of *The Cloister and the Hearth* a lesser novelist.

Some novelists are remarkable for their use of a formula or pattern which enables them to give consistency and continuity to their work. Thus, Mary Russell Mitford (1787–1855) may be said to have created a literature of place in *Our Village*, published in five volumes between 1824 and 1832. The scene was Three Mile Cross, where she supported her reprobate father for the last twenty years of his life; the village is near Reading, the country town of her *Belford Regis* (1835). Her inmost desire was to write ambitious tragedies in verse such as her *Rienzi* (1828); happily, the art of Jane Austen taught her to work upon a miniature scale. She brushes lightly over her

La Vendée (1850), were out of accord with his natural aptitudes, which resembled those of Thackeray and Jane Austen. The real Trollope begins with *The Warden* (1855), a "scene from clerical life", and develops in its successors, *Barchester Towers* (1857), *Dr Thorne* (1858), *Framley Parsonage* (1861), *The Small House at Allington* (1864) and *The Last Chronicles of Barset* (1867). In these we get a perfect picture of English provincial life, with the middle or upper middle

type. *Can You Forgive Her?* (1864) and *Orley Farm* (1868) are

something that could be done regularly by the clock at the rate of two-hundred-and-fifty words every fifteen minutes Later generations have liked him the better for it Trollope's writing is lucid,

the opposite of Trollope. He was no improviser of pleasant stories. He was always a fighter. He took up causes. He attacked abuses. He made almost every novel a document, fortified by authorities. He turned novels into plays and plays into novels—usually preferring the former course as he could then more easily pursue his imitators

Scottish fishing village, and appears to have no stage counterpart. Reade was deeply in sympathy with the impulse towards realism which was at work in fiction in the middle of the century, and in his

is remembered for *Tell Me a Story* (1875), *Carrots* (1876), *The Cuckoo Clock* (1877) and *The Adventures of Herr Baby* (1881)—all books with real charm. But the classics, both among books for children and among books of nonsense, are *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) and *Through the Looking-Glass* (1871), to the completeness of which the illustrations by Sir John Tenniel contributed so much that the stories hardly seem the same with other pictures even by eminent hands. The author, "Lewis Carroll", i.e., Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (1832–98), has already been mentioned for his verse. *Sylvie and Bruno* (1889) and *Sylvie and Bruno Concluded* (1893) are much less successful and have never been loved like the *Alice* books. Lewis Carroll's academic skits are the prey of collectors and his text books are now forgotten. The *Alice* books and *The Hunting of the Snark* are the result of pure inspiration working as inexplicably as unexpectedly in a shy and spinsterish mathematical tutor. A later writer who scored many successes in books for and about children is E. Nesbit, Mrs Hubert Bland. The tragedy of her life is not our present concern. From her numerous volumes we select for mention *The Story of the Treasure Seekers* (1899), *The Wouldbegoods* (1901), *The New Treasure Seekers* (1904) and *The Railway Children* (1906). In her Bastable children E. Nesbit shows the real understanding of juvenile minds that solemn psychologists never attain to. Several beloved magazines, from *Chatterbox* to *The Monthly Packet* with *The Boy's Own Paper* coming happily between, gave delight that was entirely decent without being the least oppressive. For Victorian children "the world went very well then". There were other writers whose work, not written for the young, nevertheless attracted them. Some of these will be mentioned later. We now return to the general account of Victorian novelists.

William Black (1841–98), a long-popular writer, who brought the Highlands home to the circulating libraries of the south, was most successful in depicting the clash between the Scottish character and alien temperaments. This is the main theme of such books as *A Daughter of Heth* (1871), *A Princess of Thule* (1874) and *Macleod of Dare* (1878). The stories are good, but the author's vision is clouded by romantic sentiment. Still, he was courageous enough to refuse at times the conventional and expected happy ending.

Wider territorial annexations can be briefly named—such as the Styria of Basil Hall's *Schloss Hainfeld* (1836) and the India of Colonel Philip Meadows Taylor's *Confessions of a Thug* (1839). Henry Kingsley (1830–76) drew vigorously the new life of Australia in *Geoffrey Hamlyn* (1859) and other books. The strain of adventure appears again in the Crimean scenes of *Ravenshoe* (1862). But Kingsley was more devoted to the old aristocratic ideal. Lord Charles Barty in *Austin Elliot* (1863) and Lord Saltire in *Ravenshoe* are "verray parfit

small world; places, people, especially children, seasons, sports, and atmosphere are touched into bright and graceful animation. Her one [illegible]

Carlingford—*Salem Chapel* (1863), *The Rector and the Doctor's Family* [illegible]

[illegible] phant's art explored was the unseen world. *A Beleaguered City* (1880) and *A Little Pilgrim in the Unseen* (1882) are most successful ad- [illegible]

[illegible] fated to disaster, must be set down Mrs Oliphant's failure to win a place nearer to George Eliot and Mrs Gaskell.

George Macdonald (1824–1905), poet, mystic and novelist, had many gifts, but never quite attained to success. *David Elginbrod* (1863) and *Robert Falconer* (1868) portray the folk of the Moray country with sureness and sympathy. His powers are best revealed in his various fairy tales, in which he shows a fertile invention and a deft poetical handling of the inverted causes and sequences and proportions of that world; and so he seems most likely to survive as a writer for children.

The whole century, from Maria Edgeworth onwards, was remarkable for the number of writers who, in books and magazines, contributed to the entertainment of children. Some have already [illegible]

Parables from Nature in five series (1855–71). Her daughter, Mrs [illegible]

[illegible] examples of her work, other than that for the very young, are *Mrs Overtheway's Remembrances* (1866), *A Flat Iron for a Farthing* (1870), T[illegible]

(1872), [illegible]

Darwin's [illegible]

stories in *Bimbi* (1882). Though her flamboyant style is now a "period piece", Ouida's outspokenness, rebellious instinct and cosmopolitanism played some part in widening the scope of the novel.

This larger range of the novel now began to include the novel of crime, in which the interest lay not in retribution but in detection. The publication in France of Vidocq's *Mémoires* in 1828–9 (Poe's three detective stories are much later) stimulated the production of such inventions. An early example in England is *Paul Ferrol* (1855) by Mrs Archer Clive (see p. 730). But the chief master of this art in England is William Wilkie Collins (1824–89), the contemporary of Émile Gaboriau in France. In Wilkie Collins the unravelling of the skein of crime is the work, not of the hand of the law, but of some person with a compelling interest in the elucidation. Sometimes there is no crime, but only a mystery. The same skill is lavished on both; and Wilkie Collins has never been excelled as a contriver of complicated plots. His first outstanding success, *The Dead Secret* (1857), was followed by the unsurpassed "thriller", *The Woman in White* (1860). Other successes are *No Name* (1862), *Armadale* (1866), *The Moonstone* (1868) and *The Law and the Lady* (1875). Wilkie Collins has the power of generating an atmosphere of foreboding, and of imparting to natural scenes a desolation which suggests depression and horror of spirit. The beginnings of his books are sometimes so tremendous that the conclusion fails to maintain the level. This is true, for instance, of *Armadale*. The main defect of the Wilkie Collins method is an abuse of machinery—not indeed of the machinery of detection, but of the machinery of narration. We get diaries, papers, memoirs, confessions, and so forth, which, designed to give verisimilitude, end in giving tedium.

Of the stream of novels poured out during the latter half of the century to satisfy the demands of a growing multitude of readers no description can be given here. The bibliography in the original *History* extends to eight pages of authors' names, and to that source of information the curious student must turn. We may usefully notice, however, a few of the lesser novelists, who, beginning in the nineteenth century, worked on into the twentieth, and, for some special qualities, have left memories that still linger.

We are met at once by the names of two women, both born in the first year of the Queen's reign—Anne Thackeray Ritchie (1837–1919), daughter of a great father, and Mary Elizabeth Braddon (1837–1915), who, as Mrs Maxwell, became the mother of a twentieth-century novelist. The talent of Anne Thackeray (or Lady Ritchie) was sweet and exquisite, and she is best remembered by *The Story of Elizabeth* (1863), *Old Kensington* (1873) and her volumes of recollections, full of delicate evocations. Miss Braddon (as she was always called) was a writer on the heroic scale of quantity. A mere list of her

animals are other elements which blend in the individual quality of

Richard Doddridge Blackmore (1825–1900), whose other stories, such as *Cripps the Carrier* (1876) *Christowell* (1882), *Springhaven* (1887) and *Perlycross* (1894) hardly deserve the oblivion that seems to have enveloped them. Blackmore was poet as well as novelist, and had the poet's eye for a scene.

from materials open to general use and the historical inaccuracies

differentists as well as enthusiasts. The standard of positive rebellion was raised chiefly by two writers, George Alfred Lawrence (1827–

endowment of the superhumanly immoral person with heroic

proved singularly attractive to readers. The *vivandière* Cigarette, in

vagance, Ouida has command of moving pathos and a purer style, as in the idyllic *Two Little Wooden Shoes* (1874), in the best of her animal stories, *A Dog of Flanders* (1872), and in some of the children's

Romance in the cruder sense was provided by Stanley Weyman (1855–1928) and Rider Haggard (1856–1925). Weyman in *A Gentleman of France* (1893) and *Under the Red Robe* (1894) neatly reduced the matter of Dumas to the dimensions of circulating-library readers, and these books may be taken as typical of his method in many other novels. Rider Haggard, more genuinely original, exploited in *King Solomon's Mines* (1885), *She* (1887) and *Allan Quatermain* (1887) an Africa still mysterious and uncommercialized. He held other realms in fee and could also succeed with quiet tales of contemporary life; but his African romances alone are memorable, and of these *King Solomon's Mines* is the most spontaneous. Rider Haggard had bold invention and good descriptive power, and his appeal is not yet spent. The numerous novelistic melodramas of T. H. Hall Caine must be dismissed unnamed.

Romance of another kind came from Arthur Conan Doyle (1859–1930), a doctor who became a prolific writer of fiction and ended as a credulous exponent of spiritualism. *The White Company* (1891), *Micah Clarke* (1889), *The Refugees* (1893) and *Rodney Stone* (1896) still appeal to a juvenile auditory; but Doyle's great feat was to add the fascinating detective Sherlock Holmes and his ingenuous interlocutor Dr Watson to the mythology of the western world. Baker Street still keeps the glamour their residence shed upon it. Holmes first appeared in *A Study in Scarlet* (1888); but this was a mere preliminary sketch for the better Holmes of *The Sign of Four* (1889) and a long series of short stories collected as *Adventures* (1891) and *Memoirs* (1893) of the hero, with another long story, *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902) following later. Thereafter Doyle, unmindful of an author's duty to his creations, did his best to write Holmes out of existence by putting him into some very feeble and exhausted stories; but the successful Holmes continues to live and the failures are forgotten. The invention of a master-criminal, Moriarty, was the worst failure of all. It seems to be generally believed that the first essential of a detective story is a detective. Conan Doyle, an experienced novelist, knew that the first essential of a detective story is a story; and his best detective tales have genuine life as stories. Few of them deal with murder, now the spice of life for a multitude of readers, and some of them relate the frustration rather than the commission of crime. No useful purpose is served by trying to derive Conan Doyle from earlier writers of detective fiction. The qualities that endear Sherlock Holmes and Dr Watson to a wide world of admirers were his own invention. Simplification, not complication, is the life of a detective story; and Doyle, like Poe, found the short story the best medium for his work. The *differentia* of Doyle's work is that he made the detective not merely an agent in romance, but its hero.

Still another purveyor of romance was "Anthony Hope"

novels would fill a page. She had already written poems and stories when popular success came with the thrilling *Lady Audley's Secret* [illegible]

[illegible]

place romance. It is perhaps worth notice that her first successful [illegible]

[illegible]

She (1870) and *Belinda* (1883) can be cited as fair specimens of her [illegible]

[illegible]

was followed by *Alice-for-Short* (1907), *Somehow Good* (1908), *It* [illegible]

[illegible]

and poured out into his ill-organized, easy-going stories all that had grown in his mind after a distant absorption of Dickens, Thackeray and Trollope. He is a strangely belated Victorian of the old type. His contemporary Richard Whiteing (1840–1928) was another example of late flowering. After a notable career in journalism he produced in 1888 *The Island*, an ironic social fantasia of great merit but small popularity, and eleven years later a kind of realistic sequel, *Number 5 John Street* (1899), which became a popular success. It is an arresting picture of social insurgence at the time of the Queen's [illegible]

[illegible]

and pleasing writer who scored at least a century of novels, the most famous being *Lost Sir Massingberd* (1864) and to the prolific W. E. Norris (1847–1925) whose numerous well-devised novels maintained the tradition of Trollope. Walter Besant (1836–1901) alone or in collaboration with James Rice produced a multitude of well-told tales, of which the best is *All Sorts and Conditions of Men* (1882). Others are *Ready-Money Mortiboy* (1872), *The Chaplain of the Fleet* (1881), *Children of Gibeon* (1886) and *The World Went Very Well Then* (1887). Besant founded the Society of Authors.

Florentines (1895) to *The Song of the Plow* (1916) Hewlett showed clearly that there was in him a strain of real poetry. His artistic sincerity was beyond question; but it took the unhappy form of a conviction that literature must be always literary. He seemed to be specially a victim of the prevalent end-of-the-century fever for the verbal gesticulations then called "style"—the elaborate avoidance of the simple, of which Meredith was the great exemplar and Stevenson the avowed prophet. Some of his work will always attract a curious few.

One exceptional person, entirely outside the main stream of romance, is William Hale White (1829–1913), who as "Mark Rutherford" delineated a noteworthy phase of English life, the deep disturbance of provincial Dissent by the theological growth of the more sincere ministers beyond the understanding of their congregations. The perplexity and misery of the pastors are revealed with insight and sympathy in *The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford* (1881), *Mark Rutherford's Deliverance* (1885), *The Revolution in Tanner's Lane* (1887), and *Catherine Furze* (1894). The list is not exhaustive. Emotional sincerity, descriptive power and critical restraint distinguish the work of this singular writer, whose work, never popular, will continue to attract those whose feelings about ultimate things lie deep.

The end of the nineteenth century witnessed a remarkable outburst of novel writing by women—the first signs of an activity that is now the most familiar feature of current literature. Though there had been a steady growth in the number of women writers, the outstanding names are few, and the chapters of this volume tell the story of literature mainly produced by men. While the male novelists whom we have mentioned above were engaged in the pursuit of romance, the female writers turned to intimate realities. For this sudden concert of women's voices at the end of the century there are two obvious reasons: the generation of women that had profited by higher education had been reached, and the "position-of-women" question had been newly and searchingly raised. Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication*, a century old, was now ancient history. *Jane Eyre* (1847) was hardly recognized as a declaration of emotional independence for women; Mill's *Subjection of Women* (1869) was indeed recent enough to be still in the minds of advanced political thinkers; but the active liberator of the moment was Ibsen, whose "new" women, Lona, Nora, Ellida and Rebecca, had set new standards of freedom. Women had long been knocking at the door of professions hitherto closed to them as the preserves of men; now the whole social relation of woman to man became the subject of scrutiny; and so novels were not merely written by women, they were written about women. A generation that is accustomed to the free competi-

principality of Grünewald or the Grand Duchy of Gerolstein. Here are enacted the adventures described in *The Prisoner of Zenda* (1894) and its sequel *Rupert of Hentzau* (1898). *The King's Mirror* (1899) preserves the romantic air, but reflects a deeper study of the psychology of kingship. Anthony Hope showed a sense of comedy in

Woman (1905), with some lighter plays, especially *The Farmer's Wife* (1916), show humour or strength and should be taken as representa-

(1889) and exploited the humours and tragedies of Troy (Fowey) in *The Astonishing History of Troy Town* (1888), *The Mayor of Troy*

Hewlett (1861–1923), who sought sedulously for the beauty which had strangeness and delivered it with elaborately antique diction. He had already written the Pateresque *Earthwork out of Tuscany* (1895) when he attained celebrity with *The Forest Lovers* (1898), which carried neo-medievalism almost to the verge of caricature. The kind of diction that seemed natural speech in Morris's tales became in Hewlett a laboured artifice. *Richard Yea-and-Nay* (1900)

asserted itself—this time the manner of Meredith. *Half-way House* (1908), *Open Country* (1909) and *Rest Harrow* (1910), an asso-

these stories are really "about" something—they propound problems and sometimes draw upon known discords in biography for their subjects. They attempt, therefore, a serious "criticism of life"—a phrase here specially appropriate, for its inventor, Matthew Arnold, was Mrs Humphry Ward's uncle. But of her famous kinsman's humour, grace, and celerity of mind she had no trace. Her books, all solidly earnest, relieved their readers from any reproach of wasting their time on trifles. They are well-constructed and seriously written. They have, indeed, some of the highest virtues of fiction; but the highest of all virtues, readability, they have not. Because Mrs Humphry Ward was a learned woman and a novelist she has been mentioned with George Eliot. The association of the two names is completely uncritical. George Eliot, even in her least inspired efforts, belongs to a world of creative energy in which Mrs Humphry Ward had no part.

The women writers concerned with the "position-of-women" question were far below the level of Mrs Humphry Ward in every respect. "Sarah Grand" (Mrs M'Fall) wrote the book of her day in *The Heavenly Twins* (1893), but had already attacked the "sex-question" in *Ideala* (1888) and returned to it in *The Beth Book* (1897). What is not clear is whether Sarah Grand meant to be a pioneer of woman's freedom or only to make a case against man—as in the question of pre-nuptial chastity raised in *The Heavenly Twins*. But her books are merely symptoms of dissatisfaction and scarcely exist as contributions to English fiction. Sour and inharmonious sex-relation is the main theme of the stories in *Discords* by the writer who called herself "George Egerton". The contemporary *A Yellow Aster* (1894) by "Iota" (Mrs Caffyn) deals with differences about the bringing up of children. A much more uncompromising feminist was Elizabeth Robins (at first disguised as "C. E. Raimond") who showed in *The Magnetic North* (1904) that she had some power as an original novelist telling a strong tale of hardship and endurance. *The Open Question* (1898) had raised the question whether a taint of disease in family history should be an obstacle to marriage. But *The Convert* (1907) was a novelistic tract presenting a case for women's suffrage and "*Where are you going to...?*" (1912) an unabashed and undisguised pamphlet in which "white slavery" was exploited to influence legislation against sexual offences. *The Woman who Did* (1895), a poor and unimportant story of a woman who believed conscientiously that the fact of marriage was possible without the tie of wedlock, was written by a man, Grant Allen, but it could easily have passed as the work of a woman. All the books named above were indications of that insurgence of women which was to develop later into the open violence of the suffragist agitation.

Other women writers were not definitely pamphleteers. Mrs

tion of women with men in the professions, the arts, the [illegible]
[illegible]
the nineteenth century woman was still, by a convention accepted by the majority of women themselves, the weaker vessel needing the strength of protective man. Ignorance, material, economic, political and biologica [illegible]
charm; but it [illegible]
most implacable opponents of the courageous women who forced their way into the medical profession were the other women. A [illegible]
[illegible]
then, that most of the novels written by women at this time sounded a note of revolt.

[illegible]
construction, this book was nevertheless a creation of genius. It divines more than it understands. The girl Lyndall, closely imprisoned in the strictest of conventions, religious, moral and domestic, declares and attains independence of belief, thought and action. In the very quietness of the story lies its main strength. It proclaims nothing; it intimates everything. Many young people of that time and later can date their first religious questionings and their first [illegible]
[illegible]
Imperialism, being a manifesto rather than a work of art.

The most impressive woman writer of the time, Mary Augusta Arnold (1851–1920), afterwards Mrs Humphry Ward, stood aloof from the conflict, which she regarded with disapproval. Her [illegible]
[illegible]
women. All her novels are stories of conflict; but she never sets any of her heroines to fight for the independence of women. She was already a practised writer when *Robert Elsmere* (1888) attained notoriety for its discussion of religious doubts. Actually there is nothing sensational in it. It marks almost the last point at which incertitude about the Christian miracles could provide material for a tragic conflict. In regular succession came *David Grieve* (1892), *Marcella* (1894), *Sir George Tressady* (1896), *Helbeck of Bannisdale* (1898), *Lady Rose's Daughter* (1903), *The Marriage of William Ashe* (1905) and *Fenwick's Career* (1906)—the list is not exhaustive. All

"new woman", and the faded fiction of those years does not lack a touch of heroism. It is an ignorant view that sees in the War of 1914–18 the liberation of fiction from the restraints and conventionalities of Victorianism. That liberation can be dated as far back as *Jane Eyre* and as far forward as *The Story of an African Farm* and the free thought that its influence stimulated. While the men writers (with the great exception of Hardy) were pursuing romance for its own sake, the women were making romance a vehicle for realism. Absurd and antiquated as some of them now appear, they deserve the honour due to pioneers. They blazed the trail that their successors now follow with ease and they prepared the minds of a large public for the novel of ideas.

XIV. GEORGE MEREDITH, SAMUEL BUTLER, THOMAS HARDY, GEORGE GISSING

The writers named above, though completely Victorian in birth and upbringing, represent a rejection of the normal Victorian values in faith and life. George Meredith (1828–1909) was partly Welsh by birth and was educated at the Moravian school at Neuwied. He was never quite the complete Englishman. His grandfather was a successful tailor (the "great Mel" of *Evan Harrington*), a fact about which he seemed unduly sensitive. Meredith, at first articled to a solicitor, drifted towards literature, and made a literary union by marrying a widowed daughter of Peacock. The marriage was not successful; and the early association with Peacock influenced Meredith in ways curiously unfavourable to his development. What in Peacock was naturally fantastic became in Meredith elaborately fantasticated; and Peacock's native economy of style became in Meredith an artificially oracular allusiveness. Meredith's first volume, *Poems* (1851), containing pieces of high promise and actual merit, gained very little recognition. His first prose works, *The Shaving of Shagpat* (1856) and *Farina* (1857), are remarkable as showing his extraordinary power of fantastic invention and his equally extraordinary power of concealing his thought in verbal flourishes. A loose grouping of the subsequent novels can be usefully given at once. *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* (1859), *Evan Harrington* (1861), *Emilia in England* (1864)—the title was changed to *Sandra Belloni* in 1887—and *The Adventures of Harry Richmond* (1871), all deal with the upbringing of well-born youth to the state of "capable manhood". *Rhoda Fleming* (1865) differs from them in giving prominence to figures of the yeoman class, who, in the earlier novels, are subsidiary. In *Vittoria* (1867)—the sequel to *Emilia*—*Beauchamp's Career* (1875) and, to a less degree, in *The Tragic Comedians* (1880) the novelist takes a wider

Harrison, who called herself "Lucas Malet" and inherited a talent for story-telling from her father, Charles Kingsley, first gained popular success with *The Wages of Sin* (1891), which might have been written by a man, and then strayed into the abnormal with *The History of Sir Richard Calmady* (1901). Fame of a different kind attended the brilliant, unhappy woman who called herself "John Oliver Hobbes" (1867–1906)—in life Mrs Reginald Craigie. *Some Emotions and a Moral* (1891) and *A Sinner's Comedy* (1892) were slight productions admired for their audacity of theme and their vivacity of utterance. [illegible] and its sequel *Robert C*[illegible] the characters. In th[illegible] occupation, and they reflect the spiritual or emotional conflict which led the author herself into the Roman Church. Her other stories hardly call for mention. Her books are no longer satisfying as novels, and as displays of wit they are sterile and even irritating. Her comedy *The Ambassador* (1898) did not rise in substance above the empty, polite, after-dinner entertainment of its period. Wit was the main attraction of *Concerning Isabel Carnaby* (1898) by Ellen Thorneycroft Fowler, and sentimental pathos drew crowds of readers for *Ships that pass in the Night* (1893) by Beatrice Harraden. Both were ambitious writers with "ideas"; but their other works did not succeed in any sense. Of "Marie Corelli" (Minnie Mackay) no more need be said than that the pretentious treatment of lofty themes by the illiterate for the illiterate was in itself a sidelight on the period, and, so far, worthy of mention. The quality of this egregious and once enormously popular writer can be tested by the curious in a single specimen of her work, *The Sorrows of Satan* (1895).

Rather later in time come two writers of much higher level, M. P. Willcocks, author of *The Wingless Victory* (1907) and *A Man of Genius* (1908) and May Sinclair, author of *The Divine Fire* (1904) and *The Combined Maze* (1913), the latter a moving exposition of the harsh pressure of the divorce laws upon the honest life of a poor London clerk. Both these women (who wrote many other books) [illegible]

Many other worthy names of excellent craftsmen in fiction are omitted through lack of space. The writers here selected arbitrarily for notice exhibit tendencies rather than specific achievement, and indicate the general spirit of an age. A consideration of the facts given should prevent the supposition that the free discussion of social problems, especially by women novelists, is something new. The end of the nineteenth century was, in fact, the period of the

Meredith's richest poems, and implicit in his representation of human relations and conflicts. But familiarity with the prose and verse of Meredith can be attained only at a cost which few readers are willing to pay. He is oracular, allusive, aphoristic, figurative, fantastic. Though he could write an exquisite poem like *Love in the Valley*, though he could write a lovely prose idyll like the meeting of Richard Feverel and Lucy, though he could tell a thrilling story like the revolutionary singing of Vittoria at La Scala, he chose generally to deter his readers by wilful and injurious excess of verbal tricks and manners. One is oddly conscious of a sense of inferiority concealing itself in display. The moving tragedy of such stories as *An Amazing Marriage* and *One of our Conquerors* is impaired by the incessant gesticulations of the author. The poems, strong, original, intrepid, suffer from the intense compression of their utterance. Meredith was a great metrical experimenter. He has devised some wonderful stanza forms and has brought some difficult lines to success. It is curious that the tune of certain poems will linger in the ear when the words that hold it have vanished. Even to the sonnet he gave a strong individual note. Whether recent experiments in prose and in verse will again bring him into general knowledge it is hazardous to prophesy. That such abundance of creative power should be poured away in waste would be lamentable. In all his work Meredith remained fanatically true to his own ideals of matter and expression. Disdaining popular approval, he sought to give the world nothing but his best, and was content to be a drudge for years in order to be free from the demands of the market for fashionable goods. His artistic sincerity, integrity and courage are as unimpeachable as they are inspiring.

Samuel Butler (1835–1902) was the grandson of a celebrated namesake who was headmaster of Shrewsbury and Bishop of Lichfield and the subject of an over-lengthy biography by Butler himself. His father, too, was a clergyman, and Butler was intended for the church. At Cambridge he did well in classics and pursued his interest in music. In 1859, abandoning his intention of taking orders, he went to New Zealand and successfully managed a sheep-run. Returning to England in 1864, he settled for the remainder of his life in Clifford's Inn. He dabbled in painting and was occasionally "hung" at the Royal Academy exhibitions. *Erewhon*, based on earlier articles, was published in 1872. Its immediate successor, *The Fair Haven* (1873), provides an unpleasing ironical setting for the matter of his pamphlet, *The Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, written in 1865. He had begun, about 1872, *The Way of all Flesh*; but it was laid aside, worked over for several years, and posthumously published in 1903. His books of scientific controversy include *Life and Habit* (1877), *Evolution Old and New* (1879), *Unconscious Memory*

sweep of vision over the world of politics in England and Germany and of high national aspiration in Italy. The short stories, or, rather, the short novels, *The House on the Beach* (1877), *The Case of General Ople and Lady Camper* (1877) and *The Tale of Chloe* (1879) are not important and can be dismissed from consideration. *The Egoist* (1879) stands apart, not only from contemporary novels, but from Meredith's own fiction, in its originality of attitude and technique, [illegible]

[illegible] by male despotism. The early-written and unfinished *Celt and Saxon*, published in 1910, has resemblances to *Diana of the Crossways*, [illegible]

[illegible] without winning any but the smallest body of admirers. In 1862 appeared *Modern Love*, the poet's tragic masterpiece: it is a series of [illegible]

[illegible] *Poems* of 1909 all contain work elaborately thought and elaborately wrought, but encumbered with difficulties not inherent in their substance.

Meredith began to write at a time when Dickens, Thackeray, Browning and Tennyson were at the height of their powers and when George Eliot was hardly known; but he cannot be affiliated to any of his contemporaries or predecessors. He is in every sense an [illegible]tric. The society he depicts is almost feudal in its caste [illegible]

[illegible] intensified by his ruthless re-interpretation of the moral idea. He was a Pagan, deriving all things from the earth. Blood, brain and spirit are the names given to the successive stages in the process of life. Spiritual [illegible] patriotism [illegible] brain" ar[illegible]

for in *Erewhon Revisited* (1901), an ill-advised sequel, the machinery of his satire overwhelms its interest. Butler had in him a slight strain of the genius of Swift, not least in his capacity for writing almost perfect plain prose, over which he took great pains (spending half a lifetime in writing and re-writing his *Note-Books*), though, characteristically, he held up to derision all who took pains with their writing, protesting that he did no such thing. The success of his novel *The Way of All Flesh* is won at the cost of heavy assaults on the fifth commandment. Its criticism of the relations between parents and children is deep and searching; but like some other novels of revolt it is itself revolting. The spectacle of a son enjoying the exposure of his parents was distasteful even in the days of Noah. The book has been highly praised by certain writers and it has influenced some of them, not altogether for their good. It has never taken a place in the affection or esteem of the common reader. Neither in vision nor in execution has it the qualities of a great creative novel. It is a literary man's performance, and its success lies in its personal essayistic touches, in its casual satire and in its humorous asides. A juster conception of Butler's capacity is to be derived from *Alps and Sanctuaries*, in which appreciation of people and place blends with the acid flavour of his wit to produce a travel book inimitable in its idiosyncrasy. The same spirit is at play in his shorter essays, some of the best of which, in miniature or at length, can be found in the *Note-Books*. That Butler had genius is not to be denied; but it was a sterile genius. It encouraged the would-be clever to look for the defects of great men and to laugh at their greatness. Butler never had the least hesitation in proclaiming the worthlessness of writers whose works he had no intention of reading. As a humorist and satirist, expressing himself in lucid, personal prose, he takes high place; but for the more richly creative qualities of a writer one looks to Samuel Butler in vain. *Butleriana* (1932) and the *Letters between Samuel Butler and Miss Savage* (1935) complete the picture of an acrimonious and curiously provincial character.

Thomas Hardy (1840–1928) forms with George Meredith one of those remarkable pairs of opposites who divided the suffrages of Victorian readers. Nothing could be more unlike the resplendent, glittering fabric of Meredith, adorned with gallant figures, than the simple homespun of Hardy, wrought with sad sincerity of soul. He was born near Dorchester in rather poor circumstances, and received the beginnings of his education in local schools. Thence he passed to London, and studied in the evenings at King's College. From 1856 to 1861 he was the pupil of an ecclesiastical architect, and from 1862 to 1865 he worked under Sir Arthur Blomfield, drawing and surveying many old churches since restored out of recognition. Hardy was a prizeman of the Royal Institute of British Architects

composers. An intention to compose a Handelian piece on the subject of Ulysses led him to read Homer carefully, and the result was a conviction that the *Odyssey* was written by a woman, and that the ten years' voyage of Ulysses was nothing but a circumnavigation of Sicily. These views he expressed in a delightful volume, *The Authoress of the Odyssey* (1897). He also made prose translations, in a vigorous homely idiom, of the *Iliad* (1898) and of the *Odyssey* (1900). In 1899 appeared *Shakespeare's Sonnets, reconsidered and in part re-arranged*, combating the view that the poems were academic exercises, and contending that "Mr W. H." was a plebeian of low character. Butler's critical works exhibit the kind of originality that rejoices in differing from everybody else; but fortunately it is not necessary to agree with Butler in order to enjoy him. A selection from his manuscript collections appeared in 1912 under the title *The Note-Books of Samuel Butler*. It is, in many respects, the most attractive and rewarding of his writings. Butler was an original but overweening writer. He deliberately sought to play the part of *enfant terrible* and then complained that he was not taken seriously. His criticism of Darwin was sound; but it did not entitle him (as he seemed to hope) to be hailed as a pioneer in science. He had made

His true cause of complaint was that there was some reluctance and some disingenuousness shown in admitting the force of his criticism. The feud between Butler and the Darwinians hardly concerns literature. *Life and Habit*, his major contribution to the controversy, continues to live as an excellent example of clearly presented argument touched with a literary charm beyond the hopes of most writers on science. It should be added that some of Butler's

Europe. This was completed by further instalments in 1906 and *1908*. Readers and critics were a little puzzled and disconcerted when the first instalment appeared. They were shown only part of the picture; its vastness of design and mastery of execution could not be discerned till the whole was displayed. As poetry, drama and history *The Dynasts* is a great and enriching contribution to literature. The deliberately unadorned blank verse dialogue serves its own purpose well and forms a perfect setting for the choral odes and the imaginative prose connections. There is no trace in it of the "debased Elizabethan" common in literary tragedy. The idiom of *The Dynasts* and indeed of the poems generally is Hardy's own. His poetry, on whatever scale, offers few allurements of verbal grace or metrical felicity, but it has pure lyric inspiration, the vision of a poet and the veracity of an undeluded mind. His prose is so completely without manner as to appear sometimes without distinction. In prose and verse alike, Hardy abjured the current sentimental attitude to life, love and religion. His interpretation of existence is not a "reading of earth" in the mystical Meredithian sense, but it is an interpretation of earthly facts. The most impressive character in his novels is not a person, but a place, Egdon Heath, timeless, immemorial, and unmindful of the human life that flutters briefly upon its ancient bosom. Though he tells us, in Aeschylean phrase, that the President of the Immortals had ended his sport with Tess, Hardy had no belief either in Immortals or in President. A complete fatalist, from the first movements of his novels to the last workings of destiny in *The Dynasts*, Hardy saw man living, loving, labouring and hesitating against a background of remote, indifferent, implacable forces, themselves unconscious and uncontrolled. He seemed drawn to the darker side of truth, and appeared to turn the balance against hope, because his artistic veracity forbade him to propagate delusions about a happy issue out of human afflictions. As far apart in spirit as in time from the great Greek writers, he had their view of man as born to endure that which was to befall him; and he expressed his faith in creations that often rise to the dignity of tragedy. His novels, gravely sincere, but unequal and sometimes unconvincing, gave distinction to the closing years of the nineteenth century; his poems are the most considerable written, so far, in the twentieth.

From Hardy to George Gissing (*1857–1903*), another Victorian rebel and realist, is a descent to a lower level of creative apprehension. Gissing began at Owens College, Manchester, a promising academic career that was cut short by several misfortunes, including an ill-starred marriage. Indeed, he seemed born to encounter mischances in life, and it is fitting that he became the chronicler in fiction of lives in which success had no part. His first novel, *Workers in the Dawn*, was published at his own expense in 1880. He endured great poverty

[illegible]

interest in local associations. In Hardy always, as in Meredith rarely, the sense of time and place is very strong. He re-created in literature the characters of his own native Wessex and he moved at ease in the period of the Napoleonic wars, of which he had learned details from survivors. Like Meredith, Hardy began with poetry, though he [illegible]

Remedies (1871), and this was followed in regular succession by *Under the Greenwood Tree* (1872), *A Pair of Blue Eyes* (1873), *Far from the Madding Crowd* (1874), *The Hand of Ethelberta* (1876), *The Return of the Native* (1878), *The Trumpet-Major* (1880), *A Laodicean* (1881), *Two on a Tower* (1882), *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (1886), *The Wood-* [illegible]

increasingly recognized as a sincere writer with an unflinchingly honest view of life, Hard[illegible] of thoughtful persons. [illegible] by the publication of [illegible] *Woman*; he then infuriated the protectors of the proprieties by the crude, gratuitous realism of *Jude*, and puzzled even his admirers by the rather incredible plot of *The Well-Beloved*, which appeared to show symptoms of exhausted powers. Hardy's *Tess* came out in the Ibsen period, and current opinion charged both these stern moralists with deliberate outrage against the decencies of life. Few epithets of disgust were left even for *Jude*. Partly in contempt for the assaults of indignant sentimentality in England upon books that would have aroused no murmur of protest in any centre of Continental culture, [illegible]

pelled when the most astonishing of Hardy's works began to appear in 1904—*The Dynasts*, an epic-drama of the Napoleonic wars in

apprehension of man's sheer vitality even in circumstances that invite surrender to despair. He had considerable influence in his last years, and many stories of mean lives in mean streets owed their existence to his example. It may be added, for information, that Gissing's own life, very transparently disguised, is drawn in *The Private Papers of Henry Maitland* (1912) by Morley Roberts, author, among many other books, of *The Western Avernus* (1887), a very remarkable record of "toil and travel in further North America".

and hastened his end by deliberate privation. He was determined to live a literary life and refused to touch journalism in any form. His more important books are *The Unclassed* (1884), *Isabel Clarendon* (1886), *Demos* (1886), *Thyrza* (1887), *The Nether World* (1889), *New Grub Street* (1892), *Born in Exile* (1891) and *The Odd Women* (1893). There are several later volumes that add nothing to what he had already said. When he could follow his heart and write what he wished, he set to work upon a novel of Roman history, *Veranilda* (1904), which he did not finish, and which is no more successful or important than Wilkie Collins's *Antonina*. Three books outside the department of fiction are *Charles Dickens: A Critical Study* (1898), *By the Ionian Sea* (1901), and *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft* (1903). He made a second unfortunate marriage, and his life was cut short by persistent ill-health. In form the novels of Gissing are Victorian; in matter they reject the current themes and beliefs. That he was influenced by the art of the French realists is clear, but he was in no sense a follower of any school. He was the first English novelist of importance to consider seriously the psychology of sex, and in certain characters he shows without concealment the furtive, unlovely side of amorousness. Though he was a close student and admirer of Dickens he had no touch of the master's creative energy or fantasy. Dickens (when he was not crusading) could depict the lives of the poor as rich in idiosyncrasy and humorous vitality; Gissing, who was bred in the north, saw nothing in poverty but a squalid, mirthless waste on the outskirts of hideous commercialism; and he pictured it without pity and without sympathy. The novels that depict a higher level of suburban society have the same kind of [illegible]

His monograph on Dickens was the first sound critical study of that master by a fellow novelist. It disposed finally of the heresy that Dickens's characters are mere caricatures; it did justice to his skill in the presentation of various types of women; and it set true value on his style, demonstrating in it the salutary element drawn from the eighteenth century. The most pleasing, though not the most important, of Gissing's books is *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft*—part diary, part essays, part confessions. *By the Ionian Sea* must be the most joyless holiday book ever written. Gissing is the uncompromising historian of the seamy side of later-day Victorian England; yet in spite of his careful, seriously intended work, he does not take rank with the greater novelists, because he had imperf

artificially high. Adam Smith believed that the interests of the country gentleman harmonized with that of the mass of the people; Ricardo showed that the rent of the land rises with the increasing need of the people. This opposition of interests seemed to him the result of inevitable law. He took no account of other than economic motives in human conduct, and he may be said to have invented the fiction of the "economic man", though he did not use the phrase. His doctrines, relentlessly scientific and inhuman, led to the later reaction against private ownership. The *Political Economy* (1821) of James Mill (1773–1836) reduces Ricardo's doctrines to text-book form, and states them with the concise and confident lucidity which distinguished the author. But Mill did not limit himself to economics. He endeavoured to determine the best form of political order by deductive reasoning; and his method was severely criticized in a familiar essay by Macaulay. Mill's chief philosophical work was, however, his *Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind* (1829), in which he laid a psychological foundation for the Utilitarian superstructure. In general, Mill followed the "associationism" of Hartley.

Sir William Hamilton (1788–1856), once highly regarded, though always acutely criticized, has not maintained his former reputation. His *Discussions on Philosophy and Literature, Education and University Reform* (1852) contained articles previously published. He prepared an edition of Reid's *Works* (1846), which he illustrated with elaborate appended Notes, chiefly historical. *Lectures on Metaphysics and Logic* appeared posthumously in four volumes (1858–60). Hamilton's influence was great. Since the time of Descartes, Continental thought had had little effect upon English philosophy. Leibniz and even Spinoza were hardly more than names. The doctrines of Locke, Berkeley and Hume had entered into the European tradition; but the reaction which they produced, and which began with Kant, was for long ignored in England. One or two enthusiasts, following the lead given by Coleridge, tried to make Kant known, but their efforts were not widely successful. Hamilton's cosmopolitan learning broke in upon British philosophy and freed it from the narrowness both of the Scottish academic teachers and of the English disciples of Bentham. Hamilton devoted much ingenuity to an elaborate modification of the formal doctrine of traditional logic, and his view was hailed as the greatest logical discovery since the time of Aristotle. It s known as "the Quantification of the Predicate". Hamilton's own xpositions of it are incomplete. The clearest accounts of his views ave to be sought in *An Essay on the New Analytic of Logical Forms* 850), by his pupil, Thomas Spencer Baynes, and in *An Outline of e Laws of Thought* (1842), by William Thomson, afterwards Archshop of York. Two contemporary mathematicians, Augustus De organ, ingenious author of a *Budget of Paradoxes* (1872), and George

CHAPTER XIV

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. PART III AND POST-VICTORIAN LITERATURE

I. PHILOSOPHERS

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Hamilton and John Stuart Mill, in their various discussions of the mind and its problems, gave philosophy once more an honoured place in the national culture. Before it could succeed, philosophy had to overcome not merely public indifference but its own current form. The Benthamite creed regarded the great problem of man's nature and life as solved; ethical principles had been finally settled, and nothing remained but their application to different situations. Political and social theory had been divorced from any principle save that of utility. The poor might suffer inconvenience; but philosophical Radicalism accepted calmly its own consequences.

The economic doctrines characteristic of the Utilitarian school were elaborated by a writer who was not a member of it, and who was attracted neither by philosophy nor by social theory. This was David Ricardo (1772–1823), a prosperous business man, whose interest in economic study, aroused by a reading of Adam Smith, was attested by a pamphlet on the currency (1809). With the encouragement of James Mill he then produced his chief work, *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (1817). Ricardo was less concerned with the nature and causes than with the distribution of wealth. This distribution has to be made between the classes concerned in the production of wealth, namely, the landowner, the [illegible]

in favour of free and unrestricted imports; otherwise rent will

his adherence to the maxim of *laissez faire*, Mill recognized the possibility of modifying the system of distribution, even to the extent of a leaning towards the socialist ideal, which became more discernible as his life advanced. Better known and more generally read are his shorter works, *Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform* (1859), *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861), *On Liberty* (1859) and *On the Subjection of Women* (1869). The essay *On Liberty*, the most popular of all his works, is an eloquent defence of individualism. *On the Subjection of Women* states a convincing case for rights now conceded. *Three Essays on Religion* (1874) appeared after his death. In these essays, as well as in his *Auguste Comte and Positivism* (1865), Mill showed signs of moving from his early agnosticism towards some form of theism. Apart from their intrinsic value, the writings of John Stuart Mill deserve study as the revelation of a perfectly sincere and intellectually honest mind that followed truth wherever it led.

A reaction is shown in the work of William Stanley Jevons (1835–82), whose *Theory of Political Economy* (1871), *Pure Logic* (1864), and *Principles of Science* (1874) indicate some divergence from the philosophical position of Mill. George Grote, the historian of Greece, deserves mention here not only for his works on Plato and Aristotle, but also for some independent contributions to ethics, published together under the title *Fragments on Ethical Subjects* (1876). He had little sympathy with Mill's "mystical" tendency. In this respect he agreed with Alexander Bain (1818–1903), who had assisted Mill in some of his works, especially the *Logic*. Bain's own pre-eminence was in psychology, to which his chief contributions were two elaborate books, *The Senses and the Intellect* (1855) and *The Emotions and the Will* (1859). His influence as psychologist and educationist, once considerable, has now faded.

Religious philosophy in England was stimulated by the work of three men, Frederick Denison Maurice (1805–72), John Henry Newman (1801–90) and James Martineau (1805–1900). Maurice's influence was due more to his personality than to his books; and he was a social reformer and religious teacher rather than a philosopher. John Henry Newman was still less of a philosopher, though his *Grammar of Assent* (see p. 678) propounds a theory of the nature and ground of belief, and suggests the existence of an "illative sense". The *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* (1845) does not anticipate evolutionary theory. Development, as Newman himself defines it, is certainly not evolution. Of greater importance in philosophy was James Martineau, to whom reference has already been made (p. 683). He was eighty years old, or upwards, when his chief books appeared—*Types of Ethical Theory* (1885), *A Study of Religion* (1888), and *The Seat of Authority in Religion* (1890). The first is still a classic of its kind.

Boole, went even further than their master; and the latter's treatise entitled *An Analy*
of the modern l
Hamilton is the "
is not easy to estimate, owing to the difficulty of stating the exact sense in which he held his favourite doctrine of the relativity of human knowledge. The theological results of Hamilton's philosophy of the conditioned and the relativity of human knowledge were worke
Dean
Condit
The Limits of Religious Thought (1858).

John Stuart Mill (1806–73), son of James, is the most interesting
is earliest
liscipline;
had not
only a mind, but a body and a soul; and something like tragedy followed later, when the body began to break under the long strain of intellectual exertion and the soul began to suffer from emotional starvation. The story is told in Mill's intensely interesting *Autobiography*, posthumously published in 1873. After many months of

The older fanatics of the Utilitarian faith thought he was lost,

constructive faculties; but Mill had insight into regions beyond the vision of Bentham. The most considerable of Mill's books is *A System of Logic* (1843), in which he works out a theory of evidence in har-
ter and
can be
and of the Principal Philosophical Questions Discussed in his Writings (1865), a work that shows Mill's powers at their most mature stage. In

has been variously regarded as an improved Adam Smith and as a popularized Ricardo. But it has breadth and vision, and in spite of

volume in 1879. The association of Lewes with George Eliot has been noted elsewhere. Possibly his most enduring work is not philosophical but biographical, the *Life and Works of Goethe* (1855). Lewes was interested in the theatre, and both his critical essays and the tract *On Actors and Acting* (1875) retain their interest. He is a remarkable instance of a highly gifted man willing to sacrifice his own ambitions in order to serve one whose gifts he believed to be greater.

Thomas Henry Huxley (1825–95), the distinguished zoologist and advocate of Darwinism, made many incursions into philosophy, and always with effect. He was a master of expository and argumentative prose, and did for Darwinism the apostolic work that Darwin could not do himself. Of his many works we may cite *Zoological Evidences for Man's Place in Nature* (1863), *On the Physical Bases of Life* (1868), *Lay Sermons* (1877) and *Hume* (1879). There was insight, courage and some over-confidence in the writings of William Kingdon Clifford (1845–79); but he did not live long enough to develop his talents. *Seeing and Thinking* (1879) is the one memorable book he produced. Among those who approached philosophy from the literary side special mention should be made of Leslie Stephen (1832–1904). His *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (1876) is penetrating and usually just in its estimate of the philosophers and their work. A further stage of the same history, *The English Utilitarians* (1900), was completed towards the end of his life. His own independent contribution is given in *The Science of Ethics* (1882). Walter Bagehot's *Physics and Politics* (1869) is an application of the evolutionary idea to political society. This delightful book, with which we may name *The English Constitution* (1867), *Lombard Street* (1873), and *Economic Studies* (1880), exhibits the brilliance of a wittily critical but hardly a constructive mind. Two philosophers who saw that evolution was not an "open sesame" to the secrets of philosophy and yet owed small allegiance to the idealist movement of their own times were Henry Sidgwick (1838–1900) and Shadworth Hodgson (1832–1912). Sidgwick's reputation as a philosophical writer was made by his first book, *The Methods of Ethics* (1874). He afterwards published smaller treatises on political economy and on politics. Shadworth Hodgson's life was an example of rare devotion to philosophy. In the first period of his activity he published three books: *Time and Space* (1865), *The Theory of Practice* (1870) and *The Philosophy of Reflection* (1878). In the course of years he attained to new ideas and recast his system as *The Metaphysic of Experience* (1898). Hodgson may be called a materialist, for he held that the only real condition known to us is matter, though it is itself conditioned by something which is not material, and which is beyond our investigation.

The latter half of the nineteenth century was marked by the work

The publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859 marks a turning-point in the history of modern thought. Men were com- [illegible] by the doctrines of Copernicus and Galileo. Though Darwin was not in any sense the discoverer of the evolutionary idea, he was the first to make it an accepted [illegible]

[illegible] devoted his life. In regular succession came *First Principles* (1862), *Principles of Biology* (1864–7), *Principles of Psychology* (1870–2), *Principles of Sociology* (1876–96) and *Principles of Ethics* (1879–92). Spencer also produced such smaller works as *Education* (1861), *The* [illegible]

[illegible] much ingenuity in fitting organic, mental and social facts into his [illegible]

[illegible] Lewes (1817–78). Lewes had great versatility and was known as [illegible] His [illegible] *ry of* [illegible] ctive and readable work. After an interval, he produced volumes entitled [illegible]

appeared faintly flippant. The *Foundations of Belief* (1895), *Theism and Humanism* (1915) and *Theism and Thought* (1925) were later excursions into philosophy; but they contributed nothing to current thought. Balfour was critical rather than constructive, and wrote mainly to clear his own mind. His public oratory, with its involved structure, was simpler to hear than to read. Neither speeches nor writings give evidence of strong originating power in thought, but they complete the picture of an unusually attractive figure in public life. A much more powerful mind was that of Richard Burdon, afterwards Viscount, Haldane (1856–1928), eminent as jurist, statesman and philosopher. Haldane had resources of mind and character which placed him far above the illiterate politicians who sought to drive him from public life. He had studied philosophy in Germany, "his spiritual home", and began his literary career with a translation of Schopenhauer's *The World as Will and Idea* (1883–6). His original studies in absolute and relativist philosophy are contained in a series of deeply thought works, *The Pathway to Reality* (1903), *The Reign of Relativity* (1921), *The Philosophy of Humanism* (1922) and *Human Experience* (1923). Haldane's extraordinary mind worked both profoundly and rapidly, and his books must be wrestled with before they yield their reward. The most impressive of the later neo-Hegelians was John M'Taggart Ellis M'Taggart (1866–1925), pupil of Henry Sidgwick and James Ward (1843–1925), the latter a considerable writer, whose article *Psychology* in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* long retained standard rank. M'Taggart at Cambridge attracted many disciples and his work still occupies the thought of expositors. His contribution to written philosophy is to be found in *Studies in Hegelian Dialectic* (1896), *Studies in Hegelian Cosmology* (1901), *Some Dogmas of Religion* (1906), *A Commentary on Hegel's Logic* (1910) and *The Nature of Existence* (1921–7). M'Taggart is not an easy writer to understand, nor, where he is understood, does he convince all readers that the principles he elaborates are valid. He managed to combine atheism with a belief in the survival of the human spirit. The vogue of M'Taggart's teaching was in part due to a singularly attractive personality. Like Macaulay he had an unlimited appetite for novel-reading.

Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, though both widely read, never became the objects of academic consideration in England. There were fervent English disciples of Benedetto Croce and Henri Bergson; but they failed to establish their masters in permanent esteem. The most important development of thought after "idealism" was "pragmatism", a "new name for some old ways of thinking", specially associated with the American philosopher William James, brother of Henry James the novelist. At present the closest attention is being given to psychology, and specially to explorations of the unconscious

of a number of writers who were influenced by the German speculation variously called "neo-Kantian", "Hegelian" or "neo-Hegelian", though its English exponents described it simply as "idealism". The first important work of the new movement was *The Institutes of Metaphysic* (1854) by James Frederick Ferrier (1808–64), professor at St Andrews. After his death many of his papers were collected as *Lectures on Greek Philosophy and other Philosophical Remains* (1866). More important was *The Secret of Hegel* (1865) by James Hutchison Stirling (1820–1909). Although he wrote many books afterwards—the best being a *Text-book to Kant* (1881)—*The* [illegible]

[illegible]

academic writers, especially in Oxford and Glasgow. Of these one of the earliest and, in some respects, the most important, was Thomas Hill Green (1836–82), who, as editor of Hume, was able to show that Mill and Spencer had not advanced beyond the earlier philosopher. He appealed to "Englishmen under five-and-twenty to close their Mill and Spencer and open their Kant and Hegel"; and this appeal [illegible]

[illegible]

in 1883. Of the numerous writers who represent a type of thought [illegible] can mention here only [illegible] John Caird (1820–98) [illegible] works are cited in the [illegible]

[illegible]

exposition of idealism, sometimes as marking its dissolution His first philosophical work, *Ethical Studies* (1876), presented brilliant criticism of conventional ethical ideas. His *Principles of Logic*, published in 1883, broke new ground and exposed the defects of em- [illegible]

[illegible]

than any other treatise of its time. A later volume, *Essays on Truth and Reality* (1914), deals in great part with controversies which belong to the twentieth century. Bradley was a master of philosophical prose, and he has left at least a tradition, if not a school.

On the fringe of philosophy stands the engaging figure of Arthur James Balfour, afterwards Earl of Balfour (1848–1930), who gave up to politics very great suppleness and tenacity of mind He attracted attention as a writer with *A Defence of Philosophic Doubt* (1879), a book which was never taken quite seriously, because its title

volumes were the best, and inspired scholars like Thorpe and Kemble to make further researches. Sharon Turner was antiquarian rather than historian. He did not write well; but he was a real pioneer, and the first to teach his fellow-countrymen something valuable about their immigrant forefathers. Contemporary with Sharon Turner was John Lingard (1771–1851), whose *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church* was published in 1806. Lingard was a Roman Catholic, and his faith is considered a disability by people who forget first, that many Continental historians suffer from this disability, and next, that English history for most of its centuries is the history of a country in communion with Rome. Actually, Lingard was a man of such liberal views that his most violent opponents were those within his own church. Lingard's *History of England from the First Invasion of the Romans to the Accession of William and Mary* (1819–30) in eight volumes achieved a remarkable success. His work is so scrupulous that it lacks the intensity of spirit and the animation of personality which alone can transform historical composition into literature, and he is now not much read. But he is still useful.

Henry Hallam (1777–1859) approached the Middle Ages in a more critical spirit. Easy circumstances enabled him to take his time about both reading and writing, and it was not till 1818 that his first book appeared. In this work, *A View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, he surveyed the course of European history during ten formative centuries and exhibited the severely judicial qualities that made Mignet call him "the magistrate of history". Its successor, *The Constitutional History of England from the Accession of Henry VII to the Death of George II* (1827), remained for a long time the standard treatise on its subject. Hallam was a Whig of the "finality" school. He distrusted the multitude, and could hardly have been the historian of later constitutional reform. *The Constitutional History* was, at a later date (1861–3), adequately continued by Sir Thomas Erskine May, who had made a name for himself by his standard work, *The Rules, Orders and Proceedings of the House of Commons* (1854). Hallam's last important book, the *Introduction to the Literature of Europe during the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1837–9), forsakes politics for literature and lays open the treasures of a well-stored mind. But though the matter is fascinating, the style is arid, and the book is for utility rather than for delight. Of another Whig historian, Sir James Mackintosh (1765–1832), whose revolutionary *Vindiciae Gallicae* (1791) had challenged Burke, and whose subsequent "apostasy" (as it was viewed) provoked the bitter resentment concentrated in the six lines of Lamb's acrid epigram, it is not necessary to say more than that his *History of England* (1830), his unfinished *History of the Revolution in England in 1688* (1834) and a *Dissertation*

and to experiments of a kind undreamed of by the earlier students of man's mind and spirit. The reactions of modern psychology upon ethics have yet to be studied; but its influence upon the novelists who seek to display being in action is already discernible, if not always impressive.

II. HISTORIANS, BIOGRAPHERS AND POLITICAL ORATORS

1. *Writers on Medieval and Modern History*

The antiquarians of the eighteenth century [illegible]

[illegible]

of these materials. In a sense, the first important historical compositions of the age were the novels of Scott, for they taught historians how to depict in narrative [illegible]

[illegible]

arising from a study, in the records, of our national institutions; the other was the beginning of social history, arising from a study, scarcely attempted before, of the economic influences under which nations develop. To this latter study the revolutionary movements of 1830 and 1848–9 gave natural impetus. The former impulse led some writers to dwell [illegible]

[illegible]

turies part of the Roman Empire. Of that long period there are very few records, and it is always easy to suppose that where there are no records there were no events. But the memory of what has been is not easily effaced by any incursions of conquering barbarians. Something survives even during the darkest of ages. Immediately, however, there was much more to be learnt about the conquerors than about the conquered, and, materials being available, much began to be written.

The first historian of the Germanic invaders was Sharon Turner (1768–1847) who, having his enthusiasm kindled in youth by the *Death-Song of Ragnar Lodbrok* in Percy's *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry*, devoted his maturer studies to the Cottonian manuscripts in the British M[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and, later, histories of the reign of Henry VIII (1826) and of the reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth (1829). The earliest

Miscellaneous Essays (1841–4). The value of such a body of writing of course varies greatly, but the *Essays* remain permanently readable and have opened to many eager young minds the great treasures of history and literature. Too frequently they receive the ungrateful kind of criticism that devotes itself exclusively to negatives. They are charged with being not profound, not philosophical, not psychological, not spiritual, not exalted. True; but there are no essays, by whomsoever written, deserving all the epithets of commendation. What may be overlooked in the anxiety to find fault is that an essay by Macaulay is eminently a thing of its own kind, with its own unrivalled excellences. Some subjects he should have left alone; but, in general, Macaulay's blend of history, biography and literary enthusiasm is entirely and successfully his own creation. Sensible readers enjoy his essays sensibly, nor thank the gods amiss.

The long conceived historical work did not easily come to birth. It was begun about 1839 after his return from India, but even then was interrupted by the characteristic eagerness which produced the *Lays of Ancient Rome* (1842). When the first two volumes of *The History of England* appeared in 1848, Macaulay was past his maturity and must have known that the completion of his plan was a dream never to be realized. The third and fourth volumes appeared in 1856, and by that time he was a stricken man awaiting the end. The fifth volume appeared in 1861, after his death, and leaves the story on the very eve of the great Queen Anne period which he would have described as no other ever could. Macaulay's *History*, fragment though it is, remains a landmark of English historical literature, and takes rank with our other great historical classic, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Macaulay was peculiarly fitted for the literary research required in the composition of history. The historians who confine themselves to purely historical material leave half their tale untold. Macaulay's vast general reading enabled him to paint pictures of English life and society full of colour and variety, and to produce a gallery of vividly drawn portraits unequalled by any other English historian. To accuse Macaulay of bias is to utter the obvious. Every historian has bias. Bias is merely an aspect of conviction, without which there can be no enduring history. Macaulay's writing is that of a prose master with the mind of a poet. His use of proper names is Miltonic and his narrative is Homeric. In the art of telling a story his pre-eminence is supreme. His sentences march like an army with banners and their cumulative effect is almost overwhelming. Macaulay's *History* remains one of the most triumphant literary masterpieces of the Victorian age.

It is both fortunate and appropriate that the biography of Macaulay should have been written (1876) by a member of his family with the gifts of a literary historian. Sir George Otto Trevelyan (1838–1928)

on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy, chiefly during the 17th and 18th Centuries (1830) caused more excitement among his friends and opponents than they seem now to be worth. He was carefully reviewed by Macaulay, who has superseded him as a historian, and to whom we now turn.

Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–59), the son of Zachary Macaulay (1768–1838), a pillar of the anti-slavery movement, passed to Trinity College, Cambridge, after education in private schools. [illegible] to periodical literature. With other brilliant young men he began writing for *Knight's Quarterly Magazine* (1823), a new venture that did not last long. His father, who expected something solid, decorous and serious, was hurt and even alarmed by the young man's outbreak into verse (*Ivry* and *The Armada*, for instance) and had to be mollified. Macaulay then turned to *The Edinburgh Review* and at once made himself famous by a single article, the *Milton*, which appeared in the number for August 1825. Though afterwards deprecated by its author (and by others since) this engagingly youthful article deserved its fame. It announced definitely the arrival of a new critic with a note of authority, a style of great distinction, and an extraordinary power of capturing and holding the attention of readers. These gifts were pre-eminent in Macaulay to the end of his life. So much interest was excited by Macaulay's *Edinburgh* articles that the author was welcomed in eminent Whig society and found the way to political life open to him. A brief account of Macaulay's public career may be given at once. He entered Parliament in 1830, and held minor offices with distinction. The turning-point of his life came when he was offered a seat on the Supreme Council of India. Though this meant exile from England he decided to accept the post, feeling sure he could save enough to make himself independent. The years from 1834 to 1838 were therefore spent in India, where he did work of characteristic honesty and thoroughness. After returning to England he became M.P. for Edinburgh in 1839 and took office as Secretary for War (1839–41). From 1846 to 1848 he was Paymaster-General; but after an electoral defeat at Edinburgh in 1847 he withdrew from political life. Edinburgh repented, however, and [illegible]

security, to the principles and institutions bequeathed by the Teutonic invaders.

The most vigorous exponent of the Germanist view was Edward Augustus Freeman (1823–92), who followed Kemble, and would not hear of Palgrave's paradox as to the kinship between the Romanized Celts and the English invaders. To Freeman the Germanic invasions meant extirpation. Always an eager controversialist as well as a voluminous writer, he is better remembered by his great *History of the Norman Conquest* (1867–76) than by his attacks and defences. His major work nowhere fails to manifest a spirit of lofty patriotism inseparable from an ardent love of freedom. That the Germanic invasions made England, and that the Norman Conquest left its free national life in all essentials unchanged, remained the cardinal doctrines of Freeman's life and teaching. For the titles of his other numerous volumes, great and small, the reader is referred to *The Cambridge Bibliography*.

The close association of Freeman and Stubbs was long a theme of academical jest. William Stubbs (1825–1901), successively Bishop of Chester and of Oxford, made his mark as a historical writer nearly a decade later than his friend. His principal achievement in the department of ecclesiastical history was *The Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents of Great Britain and Ireland*, edited by him in conjunction with A. W. Haddan (1871–8). In 1870, Stubbs first came before a wider public by arranging and editing *Select Charters and other Illustrations of English Constitutional History* (to the reign of Edward I). This book was followed, in 1874–8, by *The Constitutional History of England in its Origin and Development*, which was long accepted as the standard work on its subject. The Germanist views of Stubbs have been adversely criticized by later students.

Closely associated by friendship with Stubbs and Freeman was John Richard Green (1837–83), a historian of the same Germanist convictions, but of very different powers. His physical delicacy would always have prevented him from being one of the long-
[illegible] athletes of history. He formed the intention of becoming
[illegible]rian of the C[illegible]rch of England. This plan he changed from
[illegible] with c[illegible]teristic eagerness. Then he was attacked by
[illegible] and k[illegible] whatever he had to do must be done
[illegible]red, and the result was the famous
[illegible] *of the English People* (1874), which
[illegible] since the days of Macaulay. The
[illegible] the first history of England to deal
[illegible]ent of the people, is due to
[illegible] very high order, and to unusual
[illegible] the nation, artistic and literary
[illegible]y with the life of the

[illegible]
with lighter works, he found his true subject in the period of the American Revolution. *The Early History of Charles James Fox* (1880) was followed by *The American Revolution* (1899–1907), the story being completed by *George III and Charles Fox* (1912–14). To a command of material he added a gift of arresting narrative that places him among the few historians who can be read for pleasure. Trevelyan might, indeed, be called the last of the old school in his devotion to the Muse of history.

Sir Archibald Alison (1792–1867) was like Macaulay in being both essayist and historian, but like him in no other way. Of his *History of Europe during the French Revolution* (1833–42) with its continuation *The History of Europe from the Fall of Napoleon to the Accession of* [illegible]
for granted without being read.

Sir Francis Palgrave (1788–1861), son of Meyer Cohen, became a Christian on his marriage in 1823 and took the name by which he is now known. His contribution to historical study is that of an enthusiast for the national records. In 1831 he brought out a *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, and in the following year *The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, covering the same period. In 1834 he published *An Essay on the Original Authority of the King's Council*. In 1837 he produced the more popular *Truths and Fictions of the Middle Ages: the Merchant and the Friar*. His chief work, *The* [illegible]
Roman imperial idea, but that, in England, the free judicial institutions of the Germanic communities prevented the Roman tradition from leading to absolutism, and called forth the beginnings of our peculiar constitutional freedom. These "imperialist" views were attacked by the "Germanist" school of writers, who appeared to have better evidence; but the work of Palgrave has been undervalued.

John Mitchell Kemble (1807–57) may be called the first of the Germanist school. After studying at Göttingen under Jakob Grimm, he edited the *Anglo-Saxon Poems of Beowulf* (1833–7) and the *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici* (1839–48). His best-known work, *The Saxons in England* (1849), written at a time when the foundations of existing European governments seemed falling to ruin, declared that England owed her pre-eminence among nations, her stability and her

of Catherine of Aragon (1891), *The Spanish Story of the Armada* (1892) and *The Life and Letters of Erasmus* (1894) neither increased nor diminished the reputation created by the *History*. Among Froude's miscellaneous works may be named *Oceana*, a delightful but provocative record of a tour overseas, the volumes of collected essays called *Short Studies in Great Subjects* (1867–82), full of excellent matter, and, chief of all, his life of Carlyle, which, with all its errors of taste and judgment, tells part of the truth about its subject.

Passing from Froude to Samuel Rawson Gardiner (1829–1902) we pass from Tudor to Stuart history, and from the brilliant historical artist to the assiduous historical artisan. The first two volumes of Gardiner's great *History of England from the Accession of James I* appeared in 1863 and the work was issued steadily in successive instalments until 1882, after which it was revised and reissued in ten volumes, as *The History of England from* 1603 *to* 1640. Later came the continuation, the *History of the Great Civil War* (1886–91) and the *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate* (1894–1901). Gardiner's fame rests upon the solid substance of his work.

A remarkable historical writer, impossible to ignore, was Goldwin Smith (1823–1910). His work took a strongly political tone, and in *The Empire* (1863) he advocated the separation of the British colonies from the mother-country and their establishment as independent states. In 1866, being compelled by a severe personal trouble to resign his Oxford chair, he transferred himself, with his political aspirations and disappointments, first to Cornell University, in the United States, and thence, in 1871, to Toronto, where he continued his intense journalistic activity. He could not keep the spirit of political controversy out of anything he wrote; and, in truth, that spirit was part of his genius. His works were both numerous and various. Books like *Jane Austen* (1890) and *Guesses at the Riddle of Existence* (1897) represent the less provocative aspects of a strange character.

Sir John Robert Seeley (1834–95) first became famous (see p. 683) as the anonymous author of *Ecce Homo* (1865). His standpoint as a historical teacher and writer was clear to himself from the first. In the opening sentence of his most successful work, *The Expansion of England* (1883), he declares that history, "while it should be scientific in its methods, should pursue a practical object". This practical object was practical politics; and he set himself the task of training the statesmen of the future. His purely historical works (e.g. *Life and Times of Stein*, 1878) failed to establish themselves permanently; but *The Expansion of England* became a bible of politics. Imperialism, the very opposite system to that cherished by Goldwin Smith, was here shown to be the ideal which should guide the government of the British Dominions.

poor in all periods. The larger work, *A History of the English People* (1877–80), was expanded from the more popular book. Aided by his gifted wife, Alice Stopford, he produced *The Making of England* (18[illegible]

[illegible]

na[illegible] *Ancient Law* (1861) and in *Village Communities in the East and West* [illegible]

[illegible]

Reformers (1867) and *The English Village Community* (1882). Frederic William Maitland (1850–1906) reinterpreted and almost re-created [illegible]

[illegible]

the dissipation of the Spanish Armada. A celebrated article (1852) called *England's Forgotten Worthies* foreshadows the sympathies and the antipathies of the *History* in the phrase that describes James I as "the base son of a bad mother". That a work which offended many and startled more should have had such a popular success is a fact explicable only by the literary power of the author. Froude, like Macaulay before him, had creative narrative genius. His study of [illegible]

[illegible]

enjoy the union of felicity of form with wealth of colouring; it is almost infuriating to those who feel that he is making the worse seem the better cause. *The assaults upon the History, led by Freeman,* were many and fierce. The true charge against Froude lies, not in his neglect of authorities, but in something like a perversion of them. He does not inspire full belief. Froude was undoubtedly sincere in his view of Henry VIII as a hero; but it was his constant misfortune to appear disingenuous in advocacy. His later works—*The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (1872–4), *Caesar* (1879), *The Divorce*

helped to place the treatment of historical problems on a broader basis.

William Edward Hartpole Lecky (1838–1903), born and educated in Ireland, composed the earliest of his works under the influence of Buckle. The anonymous *Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland* (1861) attracted less attention than it deserved. Much more successful was the *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe* (1865), severely critical of theological dogmatism and its inevitable product, persecution. *The History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne* (1869) dealt with the same field of philosophical inquiry in the same spirit. Lecky turned next to political history, and was moved by Froude's anti-Irish calumnies to make some vigorous rejoinder. But *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (1878–90) was not designed controversially. *Democracy and Liberty* (1896) took Lecky back into the sphere of political philosophy. *The Map of Life* (1899) is more aphoristic and, perhaps on that account, more popular. Lecky, who was at first a Liberal, became a strong Unionist, and was M.P. for Dublin University from 1895 to 1902. Though not a great narrative artist, Lecky wrote very well, and exhibited in every aspect of his work the fine quality of a richly endowed mind.

Of later writers who have made additions to historical literature we can mention only a few outstanding names. The tragedy of Lord Acton (1834–1902), most learned historian of his time, is that he wrote no great historical work. Essays, notes, addresses, letters, and his famous inaugural lecture on the study of history are all that remain. Even *The Cambridge Modern History*, which he planned, contains nothing from his pen. The problem of his personal life was how to reconcile the principle of liberty, to which he was passionately attached, with submission to the authority of the Roman Church, of which he was a devout member. Of the history of liberty, which he desired or hoped to write, nothing exists. He seems the most striking example in recent years of great gifts nullified by absence of the creative impulse, and he remains a tradition, a mystery and a legend.

To omit the name of Sir Adolphus William Ward (1837–1924) would be unbecoming in a volume based upon *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, of which he was joint editor with Alfred Rayney Waller. His services to university education in history were outstanding. In solidity and variety of learning few scholars excelled him. Of his numerous works the best is *English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne* (2nd ed. 1899).

James, afterwards Viscount, Bryce (1838–1922) was publicist, statesman, historian, traveller and jurist, and served his country with high distinction as Ambassador to the United States. His first his-

The History of the War in the Crimea (1863–87) by Alexander William Kinglake (1809–91), author of the brilliant and delightful *Eothen* (1844), was based on the papers of Lord Raglan, and was at once an apologia and an exhaustive treatment of its subject. Its splendid literary qualities have failed to give it a place in the general reading of the public, perhaps because the subject (like that of Carlyle's *Frederick*) is now thought insufficiently attractive for such lengthy discussion. A famous story of an earlier war is Sir William Napier's *History of the War in the Peninsula* (1828–40), a fine example of its kind.

Among nineteenth-century historians of Scotland, precedence must be accorded to Patrick Fraser Tytler (1791–1849), whose *History of Scotland* (1828–43) was first suggested to him by Scott. The *History of Scotland* (1867–70) by John Hill Burton (1809–81) is worthy, but not easily readable. Burton is much more enjoyable in lighter efforts, such as *The Book-Hunter* (1860) and *The Scot Abroad* (1862). The most attractive of Scottish historians is Andrew Lang

such as *Pickle the Spy* (1897), with a dash of mystery in the subject;

denunciation. The demand for a particular bias in history is always strongest among those who denounce it when it is not their own bias. Creighton's many other works are named in *The Bibliography*. Richard Watson Dixon's *History of the Church of England from the Abolition of Roman Jurisdiction* (1878–1902) is marked by the attractive character of its author, who was poet and divine as well as historian. Bare mention is all that can be given to *The English Church in the*

Henry Thomas Buckle (1821–62) in his *History of Civilization in England* (1857, 1861) showed the touch of genius that fits a theme to an age; for he applied to history the methods which Darwin was applying to nature, and he followed Comte in his search for natural laws in the world of humanity. The book is a mere fragment;

(1927–9) are all works that must be known to the student of modern history. The Webbs, more humanely moved, resembled in their devotion and in their power of inspiration the very different school of Bentham and his disciples a century earlier. They were the great expositors of a new science, sociology.

A passing reference should be made to Herbert Albert Laurens Fisher (1865–1940) and George Macaulay Trevelyan (1876), who wrote in the great historical tradition. Fisher's command of matter and utterance can be discerned equally in his short *Napoleon* (1913) and his long *History of Europe* (1935), the first a masterpiece of historical miniature and the second a masterpiece of extended survey. Trevelyan, son of Sir George Otto Trevelyan, supports with distinction the perilous burden of two historical names. Of his writings those of largest appeal are the Garibaldi trilogy—*Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic* (1907), *Garibaldi and the Thousand* (1909), *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy* (1911), and the Queen Anne trilogy—*Blenheim* (1930), *Ramilies and the Union with Scotland* (1932), *The Peace and the Protestant Succession* (1934). The *History of England* (1926) tells, within the limits of a single volume, a rich and vivid story with clear command of narrative.

The outstanding contribution of recent times to historical literature is *A Study of History* (6 vols., 1934–9) by Arnold Joseph Toynbee (1889), author of various studies of ancient and modern affairs, especially in the near and the far East. *A Study of History* is perhaps the greatest single-handed historical achievement since *The Decline and Fall.* Toynbee is concerned with the decline and fall, not of one empire, but of all the great civilizations known to record. Alike in narrative power, in command of vast material and in challenge of interpretation, this *Study* takes indisputably high rank among English works of historical literature.

The most impressive recent achievement of co-operative labour is the great series of Cambridge Histories—*The Cambridge Ancient History, The Cambridge Medieval History* and *The Cambridge Modern History*, the forty volumes of which contain a vast library of valuable monographs with bibliographies and illustrative matter. The growth of the whole Western world from its rise in the East is here fully displayed.

2. *Biographers and Memoir-Writers*

Biography, like portrait-painting, has always flourished in England. Of the several biographies belonging to the early part of the nineteenth century the best is Lockhart's *Scott*, one of the greatest examples of its kind, now supplemented by H. J. Grierson's *Sir Walter Scott* (1938). Scott's own *Life of Buonaparte*, written in the midst of pain, sorrow and ruin, is a failure. Byron's autobiographical memoirs

torical publication, *The Holy Roman Empire* (1864), was the enlargement of an Oxford prize essay, and it quickly took rank, both at home and abroad, as a classic of its kind. Another standard work, especially in the country of which it treats, is *The American Commonwealth* (1888), much revised in the edition of 1920. *Studies in History and Jurisprudence* appeared in 1901. Works like *Impressions of South Africa* (1897) and *South America* (1912) belong to the debatable ground where travel, history and politics meet; but the African book has strong historical interest as a broad and sagacious view of a country on the eve of a great conflict. Like some other great Victorians, Bryce was a man of wide interests which ranged from botany to mountaineering, and his works are too numerous even to be named in a summary. His writing has no special charm, but it carries the mark of an unimpeachably upright character.

At the other extreme lies the work of John Horace Round (1854–1928), who was intensely narrow, contentious by choice, and provocative even as an interpreter. *Geoffrey de Mandeville* (1892), *Feudal England* (1895) and *The Commune of London* (1899) were severely critical of generally accepted ideas about medieval history. *Studies in Peerage and Family History* (1900) and *Peerage and Pedigree* (1910) destroyed some ancient and agreeable legends of descent in noble families. The writing of Round is not pleasing in itself and was never meant to be popular. A defect of temper that made dissent more attractive to him than agreement gives an unpleasant tone to much of his work.

A reaction against the dehumanized economic doctrines of Ricardo led to an examination of the social problems created by the violent expansion of industry and commerce at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In a trilogy of studies, *The Village Labourer 1760–1832* (1911), *The Town Labourer 1760–1832* (1917) and *The Skilled Labourer 1760–1832* (1919), John Lawrence Hammond (1872) and his wife Lucy Barbara Bradby (1873), interpreted, in sound, unexcited writing, the conditions of a celebrated "age of unexampled progress". *The Rise of Modern Industry* (1925) and *The Age of the Chartists* (1930) carry the story into a later period. The study of economic history, new at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was sensibly advanced by these excellent writers at the beginning of the twentieth.

The collection and dissemination of materials for the study of economic history and government rather than the literary creation of historical narrative is honorably associated with the names of another famous pair, Sidney Webb, Lord Passfield (1859–1947) and [illegible]

full title of the book must be given to indicate its range. Everything Milton wrote is here taken into account. That these six massive volumes will ever be frequently read as a whole may be reasonably doubted; but they are indispensable for reference. Later views of Milton take account of matters beyond Masson's range. John Forster, by his *Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith* (1854), his *Life of Walter Savage Landor* (1869) and his *Life of Charles Dickens* (1872–4), took a place in the first rank of English biographers. His works in history are not now important. Forster had his personal foibles, but his literary life was one of generous purpose, and his friendship was valued by some very famous men. *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold* (1844) written by his former pupil Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1815–81), afterwards Dean of Westminster, is an excellent example of Victorian biography in its pieties and in its suppressions. That Stanley gave Arnold sole credit for educational reforms initiated by others can hardly be denied; nevertheless Arnold accomplished a great work at Rugby. Stanley really knew his own headmaster, and his evidence, combined with that of Thomas Hughes, cannot be resisted.

The *Life of Gladstone* (1903) by John (Viscount) Morley is a political monument, and presents for our admiration the heroic form of a great public figure. To students of history it is a necessary book; but its lack of the warmer human feelings will keep it from being loved for its own sake. Its command of complicated detail is masterly, and as an example of biographical statuary it is admirable; as the portrait of a puissant, vivid creature it is less appealing. Misfortune attended the preparation of a life of Disraeli. The persons most clearly fitted to write it failed even to make an attempt. It was not till 1910 that the first volume appeared written by W. F. Monypenny, a competent student of affairs, but totally unknown to the general public. He died with his work half-done and the task was adequately completed by G. E. Buckle, a former editor of *The Times*. The six volumes of this biography have many attractive qualities; but the vivifying touch of a master-hand in portraiture they have not.

Biographies, autobiographies, revelations and recollections pour in a steady stream from the publishers into the circulating libraries. Few of them succeed in rising out of their material to live a life of their own. Cromwell wished to be painted "warts and all". Biography that leaves out the warts may be little better than monumental masonry. On the other hand, the newer fashion for painting nothing but the warts may commit the greater fault of leaving out the man.

The last years of the nineteenth century were specially rich in biographical production. This was eminently the age of brief monographs, typified by the "English Men of Letters" Series, which com-

were destroyed by solemn advisers, but Moore's life of his friend appended to Byron's *Letters and Journals* (1830) will never be entirely [illegible]

[illegible] William [illegible] combined [illegible] s first important work, the *Life of Lorenzo de Medici* appeared in 1796. Its unqualified success was not fully [illegible]

[illegible]

of the Renaissance was discovered to English readers by the *Isaac* [illegible]

[illegible]

qualities. Stephen had strong religious convictions and detested the sociological view of history. There is unusual power of historical imagination in his work. Of his sons, Sir James Fitzjames Stephen was an eminent judge and writer, and Sir Leslie Stephen an eminent essayist and biographer.

The highly popular *Lives of the Queens of England* (1840–8) by Agnes and Elizabeth Strickland was followed by similar volumes of royal interest written by the same authors. Mrs Mary Anne Everett Green, who, previously, under her maiden name Wood, had published *Letters of Royal Ladies of Great Britain* (1846), produced the *Lives of the Princesses of England* (1849–55), and the *Life and Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria* (1857). Mrs Green did very valuable work in research and edited numerous volumes of the *Calendars of Domestic State Papers* at the Record Office. Another biographer of royalty was Sir Theodore Martin (1861–1909), whose *Life of the Prince Consort* (1875–80) was written by Queen Victoria's desire. Besides other works, Martin wrote a memoir (1900) of his wife, the beautiful actress Helen Faucit.

Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Lord Chancellors* (1846–7) and *Lives of the Lord Chief Justices of England* (1849–57) were said to have added another terror to death. The *Lives of Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Brougham*, which followed (1860), filled the cup of remonstrance to overflowing. Far more attractive are the pen-and-ink portraits of the Scottish bench and bar published in *Memorials of His Time* (1856), by Lord Cockburn, biographer of Lord Jeffrey (1852).

The most ambitious biography produced in the mid-Victorian age was David Masson's *Life of Milton, narrated in Connection with the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of his Time* (1859–80). The

3. *Political Orators*

The great age of English political oratory seemed to have passed away with the fatal year (1806) which removed both Pitt and Fox from the scene of their conflicts. Times were changing. The long oratorical "set piece" adorned with quotations from the classics began to sound as antiquated as the plays of Shakespeare in the age of Dryden. But the old tradition lingered. Among the masters of eloquence at the beginning of the nineteenth century were William Wilberforce, the apostle of abolition, and, indeed, of any crusade which had the welfare of mankind as its object; William Windham, a schoolfellow of Fox and a follower of Burke; Samuel Whitbread, the defender of the Princess of Wales; Thomas, Lord Erskine, less famous as a political orator than as an advocate; and George Tierney, a complete politician, formidable in debate and master of a colloquial manner.

Greatest among the orators of the new age was George Canning (1770–1827), in whose speeches imaginative power and wit are sustained by scholarship and magnanimity. The outstanding figure of Canning's later years was Henry, Lord Brougham (1778–1868) whose extraordinary gifts were nullified by some grave defect of character. His arrogance and aggressive omniscience were insupportable. "If Brougham only knew a little law", said O'Connell of the Lord Chancellor, "he would know a little of everything." In the debates on the Reform Bill, Macaulay's renown as an orator was first established. Among his later speeches, those on the question of copyright are notable as having not only influenced but actually determined legislation. Macaulay's speeches are less read than they deserve to be. Outside parliament, the Reform Bill campaign was carried on in innumerable speeches, among which those of Henry ("Orator") Hunt should be mentioned. With the Irish, oratory appears to flourish as a natural gift. Among the successors of Grattan, William Conyngham Plunket, afterwards Lord Plunket, was probably the most finished speaker. But by far the most renowned of all Irish orators was Daniel O'Connell. His wit, his ardour, his impudence, his piety, were racy of the soil to which he belonged, and, though he held his own against the foremost debaters of the House of Commons, he was at his best in his native surroundings, in law courts or city hall, or facing the multitudes at Limerick or on Tara Hill. The third in the triad of great Irish orators who strove, though not always in concord, for the welfare of their country, was Richard Lalor Sheil, already mentioned as a dramatist. Sir Robert Peel was a good, rather than a great speaker. Edward Stanley, fourteenth Earl of Derby, was called by Bulwer Lytton in *The New Timon* "the Rupert of debate" because of his impetuous eloquence. Disraeli had, as one

[illegible]

Stephen, a man by all endowments of mind entirely fitted for the enterprise. He was succeeded by Sidney Lee, less firmly based in literary art, and most to be trusted when he relied upon plain workmanship.

Among the numerous memoir-writers of the century Charles Cavendish Fulke Greville (1794–1865) is by far the best. *The Greville Memoirs*, first published between 1874 and 1887, and now issued complete (1938), contains shrewd comment on the course of English politics and society from the accession of George IV to the year 1860 and remains among the choicest examples of its kind. Greville had genuine insight into character, and his collection is [illegible]

death of the writer. [illegible]
to know everybody [illegible]
things that later gene[illegible]
as good as fiction.

A novel form of political memoir was that of *Conversations with M. Thiers, M. Guizot and other distinguished persons during the Second Empire* (1878), recorded by the well-known economist Nassau William Senior (1790–1864). These volumes had been preceded by *Journals kept in France and Italy* (1871), and by *Correspondence and* [illegible]

For the many other works in this kind, ranging from the intensive interest of Crabb Robinson's *Diary* (with the later additional selec- [illegible]

are the volumes of Queen Victoria's letters, invaluable as material and intensely interesting as a revelation of a figure that, politically and domestically, dominated the greater part of a wonderful century.

whose oddly and unhappily named book *The Gay Science* (1866) may be classed without hesitation among the really valuable contributions to criticism. It is lucid in thought and in style; and it is, in a true sense, fundamental. Only two of the proposed four volumes were written, for the incurable English distrust of system condemned the book to oblivion. *The Gay Science* is psychological, and anticipates much later thought, especially in the region of what is now called the unconscious, which lies, Dallas believed, at the root of all art. Aristotle's theory that art is imitation, he tells us, "has transmitted an hereditary squint to criticism"; what art does, is not to imitate what any eye can see, but, rather, to bring into clear vision what is first apprehended only by "the hidden soul". We need not here defend Aristotle's view of "imitation". It is enough to say that Dallas's discussion of art moves clearly and convincingly in the region of ideas, and deserves to be better known.

Walter Bagehot (1826–77) and Richard Holt Hutton (1826–97) were contemporaries and friends. Hutton was a literary critic with strong theological convictions. To purely aesthetic considerations he was a little insensitive, and his many critical studies are not now of much value. For over thirty years he was one of the editors of *The Spectator*, which, under his direction, exerted a powerful influence upon serious minds. The fame of Hutton has waned; but the spirit of Walter Bagehot burns as brightly as ever. He, too, was an editor; but his paper was *The Economist*, which had influence, indeed, but not in the realm of letters. Bagehot was better known in his day as economist and publicist than as literary critic; but it is the critic who now survives. *Lombard Street*, *Physics and Politics* and *The English Constitution* have lost much of their text-book value; but they remain eminently readable through their uncovenanted wealth of wit and wisdom. In fact, the best parts of them belong to criticism. In Bagehot's more regular critical essays, the keen incisive phrases, the humour, the penetrating analyses of character and the touches of philosophy, give an impression almost of greatness. But the impression is not abiding. There is no discernible critical faith such as gives consistency to the writings of Matthew Arnold; and for this reason the posthumously published *Literary Studies* and *Biographical Studies* have never taken the rank to which they seem entitled. Bagehot is brilliant, but fragmentary; he lives in beginnings rather than in conclusions. Everything about him is unexpected, save the end, which is generally foreseen. But his bright mastery of utterance will always make him the essayists' essayist.

Sir Leslie Stephen (1832–1904), already mentioned, was a "muscular freethinker". His earliest acknowledged volume was the collection of mountaineering sketches called *The Playground of Europe* (1871). *Essays on Free Thinking and Plain Speaking*, which followed

would expect from his novels, great imaginative gifts and power of sarcasm, never better exhibited than when he was at bay. Inseparably linked together in political history are the great Radical names of Richard Cobden and John Bright, memorable for their crusade against the Corn Laws. Cobden was a self-taught speaker; but eloquence was the native gift of Bright. His mind was steeped in the Bible, and in his loftier flights he seemed to be breathing the atmosphere of the Old Testament. During much of his very long political life, William Ewart Gladstone (1809–98) seemed to be the voice of England. When he spoke out in public oration or in published pamphlet, Europe as well as England listened seriously. The gifts of voice and personality remained with him almost to the last, and with these he retained the lucidity of arrangement and exposition which rendered his most complicated statements of facts and figures not only intelligible but enjoyable. Gladstone was for so long a kind of moral institution that the endearing, vivacious, personal side of his astounding energy has been overlooked. Two later political orators who had the grand manner were Lord Rosebery and Herbert Henry Asquith, afterwards Earl of Oxford and Asquith. Rosebery, with a natural endowment of opulence had, fortunately, a sound controlling gift of style that saved him from excess. Asquith com- [illegible] Englishman, saying what that sometimes muddled person believes that he thinks, but saying it with a felicity that comes only to those whose minds are open to great ideas and whose ears are open to great utterance.

III. CRITICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS PROSE: JOHN RUSKIN AND OTHERS

The critical and miscellaneous prose of the Victorian and post-Victorian period is vast in extent and diverse in kind. A brief survey is all that can be attempted here, and we may properly begin with a writer born in the first year of the century Abraham Hayward [illegible] have not retained their interest. A serious attempt to enunciate critical principles was made by Eneas Sweetland Dallas (1828–79)

the reader, who has nothing to do but enjoy books that are unique in English literature for the sense they convey of intimate contact with adventurous, lawless life. In *Wild Wales* (1862) Borrow shows the same qualities, as far as the more topographical matter allows. Essentially, he is a man of the open air; and few have equalled him in the art of transporting the reader from the restraints of civilization into the freedom of nomadic life. His formless books are held together by sheer force of the pervading personality.

Returning to the main stream of Victorian criticism, we may note three typical figures, Henry Duff Traill (1842–1900), Edward Dowden (1843–1913) and William Ernest Henley (1849–1903). Of these the first and last gave much of their energy to literary journalism. Traill survives in the essays collected as *The New Fiction* (1897), but still more notably in a series of "dialogues of the dead" called *The New Lucian* (1884) revised and reissued later. These attempt a bold criticism of the thought of their day and retain attraction for readers fit, though few. Dowden, a product of Trinity College, Dublin, was, like Traill, a critic with academic training, and, like Henley, a poet as well as a critic; though his verse can hardly be said to survive. His first book was his best—*Shakspere: a Critical Study of his Mind and Art* (1875). The thoughtful interpretation, written in lucid and attractive style, struck a new note in Shakespearean study and still retains its validity. Dowden's one other book of importance is the *Life of Shelley* (1886). Henley had no academic leanings, and wrote constantly in an attitude of defiance, even when there was no provocation. Perhaps his greatest service to the prose of his age was the lesson of incisiveness taught to a generation apt to lose itself in words.

Henley was a critic of pictorial art as well as of literature, and from him it is natural to step backwards to the greatest of all our writers on the arts, and one of the greatest of all writers of any kind in the Victorian period. The works of John Ruskin (1819–1900) are bewildering in their number, in their enigmatic titles, in their extremes of style, and in their variety of subject; but with all their contradictions they exhibit an almost formidable consistency of spirit in their insistence on righteousness. Righteousness being now out of fashion, Ruskin is presumed to be antiquated. Actually, he is ultra-modern. Ruskin received a sheltered education in a wealthy home. He was intended for the evangelical ministry and his parents hoped to see him a bishop. There was a vast difference between the arid, practical education of John Stuart Mill and the humane, artistic, literary and religious education of Ruskin. Yet both revolted. Mill moved towards poetry and mysticism. Ruskin became a heretic in religion and a revolutionary in economics and politics.

Like Macaulay, Ruskin was a writer from his childhood. His prose style was founded on the Bible, which he had read constantly with

in 1873 marked a fundamental change of belief, for Stephen had [illegible] *a Library* (1874–9) and *Studies of a Biographer* (1898–1902) show his capacity as an essayist. A natural reticence and close restraint of feeling made him the ideal editor of a great biographical collection, but banished any warmth from his essays. The fine study called *An* [illegible] what is overheard. With Stephen may be mentioned Richard Garnett, long connected with the British Museum, who wrote verses not devoid of warmth, and collected some of his papers as *Essays of an Ex-Librarian*. The most original of his works is *The Twilight of the Gods* (1888), a collection of singular tales in which he shows grim, sardonic humour.

Theodore Watts, afterwards Watts-Dunton, (1832–1914) attained his greatest fame in anonymity. His periodical essays and the long article on poetry in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* gave him a great reputation which had almost vanished by the time he chose to [illegible] and *Gipsy Folk Tales* (1899). Watts-Dunton's two volumes of essays, *Poetry and the Renascence of Wonder* and *Old Familiar Faces* appeared posthumously in 1916. But their time had gone by

Community of interest brought both of these writers into touch with George Borrow (1803–81), who first gave gipsies a citizenship in English literature, though his knowledge of them, as of many other things, seems to have been more extensive than exact. In a loose sense Borrow might be called a scholar, since he knew many languages, and spoke and wrote them freely. His work is so large and varied that only a few major publications can be noticed here. *The Zincali or an Account of the Gipsies of Spain* (1840) is the first clear indication of Borrow's special interest. That this wild and gusty [illegible] fact, *The Bible in Spain* (1843), his own story of the adventure, belongs to that order of literature. *Lavengro* (1851) and its continuation *The Romany Rye* (1857) are such a blend of romance and autobiography, that to say where literal truth ends and imaginative truth begins would have puzzled the author himself, but need not puzzle

and he inspired his students to undertake the practical work of road-making. The variety of his interests and the extent of his labours were prodigious. After *Unto this Last* (1862) on economics had come *Sesame and Lilies* (1865) on literature, *The Crown of Wild Olive* (1866) on work, traffic and war, *The Ethics of the Dust* (1866) on crystallization, *The Queen of the Air* (1869) on Greek myths of cloud and storm, and others, almost beyond enumeration. In 1871 he began *Fors Clavigera*, a periodical issue of letters (ninety-six in all) addressed to the working men of England. The collection is an astonishing exhibition of the multifariousness of the writer's mind and of his genius in the presentation of his matter. But his exhaustive labours and fiery enthusiasm broke down his health, and after 1878 he was never the same man. He was re-elected to the Slade professorship in 1883, but resigned in the next year. In his latter days he produced what is the most charming and certainly not the least enduring of his works, *Praeterita* (1885–9), half-spoken, rather than written, for we seem to hear the very voice of the old labourer calmly and happily reviewing his life. Ruskin died in the last year of the century which he had done as much as any man to ennoble. His individual works are so numerous that a list of their titles would be merely bewildering; those already named must suffice. The piety of his executors buried him beneath a monumental memorial edition in thirty-nine huge volumes containing almost every word he wrote. They have frightened readers away ever since.

The prose of Ruskin exhibits all resources of the language. In his first great works the Biblical eloquence is resolutely sought, and though writing in that kind was natural to him at this stage of his growth, it is read with some sense of strain. He came to dislike his own early style as he moved in maturity towards simplicity. His failure to give the current hard-faced commercialism a conviction of its sin sometimes made him peevish and petulant, but seldom impaired his writing. It is in the prophetic admonitions of *Modern Painters* that we can see most clearly the defects of an imperious temper, not in the patient argument and quiet beauty of *Unto this Last*, the disciplined reasonableness of *Fors Clavigera*, and the charming garrulity of *Praeterita*. More beautiful prose than that of *Unto this Last* the nineteenth century can hardly produce; nor did it produce a writer whose general influence was more beneficent. Ruskin can afford to endure the mocks of trivial critics, who find his weakness in what is precisely his strength, namely, the righteousness—the conviction of "rightness"—by which he was animated. To suppose that, because Ruskin demanded moral sincerity in art, he demanded that art should teach moral lessons is mere fatuity. Art, to Ruskin, was the expression of man's delight in the forms and laws of the world. He asserted intrepidly the serious claims of art in an age of base com-

his mother. At Oxford he wrote verse, and is among the several famous writers who began as winners of the Newdigate. That he paid attention to his prose is evident from the style of his earliest pieces. The germ of *Modern Painters* is to be found in an indignant essay he wrote at seventeen in defence of Turner against a ribald criticism in *Blackwood*. The first volume of the work itself appeared in 1843. Seventeen years were to pass before it was completed. The long journeys, year after year, through France to Switzerland and Italy not only furnished materials for it, but opened up ever new vistas. *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) and *The Stones of Venice* (1851–3) were both by-works, undertaken and carried through while the major enterprise was still on hand. All three were designed to teach. *Modern Painters* was conceived in a mood of "black anger" [illegible]

parents, he [illegible]
half of the I [illegible]
of Turner. [illegible]
the ugly centres of industrialism. Ruskin was now near the great [illegible]

There is nothing strange in the transformation of the writer on art into the writer on economics Ruskin wanted art to have all the qualities we sum up in the great word "righteousness". Still more he wanted life to have righteousness. He was shocked by showy insincere art; he was shocked by the inhuman economic doctrines of Ricardo and the Utilitarians; he was shocked by the poverty and misery which were the price exacted by commercial prosperity; he [illegible]

toil to which the working classes are condemned. When the essays [illegible]

revolutionist. He hated the word. His enemies called him a Socialist. He called himself an old-fashioned Tory of the school of Homer and Walter Scott.

Ruskin's appointment to the Slade Professorship in Fine Art at Oxford in 1869 gave him a chance to preach his ideals to the young,

Renaissance in Italy (1875–86), illustrates the weakness of the school to which he belonged. It is lacking in unity and completeness, not only because it dwells upon art and passes lightly over other factors in the history of the period, but because in the treatment of art itself emphasis is laid upon the emotional element at the expense of the intellectual. The other works of Symonds have the same defects, and his prose is self-conscious, over-elaborated and diffuse. More original, in all respects, was Walter Horatio Pater (1839–94), who was influenced by Ruskin but was utterly unlike him in spirit. Ruskin, bowed with sorrows, remained unconquerably optimistic, and laboured with even excessive hopefulness at schemes of social regeneration. Pater retired from the dust of social conflict and became an artistic Benedictine, with his literary labour as a kind of rite. The conclusion of his *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (1873) is, in the highest degree, significant. Its teaching is that, to beings like men, beings under sentence of death, but with a sort of indefinite reprieve, the love of art for art's sake is the highest form of wisdom. Pater was the most scrupulous of literary artists. He strove to make each sentence bear its full weight of duty, and the defect of his prose is not, as some appear to think, that it becomes a kind of poetry, but that it becomes a kind of science. Indeed, until it is understood as science it cannot be understood as beauty. Every word, almost every syllable, is part of a formula; and so the prose of Pater is inevitably slow—a perpetual *Adagio*. His romance, *Marius the Epicurean* (1885), is sadly attractive, but leads to no conclusion of comfort. How could it? There was no comfort to offer, and Pater was too gravely sincere to offer delusions. *Imaginary Portraits* (1887), *Appreciations* (1889), *Plato and Platonism* (1893), and the posthumous *Miscellaneous Studies* (1895), *Greek Studies* (1895) and *Gaston de Latour* (1896) repeat the manner and the message of his earliest volume. Pater's studies in character and essays in literature and art embody no faith and no exact knowledge of the Ruskinian kind. He is nearer to Wordsworth in his consciousness of the heavy and the weary weight of all this unintelligible world, and he sought to lighten "the burthen of the mystery", not by resorting to the ministrations of nature, but by exact and studious contemplation of man in some state of spiritual sensation or of the artistic creations in which man externalizes the inner apprehension. A writer so dedicated can never be submerged; but it is difficult to believe that his public will ever be large or that his doctrine of "art for art's sake" will ever be a working creed. It sounds an easy solution of life's perplexities, and, as such, may attract the dilettante and the shirker; but, taken in its true and intended sense, it is as stern a creed as religion for religion's sake—a height of devotion to which few attain. And so Pater will be neither read nor followed by a multitude; but upon many of his paragraphs (and those

mercialism. A painting, to him, was not something commercially produced, and commercially acquired, to be stuck on the walls of an [illegible] pression of the [illegible] He taught the [illegible] about pictures. [illegible] the pretentious Eclectics. He gave to England the freedom of Italy, and made its galleries, palaces and churches as familiar as Trafalgar Square. He revealed, however wilfully, the nature of Gothic, and made the glory of the French cathedrals a general possession. No one ever declared so clearly that art is a possession and an expression of a whole people, and not a costly privilege of the rich or a fancy of the coteries. Further, he humanized economics, and showed that righteous art and righteous polity must go hand in hand. It was the conviction that, while [illegible] art is brutality, [illegible] by which the modern world escapes guile, only to fall into brutality. The intense humanity which inspires all Ruskin's work, political and aesthetic alike, can never become antiquated.

Nearly all our subsequent aesthetic criticism is derived from Ruskin. Benjamin Robert Haydon (1786–1846) stands quite apart from him. Though a far older man than Ruskin, Haydon, as the author of printed works, comes after him in chronological order. [illegible] artists, ani- [illegible] ly inflation [illegible] Posterity has fully confirmed this judgment. But Haydon's delightful *Autobiography*, [illegible] lessness o[illegible] Jameson ([illegible] *book to the Public Galleries of Art in London* in 1842, ten years after her most popular book, first called *Characteristics of Women*. Her later works on art, however, were strongly influenced by Ruskin, who met her in Venice, and refers to her with gentle humour in *Praeterita*. Mrs Jameson's other books, *Memoirs of the Early Italian Painters* (1845), *Sacred and Legendary Art* (1848), *Legends of the Monastic Orders* (1850), *Legends of the Madonna* (1852) and *History of Our Lord as exemplified in Art* (1864) were much read by those who found Ruskin's demands too high for them.

It was in Ruskin's own university that the aesthetic school took [illegible] more attention. Of this group, John Addington Symonds (1840–93) may be described as an outlying member, and his principal work,

books are named above. Some concentration of her creative energy upon definite problems of criticism might have gained for her a higher rank than her diffuse writing now gives her. A late essay, *The Poet's Eye* (1926), with its humour, grace and understanding, shows her at her best.

Contemporary with Pater and Symonds was Henry Austin Dobson (1840–1921), a writer on art and letters, but in a totally different spirit. Dobson's agreeable verse has already been mentioned. After monographs on Hogarth, Fielding, Bewick, Steele and Goldsmith, he began the sketches known as *Eighteenth Century Vignettes*, published in collections between 1892 and 1896. Later volumes on Richardson and Fanny Burney, with miscellaneous essays, repeat the style of the earlier. That Dobson had sound understanding of part of the eighteenth century cannot be denied; that he always caught its touch and style in his own prose cannot be maintained. He is usually graceful, but not always distinguished. *A Bookman's Budget* (1917) and *Later Essays* (1921) are pleasant causeries.

A lesser figure of the "aesthetic" period is Arthur Symons (1865–1945), who wrote largely on every kind of art. But he is often derivative. He has echoed Pater in prose and Baudelaire in verse; and he has attempted almost every form of literary composition. Of his very numerous books we need name no more than *The Symbolist Movement in Literature* (1899), which has interest as the account of a nineteenth-century fashion in poetry which was born again with a new name in the twentieth. The work of Symons, which began with a useful Browning primer in 1886, is both profuse and diffuse, and carries little conviction. It is an extreme case of the "literariness" in which the period of Swinburne diffused its later energies.

In following the course of writing inspired mainly by art, we have been led up to the present century. We must now retreat a little and consider some of the authors who came into literature from the world of politics. A political and historical essayist of importance in his day was John, afterwards Viscount, Morley (1838–1923), who had an honourable career in public life. His first important publication was *Burke: A Historical Study* (1867). He spent many years in "the higher journalism" as editor of *The Fortnightly Review* and *The Pall Mall Gazette*, but continued the composition of serious works. In rapid succession came *Voltaire* (1872), *Rousseau* (1873), *On Compromise* (1874), *Diderot and the Encyclopaedists* (1878) and a *Life of Richard Cobden* (1881). Morley was editor of the first and best series of the "English Men of Letters" monographs, to which he contributed another study of Burke, and of the "Twelve English Statesmen" series, to which he contributed a volume on Walpole. Various essays and addresses were collected in his volumes of miscellanies, and he rounded off his literary life with carefully composed *Recollections*

not the most frequently quoted) the lover of noble prose nobly employed will always dwell with delight. While Pater represented the aesthetic movement in its most earnest phase, Oscar Wilde (1856–1900) gave utterance to its principles in the language of persiflage.

Being Earnest (1895), a comedy of genius.

With the writers just considered, it is appropriate to name William Hurrell Mallock (1849–1923), whose once famous book *The New Republic, or Culture, Faith, and Philosophy in an English Country House* (1877) presents, under thin disguises, Ruskin, Jowett, Matthew Arnold, Walter Pater, "Violet Fane" and other figures of

himself very seriously as a thinker and felt called to oppose democracy, socialism, and other levelling tendencies, in a number of volumes that have not retained their interest. His *Memories of Life and Literature* (1920) may serve as a footnote to the discussions of his day.

Among later writers on art and life a reputable place is taken by known as "Vernon Lee", whose numerous

both Italian art and Italy

Her early works, *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy* (1880), *Belcaro, being Essays on Sundry Aesthetical Questions* (1881), *Euphorion* (1884) and *Renaissance Fancies and Studies* (1895) are akin in spirit to Pater. But her style and thought cleared and took their own note *Limbo* (1897), *Genius Loci* (1899), *Hortus Vitae* (1903) and *The Enchanted Woods* (1904) show genuine character and vision. *Gospels of Anarchy* (1908) and *Beauty*

echo of the Pater period She grew with her times and faced the problems of her age. Her critical power was considerable and was well-founded in an understanding of the machinery of thought and creation. But she wrote too much and too often—scarcely half her

The Pageantry of Life (1900), *Literary Portraits* (1904), *Political Portraits* (1917) and *Literary Studies* (1919), wrote well, but too often soured his work with the worst kind of asperity, the asperity of nagging politics. Paul, who was quite as fanatical on the other side and capable of intense bitterness, kept his essays free from the electioneering spirit, and so remains more readable. Whibley's *Musings without Method*, contributed regularly to *Blackwood's Magazine* for many years, was a long-sustained flow of ultra-Tory journalism. George Wyndham (1863–1913), a romantic and even tragic figure in Unionist politics, came very agreeably into literature with editions of North's *Plutarch* and Shakespeare's *Poems*, and a volume of collected papers called *Essays in Romantic Literature* (1919), posthumously published. Wyndham's style was, like himself, picturesque and romantic, and he belongs in spirit to the slightly excessive and adventurous Nineties.

From these writers who belonged to the world of affairs, let us turn to those who come from the world of books—the scholars, editors and literary historians. In a volume devoted to a study of English literature it would be ungrateful to leave unmentioned the name of Henry Morley (1822–94), who, in the eleven volumes of his unfinished *English Writers* (1887–95), and in several comprehensive series of reprints, such as Cassell's National Library (1886, etc.), the Universal Library and the Library of English Literature did more than any man of his time to make books of world-renown familiar to the new public created by the spread of education.

Thomas Wright and F. J. Furnivall have already been mentioned. The Philological Society, of which Furnivall was secretary, gathered much material now incorporated in *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, conveniently called *The Oxford Dictionary* (1884–1928), of which the first editor was Sir James Augustus Murray (1837–1915). A wonderful contribution to the study of words was made in *The English Dialect Dictionary* edited by Joseph Wright (1855–1930), who was sent to manual labour at the age of six and yet made himself one of the great philological scholars of the time. Henry Bradley (1845–1923), like Joseph Wright a self-taught scholar, became one of the editors of *The Oxford Dictionary*, wrote many valuable essays, and produced one small book, *The Making of English* (1904), which is a classic. Walter William Skeat (1835–1912), another great student of language, edited numerous volumes, some with Richard Morris (1833–94), and is specially memorable as the authoritative editor of Chaucer and *Piers Plowman*. Arthur Henry Bullen (1857–1920) edited a series of the old dramatists and produced his delightful *Lyrics from the Song Books of the Elizabethan Age* (1886), first of a long line of similar collections.

Stopford Augustus Brooke (1832–1916) wrote with native grace of manner various theological and critical volumes, but is re-

(1917). The *Life of Gladstone* has already been mentioned. Morley's interpretation of the French writers was instructive to his age, but is not now satisfying. His prose is always that of a publicist. In manner it is clear and pleasantly touched with allusion; in matter it keeps close to the surface and presents no difficulties of profundity. Morley has always the air of addressing an educated audience, and, without seeking for oratorical adornment, is consciously and academically literary. The lack of warmth and spontaneity in his work soon becomes evident to the reader.

There was more native genius for literature in another Liberal [illegible]

great tradition, and his *Pitt* (1891) was perhaps too deliberately of Pitt's own oratorical period in style. *Peel* (1899) is less florid. The [illegible] hibit historical vision in substance and easy eloquence in utterance. The brief *Lord Randolph Churchill* (1906) is an almost perfect sketch. After Disraeli and Churchill, Rosebery is the most literary of our Prime Ministers. He had a gift for historical portraiture, but the labour of research for large-scale composition would always have been beyond him.

[illegible] (1884), second series (1887), *Res Judicatae* (1892), *Essays about Men, Women and Books* (1894), *In the Name of the Bodleian* (1906), *More Obiter Dicta* (1924) and others of less note appear to have little solidity, but they have what is ultimately more precious than mere weight, the genuine grace, personality and essential sincerity that separate true essays from the fluent imitations. Wit, humour, mischief, judicious levity, wide reading, apt quotation and fundamental sincerity can be found in everything Birrell wrote. He is admirably [illegible]

1930), joint editor of the delightful *Tudor Translations* and author of the essays contained in such volumes as *A Book of Scoundrels* (1897),

94). It was not until the publication of *Treasure Island* as a separate volume in 1883 that Stevenson attained popularity as a writer of fiction; but, prior to that, he had written and published many essays and some fantastic stories like those in *The New Arabian Nights* (1882). The records of personal experience which are embodied in *An Inland Voyage* (1878) and in *Travels with a Donkey in the Cevennes* (1879) are essentially essays. Fugitive papers were gathered into volumes, intimate and confidential, as in *Virginibus Puerisque* (1881) or critical, as in *Familiar Studies of Men and Books* (1882). Other volumes, akin in spirit and substance, were added in later years, among them *Memories and Portraits* (1887) and *Across the Plains* (1892). *Treasure Island* made Stevenson successful and directed the current of his subsequent efforts. It was followed by a series of romances—*Kidnapped* (1886), with its sequel *Catriona* (1893), *The Black Arrow* (1888) and *The Master of Ballantrae* (1889); by the fabulous *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886) and the wildly farcical *The Wrong Box* (1889); and towards the end by various South Sea sketches, the unfinished *Weir of Hermiston* (1896) and *St Ives* (1897), the last completed by "Q". In these romances Stevenson is at his best, like Scott, when he is dealing with his native land. The essays, with a few exceptions, have worn rather badly. Like Meredith, whom he admired not wisely but too well, Stevenson is scarcely ever simple, and at times approaches the condition of manner without matter. The reason for this was not, as foolishly supposed by some, his confessed discipline of "playing the sedulous ape" to other writers, for that way of study is ancient, honourable and profitable; indeed that is the way in which, consciously or unconsciously, all writers begin. His too celebrated "style" was due to a love of pose together with an ingrained artificiality of the kind that made him wear long hair and velvet coats. Stevenson retained a belated boyishness, and not till he wrote the unfinished *Weir of Hermiston* did he show signs of attaining to restraint and self-command. That he could have kept it up cannot be said with assurance.

Andrew Lang (1844–1912), already named among the historians, was the most various miscellaneous writer of his time. Folk-lore, the occult, history, the Homeric question, literary criticism—in all he was active. Under such conditions, it was scarcely possible to be quite first-rate in any department; but Lang never failed to make himself interesting and some of his lighter work has positive charm. He collaborated with S. H. Butcher in a translation of the *Odyssey* and with Walter Leaf and E. Myers in a translation of the *Iliad*. Alone he translated Theocritus, Bion and Moschus. His collections of essays include *Letters to Dead Authors*, *Books and Bookmen* and *Letters on Literature*. The numerous multi-coloured volumes of fairy-tales and other stories for children are still treasured.

membered specially for *A History of Early English Literature* (1892) and the illuminating *Primer of English Literature* (1876) which surveys a thousand years of creative work in a hundred and fifty justly proportioned pages. William John Courthope (1842–1917) edited Pope and produced in six volumes a *History of English Poetry* (1895–1909) which discusses literature as austerely as if it were jurisprudence. Less important is Sir Edmund William Gosse (1849–1928), whose facility in writing did not atone for shallowness of judgment and frequent inaccuracy. He is entitled to remembrance less as critic and historian than as the apostle of modern Scandinavian literature in England (especially as the first herald of Ibsen here) and as the author of *Father* [illegible]

Stevenson were other examples of this severance.

Three scholars on the heroic scale of learning may be named together, George Edward Bateman Saintsbury (1845–1933), William Paton Ker (1855–1923) and Oliver Elton (1861–1945). Saintsbury was wide and discursive rather than profound and precise. His foible of omniscience was so transparently ingenuous as to be attractive rather than offensive. He had what few scholars seem to possess, an immense vitality of enjoyment, and he invited the world to share his [illegible]

are collected in various volumes. Saintsbury is always exhilarating to read, for he transmits his opinions with gusto His gnarled and [illegible] ralifica- [illegible] It was [illegible], was not popularly communicative. If he ever desired a large audience—the supposition is improbable—he took no pains to secure one. He had plenty of wit and humour of the sardonic kind, but it was reserved for a few. His major contributions to scholarship are *Epic and Romance* (1896), *Essays on Medieval Literature* (1905), *The Art of Poetry* (1923) and the posthumous *Collected Essays* (1925), and *Form and Style in Poetry* (1928). They are full of illuminating critical judgments

La Plata (1892) and *Idle Days in Patagonia* (1893). To the English scene he brought an extraordinarily vivid creative interpretation and poured out his impressions in the moving pages of *A Shepherd's Life* (1910), his second essential book. Of similar character are *Nature in Downland* (1900), *Hampshire Days* (1903), *The Land's End* (1908) and *Afoot in England* (1909). Hudson's sensitive, but totally unsentimental, understanding of bird-life finds expression in several books, especially *British Birds* (1895), *Birds and Man* (1901), *Adventures among Birds* (1913), and *Birds in Town and Village* (1919), an enlargement of his first book on birds originally published in 1893. There are other works. Hudson adopted a plastic form of fiction in *The Purple Land that England Lost* (1885), the curious *A Crystal Age* (1887), the enigmatic *A Little Boy Lost* (1905), the exquisite *Green Mansions* (1904) and the vivid sketches *El Ombú* (1902). Hudson was long in winning a public and lived for some time in circumstances that would have impelled Gissing to sordid tales of suburban misery; but no writer of his time is more securely placed in the procession of later English literature.

A faithful interpreter of southern English village life is "George Bourne", i.e. George Sturt (1863–1927), who came from a family of Surrey wheelwrights. In *The Bettesworth Book* (1901), *Memoirs of a Surrey Labourer* (1907), and *Lucy Bettesworth* (1913) we are shown, without the falsification either of idealism or of realism, the life of the working poor. *Change in the Village* (1912) offers a more general account of country life. *William Smith* (1920) and *A Farmer's Life* (1922) show us revealing pictures of rural England in the form of family history—the persons concerned being Sturt's own forbears. Unquestionably his finest book is *The Wheelwright's Shop* (1923) which gives genuine artistic life to the story of a craft, the workers and the products. *A Small Boy in the Sixties* (1927) is autobiography which tells also the story of time and place. Without marked idiosyncrasy of style or quality, George Bourne depicts with feeling and understanding the rural scene, with the high lights thrown upon the human rather than upon the natural elements in the picture.

South America forms a link between W. H. Hudson and Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham (1852–1936), who was as much at home in that continent as in Spain, Scotland and England. An aristocrat by birth, a *hidalgo* in appearance, and a social rebel by act and instinct, he refused classification in life as in literature. Much of his writing hovers between the essay, the story and the impressionistic sketch; but there is no indecision about its character. Unfortunately he chose to lavish much of his skill upon the history of South American adventurers and dictators who cannot be made interesting to English readers even by the most picturesque of writers. Cunninghame Graham's first important book was *Mogreb-*

Two rolling stones, both of whom gathered moss, as the elder hinted in the title of one of his books (*Moss from a Rolling Stone*, 1887), were Laurence Oliphant (1829–88) and Lafcadio Hearn (1850–1904). Oliphant's first important publication, *The Russian Shores of the Black Sea* (1853), caused him to be consulted when the Crimean War broke out. He knew Japan while it was still in the medieval stage. His extraordinary subjection to the "prophet" Thomas Lake Harris cannot be discussed here. In the literary sense [illegible]

Lafcadio Hearn is much less important. He was a literary "impressionist" and recorded in various volumes, especially *Glimpses of* [illegible] essays in criticism are completely valueless.

While Oliphant and Hearn found their literary capital in the distant and unfamiliar, the sphere of Richard Jefferies (1848–87) was the fields and the hedgerows around us. His task was to show that the unfamiliar lay near at hand. He belongs to the class of field naturalists like White of Selborne, and Denham Jordan, who was better known by his pen-name "A Son of the Marshes"; but Jefferies was more ambitious than they and wider in his range. Of his numerous books we may mention *The Game-Keeper at Home* (1878) and *Wild Life in a Southern County* (1879) His story of a boy, *Bevis* (1882), somehow missed popularity A certain vein of poetry is present in all the works of Jefferies. It is specially rich in *Wood Magic* (1881), and gives charm to the fine spiritual autobiography, *The Story of My Heart* (1883).

[illegible] writing. Jefferies was English to the core; Hudson was born in South America and grew up amid the exotic life of a remote and brutal continent. He did not come to England till 1869 and did not [illegible] In one respect only does Hudson [illegible] s smouldering resentment at the [illegible] biography *Far Away and Long Ago* (1918) gives the essential feelings rather than the facts of his life, and it is, in many respects, the book most necessary to an understanding of the author. With this of course go such works as *The Naturalist in*

naturally, a softening of the worst asperities of political journalism. No respectable newspaper would now descend to the language of *The Times* when it told "Mr Babbletongue Macaulay" that "he was hardly fit to fill up one of the vacancies that have occurred by the lamentable death of Her Majesty's two favourite monkeys". Dickens's sketch of Eatanswill journalism was written from the experience of a practical newspaper man. But there was much else besides political scurrility. Papers sought the co-operation of reputable writers. Coleridge, Hazlitt, Leigh Hunt, G. H. Lewes and John Forster were all journalists. The arts were taken seriously. To Irving's production of *Macbeth* in 1888 *The Times* gave between seven and eight thousand words of notice. In 1938 such a production would have received a thousand words in the "better" papers, and five hundred in the "popular" papers. Serious criticism of the arts, like serious discussion of politics, disappeared from all but the best papers, and even those were not generous in space. Verbatim reports of important speeches, once a feature of Victorian newspapers, were rarely given in recent years. On the other hand, the older papers had nothing resembling the "magazine" pages of modern journals.

Competition for the "largest circulations" during the nineteenth century led to marvellous developments in printing. In 1814 John Walter, the second of that name, made history by showing that, with the aid of steam, newspapers could be printed at the rate of 1100 copies an hour. To-day the modern newspaper printing machine is one of the wonders of the world. Less admirable is the growth of fierce commercialism. Newspapers must not only pay their way, they must make "big money" and must therefore, at any cost, succeed. Success of that kind has to be paid for, and the "largest circulations" pitch their appeal very low. The result is not that readers suffer deterioration in taste or feelings, but simply that they do not take their papers seriously. Success has to be found too by the extinction of rivals; and a curious fact of the modern world is that as the number of readers has increased, the number of newspapers has steadily decreased. Thus at the end of the nineteenth century, the Londoner had nine evening papers to choose from; now he has three. No one will have the hardihood to assert that these survive through any special fitness: they are in every respect inferior to their vanished rivals. *The Echo*, *The St James's Gazette*, *The Pall Mall Gazette*, *The Globe*, and *The Westminster Gazette* had qualities to which the existing evening papers of London can make no pretence; and they were crushed out of existence by brute forces that have nothing whatever to do with journalism. Another modern development was the increased dependence of newspapers upon advertisements. Advertisers are not philanthropists. They require value for their money, and the papers must not offend them. If a time should come when advertisements

el-Aeksa (1898), a vivid account of a frustrated journey in Morocco when the interior of that tourist-haunted land was still inaccessible. The strongly drawn sketches of *The Ipané* (1899) proved that the success of the earlier book was not an accident; and the same intensely original personality was evident in the essays or stories of *Success* (1902), *Progress* (1905), *Faith* (1909), *Hope* (1910) and *Charity* (1911). *A Vanished Arcadia* (1901), the best of the semi-historical [illegible] pure art saves from brutality; ironic humour, delicate fancy, human sympathy, frankness, fearlessness, light and colour: these are all at his command, and he uses them with tense and telling economy.

IV. THE GROWTH OF JOURNALISM

[illegible] to a regularly issued periodical sheet like *The London Gazette*, with a distinctive name and a regular supply of varied news, marks the true beginning of the modern newspaper. In the opening years of the [illegible] to read. The tax was not removed; but statesmen began to recognize that newspapers might be useful to them, and, as we have seen, [illegible]

But there were hindrances as well as helps. Parliament was as hostile to reporting as some newspapers now are to broadcasting, and its displeasure was felt even by provincial newspapers, some of which had by this time established themselves. *The Newcastle Courant* began in 1711, *The Liverpool Courier* in 1712, *The Leeds Mercury* in 1720 and *The Manchester Gazette* in 1730. There were many others.

The history of journalism in the nineteenth century is the history of the rapid growth of a reading public, a growth affecting all forms of printed matter. At the beginning of the century the newspapers sought to appeal to a select public; by the end of the century newspapers were competing to secure the largest and least critical public. The early select papers appealed only to man, the political animal; the later popular papers appealed to the whole family, men, women, boys and girls. With the gradual widening of appeal there came,

found an appropriate end in the wreck of the "Titanic". *The Echo*, founded in 1868, was the first of London's modern halfpenny papers. Its note was Liberal seriousness. On the other hand, *The Star*, founded in 1888, aimed at Radical gaiety that was almost impudence, and found two brilliantly appropriate contributors in A. B. Walkley on drama and George Bernard Shaw on music. The "pink" *Globe*, founded in 1803, and the "green" *Westminster Gazette*, founded in 1893, had such a strong hold on the affections of readers that their extinction seemed calamitous. Gone for ever is the end-of-the-day friendliness that the old evening papers seemed to exhale. Acrimony is now thrust upon us.

The serious "weeklies" played an important part in the life of Victorian readers. Of these the most important was *The Spectator*, founded in 1828 as an organ of "educated Radicalism". It still maintains its position as the voice of independent and even unpopular opinion. *The Saturday Review*, founded in 1855, attained a position of authority which its later years made rather incredible. *The Guardian* was long the organ of serious churchmen. Two famous "Society" papers were Yates's *The World* and Labouchere's *Truth*. The former was notable for its serious discussion of the drama and music by William Archer and George Bernard Shaw in articles of outstanding merit. *Truth* specialized in the exposure of fraud. Literature and kindred arts were notably served by *The Athenaeum* founded in 1828. Its supremacy was unsuccessfully challenged by *The Academy*, which, after an attempt to save itself by a change of style, collapsed. *The Athenaeum* itself failed to maintain its existence and disappeared into *The Nation*, an organ of advanced Liberalism, which, in its turn, was absorbed by *The New Statesman*, an organ of constructive Socialism. So uncertain is life now for serious papers that, by the time these lines are read, periodicals named as living may be dead. In 1897 *The Times* began to issue a weekly called *Literature*, the place of which was taken by *The Times Literary Supplement*. In these days it is difficult for any serious weekly to maintain a successful existence. The newspapers, and especially the better Sunday newspapers, can provide more diversified matter of the same kind at a much lower price.

Illustrated papers are no new thing. *The Times* had an illustration of Nelson's funeral car, and *The Observer* in 1820 was using illustrations so well that it may be called the first of illustrated papers. But the true vogue of the illustrated weekly set in with *The Illustrated London News* (1842) and *The Graphic* (1869). The quality of the artists and of the reproduction made these weeklies Victorian institutions. *The Queen*, *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, *The Field*, and *Country Life* extended illustration to more special regions of appeal. A great change came when the reproduction of photo-

ceased and costs of production rose we might have to revert to the old four-page sheet. For half of the century the papers were unfettered. There was no censorship of any kind. The tax of a halfpenny a sheet imposed by the Act of 1712 was increased, and in 1815 was four pence. Seven pence was then the usual price of a paper. But in 1836 the duty was reduced to a penny, and in 1855 it was abolished.

Some account of *The Times*—the finest thing of its kind in the world—will illustrate the development of newspapers generally during the century It was founded by John Walter in 1785 as *The Daily Universal Register*, a title which, on 1 January 1788, gave place to *The Times*. It was the first newspaper to be printed by steam-power (29 November 1814); it was the first to send special correspondents abroad; it was the first to commission one of its staff, W. H. Russell, as a war-correspondent; it was the first to print what is known as a Parliamentary sketch or leading article; it was the last to oppose the abolition of the stamp and paper duty; it was the last to lower its price to a popular level. The first John Walter was its first editor; the second called in the aid of John Stoddart, who was replaced in 1817 by Thomas Barnes, the first of two editors whose fame has never been excelled. Barnes was succeeded in 1841 by John Thaddeus Delane, who reigned till 1877 and made *The Times* a [illegible] is impossible here. A few dates must suffice. The most serious rival of *The Times* was *The Morning Post*, which had a continuous history from 1772 to 1937, when it [illegible] journalistic, and merged in [illegible] in 1855, became the organ [illegible] claimed its views in a flamboyant style that made it a constant theme of Matthew Arnold's irony. *The Morning Chronicle* ran from 1769 to 1862 and numbered among its reporters the young Charles Dickens, who, much later, undertook the charge of a new Liberal paper, *The Daily News* (1842), but retired after seventeen numbers and was succeeded by John Forster. Another Liberal paper, *The Daily Chronicle*, established in 1877, was in recent years absorbed by *The Daily News*, the new production being called *The News Chronicle*. Of the vanished evening papers perhaps the most remarkable was *The Pall Mall Gazette*, founded in 1865 by Frederick Greenwood, a great journalist and publicist He was succeeded by John Morley, who in his turn was succeeded by W. T. Stead, the kind of writer inseparable from "sensations". Stead's exposure of social evils gave him both fame and notoriety, and his stormy career

its freedom. Almost worse than a dictatorship over the press would be a dictatorship by the press. The tendency towards narrow concentration of proprietorship and the ruthless extinction of independent rivals cannot be regarded without some alarm. But journalism itself has now to reckon with powers unforeseen and unpredictable—the picture-theatre, broadcasting, television—and "propaganda".

V. UNIVERSITY JOURNALISM

The *differentia* of university journalism is that it is written by the young for the young. Austere dons may unbend in witty and frolicsome contributions; but the prevailing note is that of youth—youth with the privileges of manhood and none of its responsibilities. A further peculiarity is that university journalism is—or was—written by the scholarly for the scholarly. The writers were trained at school in a sense of words and a sense of form. Horace, who owed his success to a good schoolmaster and the university of Athens, is thus the ideal poet of university life. He is half-serious, half-sportive, with an exquisite sense of form; and so he has had more imitators than a dozen good prose writers can boast. Intellectual high spirits at the universities have therefore found their most characteristic expression in classical parody and light verse. Here, Cambridge can show a long line of masters from Prior and Praed to Thackeray, Calverley and J. K. Stephen. Oxford has been more serious and more prolific in prophets, but can claim first-rate professors of the sportive mood in Andrew Lang, A. D. Godley, R. W. Raper, A. T. Quiller-Couch, W. P. Ker and J. S. Phillimore. Calverley who belonged to both universities is the leading master, and has had many disciples.

The credit of having been the first enduring university organ belongs to *The Cambridge Review*, which was started in 1879. It had solid qualities, but it had also its humours, as the selections in *The Book of the Cambridge Review* (1898) clearly prove. In the Nineties, *The Granta* started as a light and bright commentator on Cambridge affairs, and absorbed some of the humour which would have found a place in the *Review*. The wayward genius of J. K. Stephen, already an accomplished rhymer in his Eton days, shone in both periodicals. Arthur Clement Hilton (1851–77) showed a delightful gift for parody in the two numbers of *The Light Green* (1872).

The Oxford Magazine, which was started in 1883, secured a recognized position as a commentator on university affairs. Resembling *The Cambridge Review* in general, it differs in being the organ of the don. The pieces in *Echoes from the Oxford Magazine: being reprints of Seven Years* (1890) and *More Echoes* (1896) form a collection hard to match for cultured fun. These volumes are strong in that humour

graphs was made possible. Though this abolished the special charm of artist and engraver, the gain has been great. *The Graphic* was able in 1890 to issue *The Daily Graphic*, the first serious attempt at an illustrated daily; but technical methods developed so rapidly that now every daily paper has its illustrations, some of great beauty. Increased facilities of production and distribution have made it possible for the London papers to invade provincial regions which [illegible]

("*Pink 'Un*"), *Pick-me-up*, *Tit-Bits*, and *Ally Sloper's Half-Holiday*. No survey of the kind can be attempted here.

[illegible]

capture this public by the issue of *The Morning* and *The Morning Leader*. The former had a short life; the latter endured for several years, and was then "absorbed". What was needed to give the halfpenny paper a secure life was a combination of journalistic and commercial genius; and this was found in Alfred Harmsworth, whose *Daily Mail*, issued in 1896, has been the outstanding success of modern times. Harmsworth, through *The Daily Mail* and the numerous other ventures in which he became concerned, has defi- [illegible]

fication of values. *The Daily Express*, and *The Daily Herald*, which have successfully challenged *The Daily Mail* in circulation figures, first appeared respectively in 1900 and 1912.

[illegible]

education has produced a population unwilling to read anything more than large-type headlines, short paragraphs, and alluring captions to pictures. But that is only part of the truth Never before was [illegible] ure, which must [illegible] orecast the future [illegible] A free press is a necessary part of life in a free country. But the press must no [illegible] buse

VI. CARICATURE AND THE LITERATURE OF SPORT

Though caricature, in its purely pictorial sense, is beyond the scope of the present survey, we may remark that the relations of caricature and literature are very close. The famous pamphlet ascribed by Swift to Arbuthnot, *Law is a Bottomless Pit, or The History of John Bull* (1712), was a fertile source of figures for draughtsmen. For instance, it popularized, if it did not originate, the personification of England as John Bull. The pictures of William Hogarth (1697–1764) are a kind of literature: they must be read as well as seen. After Hogarth, the next memorable caricaturist is James Gillray (1757–1815), whose savage and brutal inventions appealed to the taste of his age. Hogarth had helped to win for the artist copyright in his own engravings (1735), and the way was thus opened for profitable association between publisher and illustrator. In this connection, honourable mention should be made of John Boydell the printseller, who brought out his famous illustrated edition of Shakespeare in 1802, and employed for his purpose the favourite artists of the day.

Most celebrated among the publishers who extended the relations between art and literature was Rudolph Ackermann (1764–1834), a German, who established lithography in England as a means of reproduction and used the process in his monthly publication, *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions, Manufactures* (1809–28). Ackermann turned to the caricaturists for illustrations to books, and among the earliest of his publications was Bunbury's *Academy for Grown Horsemen...by Geoffrey Gambado, Esq.* Henry William Bunbury (1750–1811), sportsman, caricaturist and writer, was already known for his admirable chalk-drawings of scenes in real life. The book is an early example of the literature of sport, and it was the first of the humorous books for which Ackermann's publishing house became famous. Among the artists working in London was a young man, Thomas Rowlandson (1756–1827), who had given up serious portrait-painting for caricature. Someone suggested to him a series of plates representing a country curate travelling about England. Gilpin had made illustrated travel books popular. Ackermann therefore approved the idea and engaged William Combe to write the letterpress. William Combe (1741–1823) had begun his literary career with *The Diaboliad* (1776). Its successors, *The Diabo-lady* and *The Anti-Diabo-lady* are equally spirited. The travelling curate was named Dr Syntax, and the work was done, by both artist and author, under extraordinary conditions. One drawing at a time was sent to Combe, then a man of sixty, and confined for debt in the King's Bench prison. The result was a set of thirty plates accompanied by nearly ten thousand lines of verse. Under the title *The*

Cambridge Review was supplemented by *The Granta*, *The Isis* was started in 18[illegible] as a light-hearted and [illegible]
of [illegible]
[illegible]
Oxford and Cambridge, especially in the matter of corporate collegiate life, that the resultant journalism does not make so general an appeal. Moreover, the Scots tongue and the Scots humour, in spite of their popularity with some English readers, are not enjoyed by all. The first magazine proper of Aberdeen, *The King's College Miscellany* (1846), was serious. *Alma Mater*, also of Aberdeen, began its existence in 1883 and is thus six years senior to *The St Andrews College Echoes*, and *The Glasgow University Magazine* (1889), and four to the Edinburgh *Student* (1887). *The University Maga*, the happiest of early efforts in Edinburgh academic journalism, ran for twenty-four weekly numbers beginning in 1835. Not until 1887, when *The Student* began its career, was it possible to establish an Edinburgh university journal with a reasonable chance of permanence. The Edinburgh university of Carlyle's time, for instance, was an intensely independent and fiercely individualistic society, with no common meeting-place, no common activities, and no sport. In such conditions a students' magazine could not prosper. The university of Edinburgh includes among its academic writers R. L. Stevenson, whose essay entitled "A College Magazine" relates the brief fortunes of *The Edinburgh University Magazine*—one of several efforts bearing that title.

The Dublin University Review, which started in 1885, was a sound and serious production with a short life. It had a far wider scope than English periodicals of the sort, and even included nationalist politics. It was a pioneer, too, in including poetry in the original Irish, the first specimens of Irish type seen in a modern review. The oddly named *Kottabos* is, however, the cream of Irish academic wit and scholarship. It was started by R. Y. Tyrrell in 1868, and appeared three times a year, for thirteen years. Its fortunes and revival are recorded in *Echoes from Kottabos* (1906). The contributors included Edward Dowden, John Todhunter, Oscar Wilde, and Standish O'Grady. The "kottabos" was a game favoured by Athenian young men; and there was significance in the title, as those who look up the word in a lexicon will find. University journalism has left a mark on English literature. It gave us, at an early period, the best of *The Anti-Jacobin*; and, at a later period, some of the brightness of *Punch*.

Rowlandson and others. An offshoot of *Life in London* was *The English Spy: An Original Work, Characteristic, Satirical and Humorous* (1825), illustrated with many coloured plates, mostly by "Robert Transit" (i.e. Robert Cruikshank), and written by "Bernard Blackmantle", a pseudonym for Charles Molloy Westmacott. *The English Spy* attempts to do for many places in England what *Life in London* and *Real Life in London* had done for the metropolis. The title owed something to Ned Ward's *The London Spy* (see p. 485). In or about 1823, a young artist named Theodore Lane brought to Pierce Egan a series of designs representing theatrical life, and round them Egan wrote *The Life of an Actor* (1824). In 1828 Egan brought out *The Finish to the Adventures of Tom, Jerry and Logic, in their Pursuits through Life In and Out of London*, with illustrations by Robert Cruikshank. It was a kind of moral atonement. Tom is killed, Logic dies, and Jerry settles down.

Among the books on life in London during this period one deserves special notice, *A Book for a Rainy Day, or Recollections of the Events of the Years* 1766–1833 (1845) by John Thomas Smith, an artist, who had written a vivid and malicious life of his father's master, the sculptor Nollekens. Smith spent his life in close touch with the artistic and literary life of London, and his *Rainy Day* is one of the most entertaining and trustworthy memorials of his time.

Within twelve hours of the appearance of *Life in London*, the title, the names and the story were seized upon by James Catnach (1792–1841), who put forth a twopenny broadside entitled *Life in London: or, the Sprees of Tom and Jerry, attempted in cuts and verse.* Catnach had long been providing for the poor the highly seasoned fare that Egan was providing for the rich. The son of a north-country printer who, at Alnwick, had issued volumes illustrated by the wood-cuts of Bewick and Clennell, Catnach set up as a printer of popular literature in Seven Dials in the year 1813, and held his own even against the older business of Pitts, hard by. In those days, when newspapers cost sevenpence, Catnach performed an important service for the working classes. He printed and sold illustrated books for children, some at a farthing, some at a halfpenny, some at a few pence; and very good, in their way, they were, with their simple renderings of famous fairy stories, their moral lessons and improving or amusing verses. To Catnach's flysheets one may turn for information about all the turbulent life of the London streets. But chiefly he was known for his exploitation of crime. Those were the days of highwaymen and of public executions. Catnach's sheets, each with portrait, last confession and woeful ballad, sold enormously.

Catnach had no monopoly of crime stories. *The Observer* (now so respectable) flourished on illustrated details of crime. Those were the days, too, of *The Newgate Calendar*. The original series, *The Newgate*

Tour of Dr Syntax in Search of the Picturesque, the joint work of Rowlandson and Combe was published first in *The Poetical Magazine* [illegible] *The Third Tour of Doctor Syntax in Search of a Wife* in 1821.

The most celebrated exploiter of the "picturesque" was William Gilpin (1724–1804), a clergyman, who in 1782 published his *Ob-* [illegible] viewed "the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland". This was followed by *Observations relative to Picturesque Beauty made...on several parts of Great Britain; particularly the Highlands of Scotland* (1789); and after this came further volumes of "Observations" or "Remarks" on almost all the rest of England.

Illustrated books of travel were among the most successful publications of Ackermann. For his great work of 1821–6, *The World in Miniature*, the earlier of the 637 plates were the work of Rowlandson, and the others of William Henry Pyne, who was both artist and [illegible] (1815). Rowlandson and Combe were again associated with one of Ackermann's most valuable works, *The Microcosm of London* (1808, etc.).

[illegible] *in* [illegible] *his* [illegible] *Oxonian, in their Rambles and Sprees through the Metropolis*, a work which began to appear in July 1821, in shilling numbers. For his [illegible] caricaturist. Egan's book suited the taste of the time, when a fast life had become a conscious aim. Egan himself was a "sporting" [illegible] furnish the slang phrases to Francis Grose's *Dictionary of the Vulgar* [illegible]

best known by two books, *The Life of a Sportsman* (1842), and *Memoirs of the Life of John Mytton* (1837), both of which were illustrated with coloured engravings by Alken. *The Life of a Sportsman* contains a pleasant account of country life in days when sport was no longer confused with debauchery. The *Memoirs of the Life of John Mytton* performed a difficult task with fidelity and tact. Apperley had to write the life of a man who, while he was one of the most heroic sportsmen that ever lived, was also drunken, diseased and insane; and he performed the task with admirable judgment.

Most famous of sporting writers in the nineteenth century is Robert Smith Surtees (1803–64), a Durham squire, who started in 1831, with Ackermann the younger, *The New Sporting Magazine*, which he edited till 1856. Here first appeared the comic papers which in 1838 were published in a book under the title of *Jorrocks's Jaunts and Jollities*. Jorrocks, "the renowned sporting Citizen of St Botolph Lane and Great Coram Street", was a real creation, and he was further exploited in *Handley Cross, or the Spa Hunt* (1843), which was enlarged into *Handley Cross, or Mr Jorrocks's Hunt* (1854) with pictures by John Leech. Then came *Hawbuck Grange* (1847), illustrated by "Phiz" (Hablot Knight Browne); *Mr Sponge's Sporting Tour* (1853), *Ask Mamma, or The Richest Commoner in England* (1858), illustrated by Leech, and *Mr Facey Romford's Hounds* (1865), illustrated by Leech and Browne. It was the success of Surtees that made Chapman and Hall look for an author to write letterpress for Seymour's pictures of Cockney sportsmen. They found Dickens, and *Pickwick* was born. Surtees is a comic writer of a broad and hearty humour which rejoices in personal oddities, yet does not lack the lighter touches. He was careless in construction, but he had a natural gift of fun and lavished it with abounding energy. Surtees was fortunate in the assistance of two young artists who were then carrying on the succession of Alken and George Cruikshank. Both John Leech and H. K. Browne were keen sportsmen and good artists; and though Leech never learned to draw a horse, both men were comic draughtsmen of inventiveness and humour. Browne found good material in the novels of another sporting writer, Francis Edward Smedley (1818–64), a cripple with a taste for sporting literature. Smedley wrote three novels of high spirits and rapid comedy, *Frank Fairlegh* (1850), *Lewis Arundel* (1852) and *Harry Coverdale's Courtship* (1854–5), of which the first is still popular. Two other famous novelists of sport were George John Whyte-Melville (1821–78), who ventured also into history, and Henry Hawley Smart (1832–93), a soldier of the Mutiny, whose many stories include some still readable.

The old and neglected art of wood-engraving was revived towards the end of the eighteenth century by the genius of Thomas Bewick (1753–1828), who thus brought into being a means of illustration in

Calendar; or, Malefactors' Bloody Register, published in or about 1774, contained in its five volumes notorious crimes from 1700 to the date of publication. Between 1824 and 1826, Andrew Knapp and William Baldwin, attorneys-at-law, issued in four volumes *The Newgate Calendar, comprising Interesting Memoirs of the Most Notorious Characters*; and in or about 1826 they issued in six volumes *The New Newgate Calendar*, which consisted of their original series much enlarged. It was read (mainly by the respectable) almost out of existence. Crime, as a literary titillation, is not, as some suppose, a discovery of the modern intellectual.

Pierce Egan has another distinction. He was the first of sporting journalists. His special line was "the fancy", as pugilism and its followers were called. T[illegible]
by the Prince of Wale[illegible]
fashionable of amuseme[illegible]
describes the great con[illegible]
Borrow (himself a man of his hands) acclaimed "the bruisers of England" in a memorable chapter of *Lavengro*. Of the general interest in sport the great illustrated work of the artist and antiquary Joseph Strutt, *Glig-Gamena Angel-Đeod, or The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England from the earliest period* (1801) is a sign. Egan was not the first to write of pugilism; but he had a way with him. He was the inventor of the florid Corinthian style which called the sun "Old Sol" and which still refers to a football as "the sphere". In 1824 he began editing a weekly paper, *Pierce Egan's Life in London and Sporting Guide*, which later developed into the more famous sporting journal, *Bell's Life in London*. Egan's *Book of Sports and Mirror of Life* (1832) is a valuable compilation; but his most successful work on sport was the illustrated book, *Boxiana, or, Sketches of Antient and Modern Pugilism, from the days of the renowned Broughton and Slack, to the Championship of Crib*, issued at various dates between 1818 and 1829.

Hunting, like pugilism, became a favourite theme of literature. Peter Beckford's *Thoughts on Hunting* (1781) and *Thoughts upon* [illegible]

[illegible] pictures between 1816 and 1831 His *National Sports of Great Britain*, [illegible]

[illegible] man of education, a country squire and a genuine sportsman. He is

Burnand came Owen Seaman. Among the early artists should be mentioned Richard ("Dicky") Doyle, whose delightful cover (with his monogram) is still in use. Individual writers of fame are too numerous for mention. Perhaps the crowning glory of *Punch* was the succession of great black-and-white artists—John Leech, John Tenniel, Charles Keene, George du Maurier and Linley Sambourne. *Punch* has had many rivals—*Fun* and *Judy* were both excellent; but they failed to survive. Everyone finds fault with *Punch*; but everyone goes on reading it. There is something peculiarly English in its virtues, and even in its failures. It has proved a faithful mirror of the changing times; and the art, literature, politics and manners of the past hundred years cannot be studied without it.

VII. THE LITERATURE OF TRAVEL, 1700–1900, AND LATER

The literature of travel ranges between the insistent personality of Sterne's *Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* and the rigid impersonality of Baedeker's Guides. Too much personality makes the reader overlook the travel; too much topography makes the reader forget the person. The writer of a successful book of travel must (in several senses) take the reader with him. Of many books of travel written between 1700 and 1900 only a very few can be mentioned here, and most of these must be barely named.

William Dampier (1652–1715), sailor, buccaneer, privateer and explorer, gives us the earliest travel-books of the period. His *Voyages* appeared in four volumes between 1697 and 1709. Dampier was an excellent writer, full of picturesque and unemphatic detail. At one time he was pilot to Captain Woodes Rogers, who wrote *A Cruizing Voyage round the World* (1712), the most famous passage of which describes the finding of Alexander Selkirk on Juan Fernandez in 1709. George Anson (1697–1762), afterwards Admiral and Lord Anson, made his famous voyage round the world in 1740–4. The excellent book known as his *Voyage round the World* (1748) was compiled by his chaplain R. Walter. The wreck of the "Wager", one of Anson's ships, on a desolate island off southern Chile, produced several narratives. The most notable of these was written twenty-six years after the event by Admiral John Byron, nick-named "foul-weather Jack", who had sailed as a young officer in the "Wager". Byron's *Narrative* (1768) is a well-told story, which possesses a special literary interest in the use made of it by the admiral's more famous grandson for his description of the storm and shipwreck in *Don Juan*.

Several voyages of exploration in the Pacific during the reign of

black and white very useful to the periodical press. Books with Bewick's illustrations are justly valued. In the early years of the nineteenth century, *The Observer*, *Bell's Life in London*, and other [illegible] new possibilities of cheap illustration, served to bring into existence a civilized comic journalism of which *Punch* is the great exemplar. George Cruikshank issued for some years after 1835 his *Comic* [illegible] which was illustrated by Robert Seymour and after him by Robert Cruikshank. He was succeeded in the editorship of *Figaro* by Henry Mayhew. Douglas Jerrold's *Punch in London* was a predecessor of *Punch*. *Punch* itself may be said to have crept quietly into being. Several people had an idea that something like the Paris *Charivari* ought to succeed. Ebenezer Landells, a wood-engraver, seems to have been the originating spirit; but the first real move was made by [illegible] *Punch* from the Paris *Charivari*; but the dominant note was soon struck by a contributor to the second number, Douglas William Jerrold (1803–57), a dramatist and wit who had already made a success with his play, *Black-ey'd Susan*. Jerrold's work gave *Punch* its tone. Here appeared, in 1843, *Punch's Letters to his Son*; in 1845, *Punch's Complete Letter-writer*, and *Mrs Caudle's Curtain Lectures*, which was issued as a book in 1846 Like Dickens, Jerrold had an instinctive sympathy with the poor Thackeray began his connection with *Punch* with *Miss Tickletoby's Lectures on English History*. In *Punch*, too, appeared his *Diary of Fitz-Jeames de la Pluche*, his *Snobs of England*, and his *Punch's Prize Novelists*. In *Miss Tickletoby's Lectures* some have seen the germ of *The Comic History of England* (1847) and *The Comic History of Rome* (1852), written by Gilbert Abbott à [illegible]

Thomas Hood began to contribute to *Punch* in 1843, and for the Christmas number of that year wrote *The Song of the Shirt*. Mark Lemon (1809–70), who soon became sole editor, remained in wise and genial control for twenty-nine years He was succeeded by Shirley Brooks, who began the *Essence of Parliament*. After Brooks came Tom Taylor, after Taylor came F. C. Burnand, [illegible]

Travels in Nubia (1819), *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (1822) and *Travels in Arabia* (1829) were all published posthumously.

The farthest East found an observer in Sir John Barrow, who accompanied Lord Macartney in the first British embassy to China in 1792. But the reader should turn, not to Barrow's formidable quarto volumes *Travels in China* (1804) and *A Voyage to Cochin-China* (1806), but to his *Auto-biographical Memoir*, published in 1847. Barrow was for forty years under-secretary to the Admiralty, and distinguished himself as supporter and historian of Arctic exploration. The tale of Oriental travel is continued by Sir John Malcolm, who published, in *Sketches of Persia* (1828), an account of his journey as envoy to the Shah from the East India Company. He observes characters and renders Eastern tales with much humour and insight. Other works dealing specially with India will be mentioned in later pages.

Curiously characteristic of the Victorian period is the earnestness with which men of normally sedentary habit made difficult and dangerous mountain ascents and recorded their exploits with an air of nonchalance. *The Alpine Journal* contains much excellent matter, some of which was extracted in the two series of *Peaks, Passes and Glaciers* (1859, 1862). Individual classics of mountaineering are Leslie Stephen's *The Playground of Europe* (1871), Edward Whymper's *Scrambles among the Alps* (1870), with its deathless story of the Matterhorn tragedy, John Tyndall's *The Glaciers of the Alps* (1860), and *Hours of Exercise in the Alps* (1871) and A. F. Mummery's *My Climbs in the Alps and Caucasus* (1895). What may be called a sub-alpine book is Samuel Butler's *Alps and Sanctuaries* already mentioned. The recent assaults on Mount Everest and its neighbours have produced some remarkable books.

In the nature of things the tale of travel introduced a strong personal note. Perhaps the extreme example is Byron's *Childe Harold*. Alexander von Humboldt's narrative of travels in tropical South America, translated into English in 1814–21, had a personal character that deeply influenced later observers. In 1825 appeared Charles Waterton's *Wanderings in South America*, a most entertaining and vivacious record of adventurous and unconventional travel. One may open this book at any page and be sure of entertainment. Waterton afterwards turned his Yorkshire park into a kind of museum of living creatures. At the age of eighty-three he was still climbing trees and rising daily at 3 a.m.

The war of South American independence and the accompanying political revolution in the early years of the nineteenth century produced a number of descriptions of travels in that continent. Noteworthy is Captain Basil Hall's *Journal on the Coasts of Chile, Peru and Mexico* (1824). Pre-eminent, however, is Darwin's *Journal* (1839) of

George III were described in readable and interesting narratives by their commanders, Wallis and Carteret (1766–8), James Cook (1768–71, 1772–5, 1776–9) and George Vancouver (1791–5). The account of Cook's first voyage which has been most often published was compiled by John Hawkesworth from the journals of Cook and of [illegible]

Antarctic voyages accomplished and related by John Franklin, William Parry, John Ross, James Ross and Francis McClintock during the first part of the nineteenth century. These narratives present thrilling stories of resource, daring, endurance and brilliant achievement in strange and terrible surroundings. One of the most moving of all Polar records is the *Journal* (1913) of Robert Falcon Scott, in which the last entry was made by the dying hand of the writer as he sank under the buffets of storm and frost on his return journey from the South Pole.

The narratives of land travel in the eighteenth century contain, generally, a less interesting story and less readable matter than the [illegible] mountains, of uncultivated lands and of Gothic buildings was unfavourable to the sympathetic spirit of travel. The various *Tours* (1769, etc.) of Thomas Pennant at home and Bishop Pococke's [illegible]

friend and correspondent, J. L. Burckhardt (1784–1817), a Swiss by birth, but by adoption a Cambridge man and, in some sort, an Englishman, won an enduring reputation by his extensive travels in Asia and Africa and by his faithful descriptions of Oriental life. His

Eastern life is found in *A Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia in 1862–3* by William Gifford Palgrave. Very startling is the *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (1888) by Charles Montagu Doughty (1843–1926), who chose to adopt for his astonishing story of hardships and endurance an elaborately archaic Elizabethan prose which intensifies the fierce light and heat of the desert, but which also intensifies the difficulty of enjoyment; and so a book bearing clear marks of greatness has never gained popularity. It is an epic poem in antique prose. An Eastern travel-book of a very different order is *A Popular Account of Discoveries at Nineveh* (1851) by Austen Henry Layard, who was a restlessly energetic wanderer of cosmopolitan tastes and habits. In his old age, after a varied diplomatic and parliamentary career, Layard wrote a charming book called *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana and Babylonia* (1887).

The exploration of Africa during the nineteenth century produced a multitude of volumes, recording much heroic effort and achievement. David Livingstone must come first. His two books, *Missionary Travels in South Africa* (1857) and *Expedition to the Zambesi* (1865), contain the plain straightforward story of a strenuous life devoted to missionary work and scientific observation. They are clear, well-written records, rather than personal narratives. And, in general, this is true of other works concerning African travel. Most of them are more notable for what they relate than for their manner of relating it, though Burton's *The Lake Region of Central Africa* (1860) expresses the virile and aggressive personality of that untiring traveller. Speke's *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (1863) is a fine record of exploration. Among those whose lives were sacrificed to their passion for Africa there are two outstanding figures, W. Winwood Reade (1838–75) and Mary Kingsley (1862–1900). Reade, a nephew of the novelist, published his vivid *African Sketch-book* in 1873. Two years later he died from the effects of his share in the Ashanti campaign. Winwood Reade is the author of one other famous book, *The Martyrdom of Man* (1872), a pessimistic general sketch of history which has been an inspiration to many readers. Though it is "out of date" in some matters of fact, it can never lose its value. It is a book of genius. Mary Kingsley, whose father and two uncles were all notable voyagers and authors, travelled for scientific observation. In 1900 she died at Simon's Town of enteric fever, caught in tending Boer prisoners. Her *Travels in West Africa* (1897), though marred in places by overlaboured humour, is very good at its best. The books of Henry Morton Stanley hardly reach the level of literature.

Of later South Sea travel the best general accounts are those of Stevenson in several volumes, including the *Vailima Letters* recording his life in Samoa. The growth of the British oversea dominions has

his voyage in the "Beagle", not only for its place in the history of science, but also for its qualities as a quietly readable record of travel. Another important South American book is *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro* (1869) by Darwin's fellow scientist, Alfred Russel Wallace; but *The Malay Archipelago* (1869) by the same excellent writer and thinker is even better. Associated with Wallace was Henry Bates, a tireless, patient observer, author of *The Naturalist on the River Amazons* (1863).

The most remarkable example of a guide-book that turned into literature is Richard Ford's *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (1845), which combines sympathy with superiority in a most attractive fashion. Its contemporary, *The Bible in Spain* (1843) by George Borrow, contains little about Spain and less about the Bible, but a [illegible] not really European.

The Near East itself produced some books of singular fascination. In 1844 appeared two Eastern narratives, *The Crescent and the Cross* by Eliot Warburton, an Irish barrister, and *Eothen* by his college friend Kinglake, of the English bar, afterwards historian of the Crimean War. Warburton who perished in the "Amazon", burnt at sea in 1852 on the way to the West Indies, had at first the greater success; but his book, with its slightly melodramatic and self-conscious tone, cannot be compared with the easy and scholarly *Eothen*, which is, perhaps, the best book of travel in the English language. Kinglake, like Ford, had keen sympathy and understanding, but is always the English gentleman abroad. The same English good-breeding is found in *The Monasteries of the Levant* [illegible] visited the [illegible] Richard Burton (1821–90). A man of cosmopolitan education and tastes, [illegible] important is *Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Mecca* (1855–6) and the most notorious is the translation of *The Arabian Nights*, annotated with curious knowledge. Burton's African and South American [illegible]

preparing the way for the acceptance of the undulatory theory of light, and we may associate with him the names of Count Rumford and Sir David Brewster. At the same time John Dalton in Manchester was studying the expansion of gases. General interest was shown by the formation of societies and the growth of popular lectures. The year 1831 saw the foundation of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, which still carries on its valuable work. Mention should be made of William Whewell's *History of the Inductive Sciences* (1837) which put together in a readable form the leading facts in the history and growth of science. Hardly less important were the twenty-seven volumes of *The Penny Cyclopaedia* (1833-43).

The most notable physicist at the beginning of the Victorian period was Michael Faraday (1791-1867), who in 1831 had begun those investigations on electricity which have changed our conceptions and revolutionized industrial science. His earliest electrical work related to induced currents, and the main result of his labours is the modern dynamo. It is difficult to overrate Faraday's abilities as an experimental philosopher. He was followed at the Royal Institution by John Tyndall (1820-93), whose lectures did much to excite and maintain general interest in physical questions. Before the first half of the century had closed Sir Charles Wheatstone had not only suggested the use of spectrum analysis and invented stereoscopic instruments, but had brought electric telegraphy into practical use. The continuation and extension of Faraday's work naturally fell into the hands of mathematicians. In the mid-century we find half a dozen mathematicians—De Morgan, Hamilton, Sylvester, Adams, Caley and Smith—whose researches make that period memorable. Augustus De Morgan was the oldest. With him we may associate George Boole, the creator of certain branches of symbolic logic. Sir William Rowan Hamilton has many claims to eminence, but is best known by his introduction of quaternions as a method of analysis. James Joseph Sylvester wrote much on the theory of numbers and higher algebra. Three investigations in theoretical astronomy are specially connected with the name of John Couch Adams of Cambridge. The first is his discovery in 1846 of the planet Neptune; the second is his discussion of the secular acceleration of the moon's mean motion; the third is his determination of the orbit of the Leonid shooting stars. Arthur Cayley discussed many subjects in pure mathematics. Henry John Stephen Smith did brilliant work in the theory of numbers and had solved one problem fourteen years before it was propounded anew by the French Academy. Sir George Howard Darwin, great son of a greater father, distinguished himself by work on the origin of the moon and the causation of tides.

It was the good fortune of the Cambridge school to produce in

produced many books of which the interest is political rather than literary. Froude's *Oceana*, already mentioned, is an exception in its literary qualities

The literature of travel expresses something inherent in the character of the British, who may change their skies, but never their souls, and can make themselves a home in any region of the globe. In recent years, when everyone travelled, many books were compiled to gratify the writers or to adorn the catalogues of publishers, but with them came occasionally some rare volume with personal inspiration caught from Arabia or the Poles, from Central Asia or from Southern Seas, and we recognized the spirit that moved in *Eothen* and *The Bible in Spain*.

VIII. THE LITERATURE OF SCIENCE

1. *Physics and Mathematics*

In such a volume as this only a bare general sketch can be given of [illegible] and physicists under the influence of Isaac Newton were followed by a long period of comparative inactivity. Native science was out of touch with European movements. Newton, in his *Principia*, had confined himself to geometrical proofs because their validity was unimpeachable; and, his results being novel, he did not wish the discussion as to their truth to turn on the methods used to demonstrate them. But his followers, long after the principles of the calculus had been accepted, continued to employ geometrical proofs. Thus, during the last seventy years of the eighteenth century British mathematical science was in a backwater But there were some philosophers of outstanding ability. The investigations of Colin Maclaurin, of Thomas Simpson, of John Michell, of Henry Cavendish, of Joseph Priestley and of Sir William Herschel advanced in many ways both the progress of research and our knowledge of natural phenomena. In practical applications of science the early years of the nineteenth century were notable for the invention of the steam-engine, the modern forms of which can be dated from the improvements introduced by James Watt, Richard Trevithick and Henry Bell. With the nineteenth century came a new era. In its early years the use of analytical methods was introduced into the mathematical curriculum at Cambridge, which was recognized as the principal school of mathematics. By 1830 the fluxional and geometrical methods of the eighteenth century had fallen into disuse. At the laboratories of the Royal Institution in London, Thomas Young was

sophy into distinct chapters. The century began with Planck's "quantum" theory of the propagation of energy. Then came the Michelson-Morley investigation into the velocity of light, showing that there was no fixed frame of reference for the measurement of cosmic motion. The first promulgation of Einstein's theory of relativity followed; and the physical concepts that had seemed as firm as the earth itself began to grow insubstantial. The sweet simplicity of the gravitational pull sank into an antiquated superstition. Euclidean space was to be regarded as a mere local and temporary convenience of definition, not as a condition of the universe. No more could we think of "space" and "time" as separate entities: we were compelled to think in terms of a "space-time" continuum. The idea was not entirely new. Readers of C. H. Hinton's *What is the Fourth Dimension?* (1884) had been invited to consider "some stupendous whole, wherein all that has ever come into being or will come co-exists". More startling, because more popular and intelligible, was the first scientific fantasia of H. G. Wells, *The Time Machine* (1895), in which it is claimed that "any real body must have extension in *four* dimensions"; that "there is no difference between Time and any of the three dimensions of Space except that our consciousness moves along it"; and that this motion of our consciousness in one direction has led to a distorted view of Time. A later book, *An Experiment with Time* (1927), by J. W. Dunne, cited the well-known "irrationality" of time in dreams, and propounded a theory of "serialism" which, apart from any question of its validity, disconcerted completely those who had thought of time merely as something measured on the circumference of a clock-face or along a graduated line. These works, which in no derogatory sense may be called popular, are as symptomatic of a changing view of the universe as the treatises of the great investigators. Alice, in continual perplexity about her varied extensions in Space, i.e. about her changing universe, and the Mad Hatter, convinced that Time was not "It" but "Him" (and therefore dimensional), may be taken as parables in anticipation. A sketch like the present cannot attempt to offer a summary of the new hypotheses whether of the universe or of the atom; it can do no more than refer to the actual literature of modern science, i.e. the principal publications of a few outstanding writers, the bibliography of the original *History* having ceased with works published in the nineteenth century.

Every department of investigation showed development that was almost startling. Among the older philosophical men of science, Sir Oliver Lodge (1851–1940) not only did work of great importance in the study of the ether and all that relates to wireless, but presented views of psychical belief that the generation of Huxley and Tyndall would have regarded as superstitiously unscientific. In volumes such

the Victorian period some of the greatest physicists of the century. Of these four are outstanding—George Green, Sir George Stokes, Sir William Thomson (Lord Kelvin) and Clerk-Maxwell. George Green was a self-educated man who came to Cambridge in middle life, and in the few years before his death had made valuable researches which profoundly impressed Stokes and Kelvin. Sir George Gabriel Stokes did a mass of varied and valuable work in optics, hydro-dynamics, and geodesy, as well as in pure mathematics. Sir William Thomson, Lord Kelvin, was a man of so many interests that it is difficult to give any brief account of them. He possessed an almost intuitive power of realizing fundamental principles. Electromagnetics, hydrodynamics, elasticity, and thermodynamics were some of the subjects on which he wrote, and his papers on energy and entropy were of far-reaching importance. Throughout his life he endeavoured to give science a practical application He made submarine cabling possible. He was a keen yachtsman and took up the problem of compasses. *He seemed to touch nothing that he did not make more practical.* James Clerk-Maxwell, applying mathematical demonstration to the ideas of Faraday, showed that light consists of transverse waves of the same medium as that required for the explanation of electric and magnetic phenomena. Further researches in mathematical physics are associated with the names of Lord Rayleigh, Sir Joseph John Thomson and Sir Joseph Larmor. Some of Clerk-Maxwell's assumptions remained unsupported; but a few years later his main theory was established by the researches of Hertz, and the results of the experiments led to the introduction of wireless telegraphy. The question of the conduction of electric discharges through liquids and gases had been raised by Faraday It was now taken up seriously, and various types of rays, cathode rays, Röntgen rays, etc., were discovered. These researches led to new views on the constitution of matter

The work in physics of the Victorian period has completely revolutionized the subject, and, both on its theoretical and its practical sides, far exceeds in value that previously done in any period of similar extent. That period has seen electricity raised to the rank of an all-embracing science and applied to innumerable industrial uses. It has seen, too, the development of the turbine-engine, the internal combustion-engine, the submarine boat, the air-ship, the air-plane and everything associated with "wireless".

The decades of the present century have been specially remarkable for the breaches made in the usually accepted frontiers between the physical and the metaphysical realms. Philosophers now explain [illegible]

The new approach to astronomy is attractively shown in the works of Sir James Hopwood Jeans (1877–1946), who has in a high degree the gift of making abstruse discussion intelligible to the ordinary studious reader. *The Stars in their Courses* (1931) and *Through Time and Space* (1934) are both based on popular addresses. *The Universe Around Us* (1929) and *The Mysterious Universe* (1930) present general views of cosmology in the light of modern physical theory. *The New Background of Science* (1934) is a philosophical discussion of recent research and discovery. *The Mathematical Theory of Electricity and Magnetism* (1925) and *Atomicity and Quanta* (1926) are more technical studies. The writings of Jeans seem almost too good to be true.

Sir Arthur Stanley Eddington (1882–1944), director of the Observatory at Cambridge, has brought to the problems of space and time a mind of great power in conception and of great lucidity in expression. *Space, Time and Gravitation* (1921) is an outline of the general relativity theory. *Stars and Atoms* (1927) shows how the new knowledge of atoms and radiation helps the study of astronomy. More important in philosophical interpretation are *The Nature of the Physical World* (1928) and its sequel *New Pathways in Science* (1935).

Modern physical theory ranges from the telescopically vast to the microscopically minute. The great researches of Ernest, afterwards Lord, Rutherford (1871–1938) were in part embodied in *Radioactivity* (1904), afterwards expanded into *Radiations from Radioactive Substances* (1930). Rutherford was a giant in the laboratory and is regarded as the greatest experimental physicist since Faraday. Amongst those who have written on the atom are Frederick Soddy (1877) in *The Interpretation of the Atom* (1932) and Edward Neville da Costa Andrade (1887) in *The Structure of the Atom* (1927).

2. *Chemistry*

Chemistry has always busied itself with the changes in material things. Some of these changes were so startling that, paradoxically, the earlier chemists began to seek for the unchanging. The history of alchemy is the history of a particular branch of the universal quest, the quest of the absolute. In the later years of the eighteenth century, between 1770 and 1790, chemistry changed rapidly from an empirical art to an experimental science. The man who made the great transformation was Antoine Laurent Lavoisier, a Frenchman of such beneficent eminence that he was naturally guillotined during the Revolution. After the days of Lavoisier, chemists began to concentrate their attention on the changes that happen during combustion. At the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth we find some outstanding names. Priestley and Cavendish investigated the phenomena of combustion. Black was the first

as *Electrons* (1923), *Atoms and Rays* (1924) and *Ether and Reality* (1925) Lodge dealt with the atomic structure of electricity and passed into wider speculations. The death of his son in the War and his conviction of the fact of communication had led to the writing of *Raymond, or Life and Death* (1916), a book which aroused and still arouses deep questioning. Much of Lodge's later work has dealt with the borderland between the physical and the psychical world. *Evolution and Creation* (1926), *The Survival of Man* (1927), *Beyond Physics* (1930), *The Making of Man* (1934) and *My Philosophy* (1934) have the peculiar interest that attaches to the speculations of a scientific mind about things unseen.

Sir Joseph John Thomson (1856–1940), Master of Trinity, made

[illegible]

1942) contributed to our knowledge of light and radiation, and in *The Universe of Light* (1933) showed the possibility of a reconciliation between the corpuscular and the wave theories.

A great contribution to the philosophy of mathematics was made by Bertrand, afterwards Earl, Russell (1872) and Alfred North Whitehead (1861) in *Principia Mathematica* (1910–13). Later works of Russell, such as *Mysticism and Logic* (1918), *Introduction to Mathe-*

[illegible]

his place in the history of thought is secured by his less personal discussions. There is noticeably a lower level of mind at work in his treatment of our present discontents. Whitehead passed from *Principia Mathematica* to *Introduction to Mathematics* (1919), which presents mathematics as the foundation of exact thought in the study of natural phenomena, and to *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Natural Knowledge* (1919), which showed the necessity of emphasizing the connection rather than the separation of space and time. *The Concept of Nature* (1920) presents ultimate physical ideas. In 1922 came *The Principle of Relativity* and in 1926 *Science and the Modern World*, perhaps his most important work. The breadth of Whitehead's constructive mind is exhibited in such books as *Religion in the* [illegible] *Adventures of Ideas* (1933). [illegible] essays and addresses on a [illegible] "philosophy of organism" [illegible] the thought of these later years.

satisfactory than the physical methods of Avogadro. Sir Edward Frankland (1825–99) applied the notion of equivalency to the atoms of elements, and arranged the elements in groups, the atoms of those in any one group being of equal value in exchange. The great industry of making aniline colours is an outcome of the notion of atomic equivalency introduced by Frankland into chemical science. Humphry Davy (1778–1829), the friend of Wordsworth and Scott, was the most brilliant of English chemists. He isolated the hitherto unknown metals potassium, sodium, calcium, barium, strontium and magnesium, and proved that "oxymuriatic acid" is not an acid, but a simple substance, which he named "chlorine" from its colour. He investigated the relations between chemical affinity and electrical energy, and his researches into the behaviour of "fire-damp" led to the invention of the miner's safety lamp. Among the earlier physical chemists a high place is taken by Thomas Graham, who established the fundamental phenomena of the diffusion of gases and of liquids, and distinguished between crystalloids and colloids.

Electrochemistry, the study of the connections between chemical and electrical actions, has been productive, in recent years, of more far-reaching results than have been obtained in any other branch of physical chemistry. Faraday did much of the pioneer work. To him we owe the fundamental terms of electrochemistry. The separation of a salt into two parts by the electric current he called "electrolysis"; the surfaces from which the current passes he named "electrodes"; the substance liberated at the electrodes he called "ions". He distinguished the intensity of electricity from the quantity of it, and indicated the meaning of each of these factors. The results established by Faraday have led to the conception of atoms of electricity, a conception which has been of great service in advancing the study of radioactivity. It is a worthy monument to the greatness of this simple, devout man of genius that his Diaries have now been fully published.

At the time of the foundation of the Royal Society in 1660 chemistry was a conglomeration of more or less useful recipes and a dream of the elixir. To-day, chemistry is becoming an almost universal science, passing across the frontiers to physics in one direction, and to biology in another. And by strange revolution the ancient dream of a universal, absolute substance can no longer be dismissed with a smile, as some of the so-called elements are in danger of having their independence destroyed by resolution. Chemistry has become the creative ally of commerce, and many products of the laboratory are now among articles of general utility. A great deal of revolutionary work has also been accomplished in the study of nutrition. Chemistry shades into biochemistry, and some researches that might be considered as belonging to chemistry may be regarded as mainly

chemist to make an accurate, quantitative examination of a particular, limited, chemical change, and, by so doing, to give clearness to the expression "a homogeneous substance". The atomic theory was Dalton's gift to science. Williamson and Frankland added the molecule to the atom. Graham and Faraday worked on the borderland between chemistry and physics. The investigations of Davy touched and illuminated every side of chemical progress.

[illegible] by subsequent investigators. His discovery, or isolation, of ten new gases, including oxygen (as it was afterwards called), led to the revolution in chemistry of which Lavoisier was the outstanding figure. Priestley's preference, after much wavering, for the "phlogiston" theory of combustion as a simpler explanation of the facts than Lavoisier's has unduly discredited his memory. Yet Priestley, though regarding speculation as "a cheap commodity", was a pioneer in scientific theory, of which he thought the object was "to comprise as much knowledge as possible in the smallest compass". Henry Cavendish is associated with "inflammable air" (hydrogen) as Priestley is with "dephlogisticated air" (oxygen). He exploded accurately measured volumes of dephlogisticated air (oxygen) and inflammable air (hydrogen), and found that water was the sole product of the change when the volumes were as one to two. He could not explain what he had done, because he insisted on making the facts uphold the phlogistic theory; but he had, in fact, determined the quantitative volumetric composition of water. Joseph Black is associated with "fixed air" (carbon dioxide), which he found was given off from magnesium carbonate. He laid the foundations of quantitative analysis and worked out the theory of latent heat. John Dalton (1766–1844), a quiet, simple Quaker, gave chemistry a new tool when he published *A New System of Chemical Philosophy* in 1808. Many of Dalton's predecessors, both chemists and physicists, had used, in a vague and general manner, the Greek conception of the atomic structure of matter. Dalton showed how the relative weights of atoms could be determined. Incidentally he investigated colour blindness (from which he suffered) and this defect was long known as "Daltonism". An Italian chemist, Avogadro, brought into science the notion of a second order of minute particles, thus supplementing the conception of atom by that of molecule. Alexander Williamson endeavoured to determine the relative weights of molecules by purely chemical methods, though his methods proved to be less

surgeons and apothecaries. Now public libraries were being established, and in many of these botanical, geological and especially zoological specimens found a home. The British Museum received its charter in 1753. The nucleus of the University Museum at Cambridge was formed in 1728. John Tradescant established in South Lambeth a museum which was acquired in 1659 by Elias Ashmole and which, transferred to Oxford, became the present Ashmolean Museum. The collection of John Hunter developed into the great museum of the Royal College of Surgeons. Botanic Gardens were founded, during the seventeenth century, at Oxford, Edinburgh and Chelsea. Cambridge followed in 1759, and in 1765 the greatest of all, Kew Gardens, was founded. In 1783 Sir James Edward Smith secured, from the mother of Linnaeus, for a thousand guineas the entire Linnaean collections; and in 1788 the Linnaean Society was founded and produced a revolution in scientific literature by issuing "Transactions" instead of treatises. Other "single science" societies were formed—the Horticultural in 1803, the Geological in 1807, the Zoological in 1826 and the Botanic in 1839.

Great advance was made in our knowledge of the flora and fauna of the British dominions beyond the seas by the work of Sir Joseph Banks (1744–1820) and his secretary Robert Brown (1773–1858). Brown was the first to observe the cell-nucleus. In the early part of the nineteenth century, improvements in the microscope were demonstrating very clearly that all living organisms, whether plant or animal, consist either of a single cell or a complex of cells, and that they all began life as a single cellular unit. Another great advance, largely due to Brown, was the replacing of the Linnaean system of classification by the more natural groups.

Modern geology in Great Britain begins with James Hutton, who published his *Theory of the Earth* in 1795, and used strictly inductive methods in investigation. He "saw no occasion to have recourse to the agency of any preternatural cause in explaining what actually occurs". William Smith (1769–1839), the "father of English Geology", became interested in the structure of the earth's crust, at first, from a land-surveyor's and engineer's point of view. He was one of the earliest to recognize that each of the strata he studied contains animal and plant fossils peculiar to itself, by which it can be identified. Belief in a universal deluge was firmly held by most geologists during the first half of the nineteenth century. But *The Principles of Geology* (1831, 1832, 1833) by Sir Charles Lyell marks a transition. Lyell discredited orthodox "catastrophic" teaching about the age and creation of the earth and established the modern view that the earth was gradually shaped by causes still in operation. Lyell's first volume was carefully studied by Darwin during the voyage of the "Beagle". In his turn Lyell was converted by

biological. Possibly the greatest recent advance is the discovery of the mysterious vitamins, or accessory food-factors, our knowledge of which we owe mainly to the researches of Sir Frederick Gowland Hopkins (1861).

3. *Biology*

"The Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge", one of the oldest scientific societies in the world, and certainly the oldest in the British Empire, was formally founded in 1660 and received its royal charter of incorporation two years later. The word "*natural*", *as used in the charter, was deliberately opposed to* "supernatural", the aim of the Society being, at any rate in part, to dis- [illegible]

scope had given a great impetus to the study of the anatomical structure of plants and, later, of animals. Thus helped, Nehemiah Grew (1641–1712) was able to pursue his study of plant-anatomy. [illegible] overy that [illegible] The study [illegible] ho made a classification of plants which remained in use till it was gradually replaced by the Linnaean system. Ray has other claims on our notice. With Francis Willughby he began methodical investigations of animals and plants in all the accessible parts of the world. He has been called the founder of natural history as a scientific study. His greatest single improvement was the division of the herbs into monocotyledons and dicotyledons. Robert Hooke (1635–1703), curator of experiments to the Royal Society, was a man avid of fame. His work in astronomy is specially remarkable. Newton owed something to him, but Hooke was anxious to claim personal priority for almost every advance made in his time. His "Microscopicall Observations" fascinated Pepys. During much of the eighteenth century the study of the anatomy of plants made little progress, but there was a real advance in our knowledge of plant physiology. One of the pioneers was Stephen Hales (1677–1761), who showed that the air might be a source of food for plants and connected the assimilative function of leaves with the action of light. He was not less remarkable as an *investigator of animal physiology*, and was the first to measure the blood-pressure, and the rate of flow in the capillaries. He was, further, a man of "many inventions", especially in the fields of ventilation and hygiene.

The most important activity of the eighteenth century was the formation of public museums. Various collections had found a home in great private mansions, in coffee-houses, and in the homes of

thought had been accepted by many writers. Darwin's great merit was that he conceived a process by means of which this evolution in the organic kingdom could be explained. The theory of natural selection through the survival of the fittest was formed almost at the same time, at two far ends of the earth, by Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace, each of whom honourably gave credit to the other. It is difficult now to conceive the horror with which the doctrine of evolution filled the minds of the orthodox, who were certain that rejection of a belief in the creation of the universe by six divine acts on six days of a single week destroyed the foundations of religion and morality. Not all men of science accepted the evolutionary view. Owen was unconvinced; but in Hooker on the botanical side, in Huxley on the zoological side, and in Lyell on the geological side Darwin found three of the ablest intellects of his time as champions. Like all great observers in all ages Darwin made mistakes. Perhaps if he had used the term "natural rejection" instead of "natural selection" some unnecessary criticism might have been avoided. Darwin was a modest man and did not suppose that he had said the last word about the origin of species; but in his simple and almost religious way he said a first word of such power that the year 1859 still marks an epoch in the history of thought.

After Darwin came Mendel and Weismann with their researches into heredity and the transmission of acquired characteristics. The English apostle of Mendel was William Bateson (1861–1926), author of *Materials for the Study of Variation* (1894) and *Mendel's Principles of Heredity: a Defence* (1902), in which he used the term "genetics". *Problems of Genetics* followed in 1913. The posthumous *Essays and Addresses* (1928) revealed Bateson's command of lucid, expository prose.

Numerous attractive volumes came from Sir John Arthur Thomson (1861–1933), the most important being *Life: Outlines of General Biology* (1931) written in collaboration with Sir Patrick Geddes (1854–1932), a vigorous, active thinker, whose many interests extended from zoology to town-planning. The same pair had produced *The Evolution of Sex* (1899) and *Evolution* (1922). Thomson alone wrote a long series of volumes, some dealing with specific biological problems, some touching the relations of science and religion, and some more popular descriptive works in general natural history. Among them may be named *The Control of Life* (1921), *What is Man?* (1924), *Science and Religion* (1925), *Concerning Evolution* (1925), *Heredity* (1926), *Scientific Riddles* (1932) and *Purpose in Evolution* (1932). There was greater depth in Thomson than one would expect from such ready productiveness.

Two notable names, properly considered together, are those of John Scott Haldane (1860–1936) and John Burdon Sanderson Haldane

Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859) and investigated the evidence in favour of the early existence of man. Sir Roderick Impey Murchison, who had fought in the Peninsular War, was attracted to science by [illegible] in 1839, was the establishment of the Silurian system and the record of strata older than any hitherto described in these islands. Later, [illegible] tinct vertebrates.

Among marine biologists of eminence was Edward Forbes, who [illegible] James Ross in the "Erebus" on his voyage in search of the south magnetic pole; Huxley sailed on the "Rattlesnake" and laid the foundation of his remarkable knowledge of the structure of marine animals; Darwin sailed on the "Beagle" (1831–6) and was thus enabled to form his theory of the structure and origin of coral-reefs. The invention of telegraphy indirectly brought about a great advance in our knowledge of deep-sea fauna. It was necessary to survey the routes upon which the large oceanic cables were to be laid, and, by the invention of new sounding and dredging instruments, it was becoming possible to secure samples of the bottom fauna as well as of the sub-stratum upon which it existed The most important attempt to solve the mysteries of the sea was that of H M.S. "Challenger", which was despatched by the Admiralty at the close of the year 1872. But though much of interest was discovered, the depths [illegible] may be mentioned Charles Darwin's grandfather Erasmus Darwin, and some even hinted at natural selection. Above all, Robert Chambers, whose *Vestiges of Creation* (1844) remained anonymous until after his death, strongly pressed the view that new species of animals were being evolved from simpler types. Two lines of thought about evolution must be carefully distinguished, first, that, by some means, *new forms of life are derived from pre-existing forms*; and second, that this change of old forms into new must be the result of some discoverable process or processes. The first of these lines of

Man as both the creator and the creature of his own myths attracted some very notable writers. Sir Edward Burnett Tylor (1832–1917) in his *Primitive Culture* (1871) made anthropological research familiar to the general reader. A writer of far wider range was Sir James George Frazer (1854–1941), whose original treatise on comparative religion grew into the numerous volumes of *The Golden Bough* (1890, etc.), equally remarkable for its vast assembly of facts and its unusual charm of presentation. Few men of such learning have written more attractively. Besides numerous other works in his special subject, Frazer produced an elaborately edited translation of Pausanias in six volumes (1898) and various literary essays and selections that reveal a mind as sensitive to poetry as to science. A later view of man's developing civilization was presented by Sir Grafton Elliot Smith (1871–1937), an Egyptologist and anatomist of Australian birth, who, in *The Ancient Egyptians and the Origin of Civilization* (1923), propounded the doctrine that civilization had its origin in Egypt and was gradually diffused, even to America and Japan, by bands of traders. *Human History* (1934) discusses further the development of local culture. Among other writers on man in nature and in social history may be named Sir Arthur Keith (1866), whose major works are *The Human Body* (1912), *The Antiquity of Man* (1915), *Religion of a Darwinist* (1925) and *New Discoveries relating to the Antiquity of Man* (1931).

Nothing would more astonish the materialist philosophers of the last four decades of the nineteenth century than the changed attitude of scientific speculation towards the intangible element in human aspiration. With the advance of research into regions undreamed of there has come a lessening of the confident agnosticism and materialism that marked the period of Huxley and Tyndall. That is one side of the extraordinary progress of science during the present century. There is a less comforting side. In Butler's Erewhon, machines were rigorously suppressed on the ground that they were bound to evolve and destroy their makers. Butler's Darwinian jest was nearer to truth than he knew, for man is now in the ignominious predicament of seeking ways of escape from the terrors of his own inventions. It was not a satirist or moralist, but a great engineer and physicist, Sir Alfred Ewing, who, at a meeting of the British Association, deplored that progress in physical science has given to man powers which he is at present morally unfitted to use.

(1892), father and son, members of a remarkable family, the elder being a brother of Lord Haldane and of Elizabeth Sanderson Haldane, the latter of whom combined valuable public service with published studies in the life and writings of Descartes. J. S. Haldane's work in biology was both philosophical in interpretation and practical in its application. *Organism and Environment* appeared in 1917, *The New Physiology*, a collection of varied addresses, in 1919 and *Human Experience* in 1926. More important in its presentation of thought is [illegible] *The Philosophical Basis of Biology*, [illegible] raised by modern research, [illegible] *a Biologist* in 1935. J. B. S. Haldane, like his father, united power of research with ability to present large general views. His *Possible Worlds* (1928) and *The Inequality* [illegible] *The Causes of* [illegible] critical re- [illegible] collaboration [illegible]

descending from Thomas, the great Darwinian zoologist, to Leonard, scholar and man of letters, and thence to the brothers Julian and Aldous, is a remarkable case that should interest students of heredity.

Sir Francis Galton (1822–1911), author of *Hereditary Genius* (1869) and *Inquiries into the Human Faculty and its Development* (1883), [illegible] father of modern criminal detection. His follower and biographer, Karl Pearson (1857–1936), author of *The Grammar of Science* (1892), gave us the statistical biological method known as "biometrics".

The researches of Sir Arthur Everett Shipley (1861–1927) are indicated in the title of his best-known book, *Pearls and Parasites* (1908). *The Minor Horrors of War* (1915) and *More Minor Horrors* (1916) are further studies in parasitology and the spread of disease. Sir Ronald Ross (1857–1932) rendered invaluable service to the human race by his researches into the carrying of malaria by mosquitoes. His scientific investigation was touched by the imaginative spirit that expressed itself in his *Poems* (1928) and other works in literature.

The study of geology was notably advanced by William Johnson Sollas (1849–1936) in *The Age of the Earth* (1905) and *Ancient Hunters* [illegible] Charles Seward (1863–1941), author of *Plant Life through the Ages* (1931), *Plants, What They Are and What They Do* (1932), and editor of some valuable composite volumes.

by birth or residence. Swift, Sheridan and Shaw are Irish writers, but they belong entirely to the English tradition.

There are few instances of a hereditary talent so persistent as that of the Sheridan stock. Richard Brinsley Sheridan inherited his poetic tastes from his mother, his dramatic bent from his father, and his sense of style from his grandfather, the intimate of Swift. His own brilliant wit descended to his son Tom Sheridan, father of Caroline Sheridan, afterwards Mrs Norton, and of Helen Sheridan, Lady Dufferin. From the Sheridan stock, too, descends the Le Fanu talent; for Alice, Richard Brinsley Sheridan's sister, a clever writer of verse and plays, was grandmother of Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu. Sheridan Knowles, the popular actor and dramatist, is yet another offshoot from the Sheridan family. Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu (1814–73) was a novelist with a mastery of the mysterious and supernatural that imposed itself upon his times and still retains something of its power. He is seen at his best in *The House by the Churchyard* (1863), *Uncle Silas* (1864), and *In a Glass Darkly* (1872), as well as in shorter stories. His drama *Beatrice* has hardly survived; but there is life in his stirring ballads, *Shamus O'Brien* and *Phaudrig Crohoore*.

Le Fanu, however, was a mere incident of the mid-century and he is read for his mysteries, not for his nationality. To trace the general course of history we must return to the closing years of the eighteenth century when Irish parliamentary independence was drawing to an end, when Irish separatism was encouraged by the French Revolution to acts of violence, and when Irishman betrayed Irishman with such regularity that it is Irishmen themselves who should "fear to speak of Ninety-eight" and blush at its name. The Act of Union (1800) closed the Irish Parliament, but it did not silence the eloquence of the courts or the wit of private assemblies, nor did it lessen the activities of the nationalists. Notable among the last was William Drennan (1754–1820), a founder of the Society of United Irishmen (1791). His *Letters of Orellana* (1785) appealed to the Irish sympathies of Ulster and his rousing poems gained him the renown of an Irish Tyrtaeus. It was Drennan who gave currency to the descriptive phrase, popular at least with English people, "The Emerald Isle". Apart from the patriotic poems of Drennan and such national folk-ballads as *The Shan Van Vocht* and *The Wearing of the Green*, there was a revival of interest in Irish native poetry and music, evidenced by the publication of Charlotte Brooke's *Reliques of Irish Poetry* (1789), the holding of the Granard and Belfast meetings of Irish harpers (1792), and the consequent issue of Edward Bunting's first and second collections of *Ancient Irish Music* (1796, 1812), which inspired Moore's *Irish Melodies*. But these movements were interrupted by political agitations, and Dublin lost more and more of its prestige as a capital. The services rendered to the Irish cause by the songs of the expatri-

IX. ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE

For the purposes of this chapter, Anglo-Irish literature means the work of Irish writers treating (mainly) of Irish themes in the English language. It does not mean ancient, medieval or modern Irish literature written in Latin or in Irish. The elaborately trained Irish bards preserved many old legends; and some of the stories and the style of their telling lived on in the memory of the Irish people, colouring their way of speech and their way of feeling. Perhaps the radical difference between the Irish and the English is that they have different mythologies. There are few traces of any direct connection between native Irish literature and English after the missionary period. Spenser had first-hand knowledge of Ireland; but his description of the country is so hostile that he was unlikely to have felt any interest in the native poetry. Shakespeare's Welshmen are kindly caricatures—he clearly felt and understood the "something different" in the Welsh nature; but he shows no knowledge of Ireland or the Irish.

Matthew Arnold, in the lectures collected as *The Study of Celtic Literature*, a book which, in spite of imperfect information, has a sound sense of truth, considers Shakespeare full of Celtic magic in his handling of nature. Arnold's general thesis, courageously propounded in the days when the German school of history was in the ascendant, is that there was no such incredible event as the extermination of the British by the invading Teutons during the fifth and sixth centuries; there was slaughter, but there was also mingling; and the result was a leavening of the dull, efficient German by the lighter, imaginative Briton. And so Arnold declares that there is a Celtic element in the English nature, as well as a Germanic element, and that English poetry got its turn for style possibly from this Celtic element, its turn for melancholy probably from this Celtic element, and its turn for natural magic certainly from this Celtic element. But that Celtic element is native, and has not been derived from Wales or Scotland or Ireland.

Of English hospitality to Celtic story, style and spirit the immense vogue of Ossian is sufficient proof. Had there been an Irish Macpherson in the eighteenth century, he would have been welcomed as warmly. But there was no interpreter of Ireland to England. The greatest of Irish-born writers, Swift, has nothing Irish about him. The first writer of modern Irish who had literary renown was Geoffrey Keating (1570?–1644?), poet and historian of Ireland; but English people were ignorant of him and his work. Till times almost recent, Anglo-Irish literature meant, if it meant anything, literature in the English tradition written by people who happened to be Irish

manipulated type. William Carleton (1794–1860) absorbed old songs and stories from his father and mother and forgot nothing he had learned. Poverty prevented Carleton from becoming a priest, so he made his way to Dublin and obtained employment from Caesar Otway on *The Christian Examiner*, to which he contributed thirty sketches of Irish peasant life, afterwards collected and published (1832) in a volume entitled *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*. The success of the book was great and immediate. A second series appeared in 1833, and a kindred volume, *Tales of Ireland*, was issued in 1834. These stories and sketches, which alternate humour with melancholy, are very faithful to the Irish peasant life they depict. Challenged by critics who doubted his ability to write a connected narrative, Carleton replied with *Fardorougha the Miser* (1839), a powerful and sombre story. Other novels by Carleton are *Valentine McClutchy* (1845) and *The Black Prophet* (1847).

Patrick Kennedy (1801–73) was a genuine writer of Irish folk-tales. His *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts* (1866), *The Banks of the Boro* (1867), *Evenings in the Duffrey* (1869) and *The Bardic Stories of Ireland* (1871) were put on paper much as he heard them when a boy in his native county Wexford. Kennedy is a true story-teller, animated and humorous. A different kind of humorist was Francis Sylvester Mahony (1804–66), better known as "Father Prout". He was a Jesuit, but abandoned the clerical calling. Mahony was a learned and witty essayist and wrote much for the magazines. His contributions to *Fraser* were collected as *The Reliques of Father Prout* (1836). The one piece of Mahony's known to all is *The Bells of Shandon*. The brothers Banim, John (1798–1842) and Michael (1796–1874), are best known by their joint work, *Tales of the O'Hara Family* (1825). John's life was unhappy and unfortunate. He produced a tragedy, *Damon and Pythias*, at Covent Garden, and wrote a series of clever satires called *Revelations of the Dead*. Michael Banim was the best of brothers. He helped John materially and claimed no share in their joint work. Though the elder, Michael outlived John by thirty years, during which period he produced *Father Connell* (1842), one of his best novels. *The Croppy* (1828) is a characteristic earlier work. Gerald Griffin (1803–40) wrote much in a short lifetime, and takes high rank as author of *The Collegians* (1829), the best Irish novel written in the nineteenth century, and the source of the best known Irish play, Boucicault's *The Colleen Bawn*. Among his numerous other books *Tales of the Munster Festivals* (1827) should be mentioned. Griffin had a quiet sense of humour and a fine lyrical quality. Though a national writer, he was never a "nationalist" in the narrower sense.

Brief notice must suffice for some other writers of Irish origin. The celebrated Countess of Blessington (Marguerite Power) was twice married and was associated with Count d'Orsay and Lord

ated Tom Moore have not always been rightly valued by some of his ungrateful countrymen. The *Irish Melodies* aroused in England far more interest and sympathy than could ever have been compelled by acts of legislation or of rebellion.

But not all the Irish writers had definite political intentions. Caesar Otway (1780–1842) founded and conducted the *Dublin Penny Journal* and *The Irish Penny Journal*, joined Bishop Singer in producing *The Christian Examiner*, and wrote admirable vignettes of Irish natural beauty in *Sketches in Ireland* (1827), *A Tour in Connaught* (1837) and *Sketches in Erris and Tirawley* (1841). Some notable writers were associated with *The Dublin University Magazine*. William Maginn (1793–1842) has earned an unsavoury reputation for his onslaughts in *Blackwood* upon the poets. He was the typical hard-living "Bohemian" journalist. Nothing that he wrote possesses genuine life; his criticism is remarkable for its blank obtuseness, as a glance at his essay on Shelley will show, and his humour is not now endurable. *It was probably Maginn who suggested to William Hamilton Maxwell (1792–1850), another Trinity College graduate*, the writing of military novels. The most effective result was the *Stories of Waterloo* (1829). Maxwell was a great sportsman, if a poor parson, and his *Wild Sports of the West* (1832) deserves the popularity it attained. Charles Lever (1806–72), as a young man, sat at Maxwell's feet, but soon surpassed his master in popularity. Most of his earlier work, like that of Maxwell, appeared in *The Dublin University Magazine*, which he edited when it was in its prime; and in its pages his spirited military novels were first published. *Harry Lorrequer* (1840), *Charles O'Malley* (1841), *Jack Hinton the Guardsman* (1843) and its followers are known to everybody. They all have the same formula, and helped to create the entirely fictitious tradition of the "typical" Irishman as a wild, hilarious, devil-may-care young man overflowing with inventive energy and animal spirits. Lever held posts abroad and was consul at Trieste when he died. His later works, such as *The Daltons* (1852), *The Martins of Cro' Martin* (1859) and *A Day's Ride* (1864) show a quieter, more finished manner and a much greater mastery of the novelist's art; but they have never had the popularity of his more facile works. There is merit in the undervalued stories of Samuel Lover (1797–1868)—*Rory O'More* (1836) and *Handy Andy* (1838)—and some charm in the poems contained in his *Songs and Ballads*.

The treatment of national stories was first raised to the level of an art by Thomas Crofton Croker (1798–1854) in his *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, a set of folk-tales full of charm, published anonymously in 1825. William Carleton and the brothers John and Michael Banim followed Crofton Croker with what Douglas Hyde describes as folk-tales of an incidental and ...il.

Irish History (1861). Among other scholars may be named William Stokes (1804–78) and his daughter Margaret (1832–1900), authors, respectively, of a *Life of George Petrie* (1868), and *Early Christian Architecture in Ireland* (1878); and, most versatile of all, Patrick Weston Joyce (1827–1914), who contributed Irish folk-songs and notes on Irish dances to a later edition of Petrie's *Ancient Music of Ireland*. Other works of his on Irish music have already been named. His *Social History of Ireland* is written with a direct simplicity that at once engages the attention of the reader, and his *Old Celtic Romances*, a series of free translations from old Irish folk-tales, inspired Tennyson's *Voyage of Maeldune*.

We must now go back to writers who were the precursors of the extraordinary revival of Irish literature in the later years of the nineteenth century; and we must draw a distinction between the national writers and the nationalist writers—between those whose instinct was creative and those whose interest was political. First among the definitely nationalist writers is Thomas Osborne Davis (1814–45), the son of parents of strictly Unionist principles and with very little Irish blood in his veins. His strong independence of view attracted the attention of Charles Gavan Duffy, the young Catholic editor of a Belfast national journal. The two men became friends and their association led to the establishment of *The Nation*, from which sprang what was soon known as the "Young Ireland" movement. At first, Davis was opposed to the introduction of verse into *The Nation*; but he saw the possibilities of the poetic appeal, and in early numbers appeared two of his finest lyrics, *My Grave* and the *Lament for Owen Roe O'Neill*. Much of his verse however was smothered in its political purpose and only rarely did he give his poetic spirit freedom. His *National and Historical Ballads, Songs and Poems* appeared in 1846. Duffy himself also wrote verse; but two other contributors to *The Nation* had clearer poetic gifts, Denis Florence MacCarthy and Thomas D'Arcy McGee. MacCarthy's translations of Calderon's dramas were accepted as standard works of the kind; and his *Shelley's Early Life from Original Sources* made known the poet's efforts for the improvement of Irish government.

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Byron. Her novels are never likely to be read again; but her dubious *Journal of Conversations with Lord Byron* (1832) retains the interest of its subject. Sydney Owenson (Lady Morgan, 1783–1859) is barely remembered for her once celebrated novel, *The Wild Irish Girl* (1806), though some of her other books, *O'Donnell* and *Florence M'Carthy* among the novels and *France* and *Italy* among the miscellanies of travel, aroused the ire of John Wilson Croker and the *Quarterly*. Lady Morgan often wrote carelessly, often gushed in the manner of her time, and betrayed conceit in her writings, but of her bright ability there can be no doubt. Mary Shackleton, afterwards Mrs

an oddly attractive writer, gained popularity with two novels, *The Bachelor of the Albany* (1847) and *Ruben Medlicott* (1852); but his *Falcon Family* (1845), a satire on the leaders of the Young Ireland party, is the best known and the ablest of his stories Annie Keary (1825–79), daughter of an Irish clergyman, wrote several novels of which *Castle Daly* (18

She also wrote, in coll.

The Heroes of Asgard

Jane Francisca Wilde–

Wilde the famous s

more famous wit and dramatist, no more need be said than that her *Ancient Legends, Mystic Charms, and Superstitions of Ireland* (1887) and *Ancient Cures, Charms and Usages of Ireland* (1890) are well-meant but show more enthusiasm than knowledge

Antiquities of Tara Hill (1839) and the *Inquiry into the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers* (1845), are masterpieces of reasoning, and his descriptive sketches have a charm as wistful and delicate as his own water-colours. Petrie's collection of Irish traditional songs and tunes, taken down by himself from the peasants, appeared in 1855, and first

They were published as *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient*

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William Allingham and Aubrey de Vere (see p. 733). Allingham (1824–89), though he was born in Ireland and wrote Irish poems that became popular in Ireland itself, was not really an Irish poet. His literary affinities were with the English Pre-Raphaelites, and he had no marked feeling for Irish thought and speech. Aubrey de Vere (1814–1902) is a more serious figure and takes rank with Ferguson as an early singer of Irish themes. *Inisfail, A Lyrical Chronicle of Ireland* was published in 1862, *The Legends of St Patrick* in 1872, and *The Foray of Queen Maeve and Other Legends of Ireland's Heroic Age* in 1882. Aubrey de Vere had strong Irish political sympathies which he had expressed as early as 1848 in *English Misrule and Irish Misdeeds.* But just as Allingham was a Pre-Raphaelite, so Aubrey de Vere was a Wordsworthian. He used the matter of Ireland, but he used it to make English poetry. He was not moved, as Ferguson was, to bring back to Ireland the heroic strains of the native song. Nevertheless he cannot be ignored, and is entitled to a place among the pioneers.

There is a touch of the national "bull" in the fact that the father of modern Irish poetry wrote in prose. The awakening of Ireland to a creative sense of its epic past came from Standish O'Grady (1846–1928), the Herodotus and prose Homer of his country. The first volume of his *History of Ireland: The Heroic Period* appeared in 1878; the second, *History of Ireland: Cuculain and his Contemporaries,* followed in 1880. Between them came the essay, *Early Bardic Literature* (1879), pleading for general recognition of Ireland's contribution to the literature of the world. The world had a complete excuse for its ignorance; it had been waiting for O'Grady. People cannot become familiar with a literature that is inaccessible, and, when accessible, written in a language known to few. More than a century earlier the world had eagerly accepted Macpherson's sophistication of the Ossian story; but there had been no Irish Macpherson. O'Grady's conception of history was epic, not scientific. He had stories to tell, and he told them with the fervour and ingenuousness of a bard. To the historical imagination of Geoffrey he joined the romantic ardour of Malory, and he is the father of the Cuchulain legend as Geoffrey is the father of the Arthurian legend. That Geoffrey's sources, unlike O'Grady's, are not now forthcoming is a mere accident of difference. The pedants gravely assured O'Grady that his was no way to write history, and he tried to be more subdued in the *History of Ireland: Critical and Philosophical,* Vol. 1 (1881); but the significant facts are first, that romance would keep breaking in, and next, that no more of the work was written. O'Grady's political writings, excellent of their kind, do not concern us. The born teller of stories turned naturally from history to fiction, and in *Red Hugh's Captivity* (1889) produced a novel of Elizabethan Ireland; but he was over-conscious of the claims of history, and a sequel, *The Flight of the Eagle* (1897),

remarkable was the career of Charles Gavan Duffy (1816–1903). After being concerned in Irish revolutionary politics, he emigrated in 1856 to Australia. Here he rose to be premier of Victoria, was knighted, and returned to this country to become a leading figure in the Irish Literary Societies of L [illegible] work is *The Ballad Poetry of Ire* [illegible] nected with *The Nation* was [illegible] himself James Clarence Mang [illegible] sorry tale of misery, misfortune and vice. Mangan's versions of German poetry in *Anthologia Germanica* (1848) are sometimes so free as to bear small resemblance to the originals; and he wrote poems of his own as translations from non-existent authors. But whatever their origin, there is poetical quality of a kind in some of Mangan's so-called "eastern" poems. He knew no eastern language; he did [illegible]

Dark Rosaleen, which was a long time in reaching its final form [illegible]

Sir Samuel Ferguson (1810–86), already mentioned (p. 692), first showed his real quality as an Irish nationalist poet by his elegy on [illegible] Fergus, Cuchulain, Conor, Maev, Deirdra and other figures of Irish [illegible] *The Death of Dermid,* [illegible] *the Sons of Usnach* [illegible] 72 followed *Congal,* a fine poetic story of the last heroic stand by Celtic paganism against the Irish champions of the Cross. The *Poems* of 1880 maintained his reputation as a singer of Irish themes. Ferguson was a fine Irish scholar and brought to his work a fullness of knowledge beyond the reach of the more genuinely inspired Mangan. Timothy Daniel Sullivan (1827–1914), long editor of *The Nation* in its latest phase of [illegible] *Ireland*, though not an inspired poem, has done useful service as a national anthem. The Fenians, who succeeded the Young Ireland patriots, relied upon weapons other than literary, though R. D. Joyce, C. J. Kickham and Ellen O'Leary, all Fenians, achieved some distinction as writers of verse.

Two other Irish poets have been mentioned in a former chapter—

interest of his work begins with *Beside the Fire* (1890), containing tales from the earlier book with renderings into an Anglo-Irish idiom. This was followed by *Love Songs of Connacht* (1893), with the Irish similarly translated. Later came *Songs ascribed to Raftery* (1903) and *The Religious Songs of Connacht* (1906). Hyde did for the poetry of Connacht what Sigerson had done for the poetry of Munster. A work of more general interest was *A Literary History of Ireland* (1897) which presented to English readers the almost totally unknown story of native Irish literature. Upon the value of Douglas Hyde's work in Gaelic we can offer no opinion. His normal English prose has little charm and his verse-renderings of Irish poems are not always themselves poems. But in the literal translations appended to some of his poetic versions there is at times a singular beauty of the kind that we now associate with the plays of Synge—the beauty of English touched to an appealing strangeness by the Gaelic way of speech, with its different tenses and its different run of the sentence. And being founded upon speech, this is a genuine idiom, and not an artificial literary device. That the movement for the revival of Irish as a medium for national literature should take a political turn was to be expected; but we are here concerned only with language as a means of artistic expression.

The new enthusiasm led to the formation of several leagues and societies, and even to some actual co-operation—with the usual dissensions and schisms. But a volume called *Poems and Ballads of Young Ireland* (1888) was a visible sign of early agreement, for it contained work by several writers, including George Sigerson among the older and William Butler Yeats (1865–1939) among the younger. The lesser contributors gained no great addition of fame and do not call for mention here; Yeats was to become the most notable figure in the revival. He began writing as the heir of Spenser and Shelley, and his first slender volume, *Mosada, a Dramatic Poem* (1886), had nothing Irish about it; but this and other early verses gave intimations of an original poetic gift. Movements do not create poets; they sometimes discover poets. The Irish movement was fortunate in attracting a young poet of singular charm and character; the poet was fortunate in finding early in life his true direction. He was not, like Allingham, Aubrey de Vere and some of the contributors to *Poems and Ballads of Young Ireland*, a writer with a formed English and classical habit. Though he drastically revised his work he did not change its character. He had little to unlearn; and his first important volume of poems, *The Wanderings of Oisin*, published in 1889, adopted easily the national note and set the pattern for the rest of his work. The latest Yeats is implicit in the earliest. Mangan wasted his substance on unsuitable subjects; Yeats was himself from the beginning. Yeats's earliest verse took dramatic form; and his next important publication

gains from its greater imaginative freedom. *The Bog of Stars* (1893) contains short stories of the same period. *The Coming of Cuculain* (1894), *In the Gates of the North* (1901) and *The Triumph and Passing of Cuculain* (1920) tell over again, for a larger audience, the stories of the *History*. It is not necessary to mention in detail all O'Grady's works. That he was both the inspirer of a literary revival and the generous friend of all who shared in it entitles him to enduring memory. Standish O'Grady should be distinguished from his older [illegible]

Francis Campbell (1825–85) had done for Scotland in the four volumes of his *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* (1860–2). But interest in the folk-stories revived. The Irish language, the dying tongue of illiterate peasants, frowned upon by the church as heathen and despised by Society as contemptible, was now thought to be [illegible]

sought to make something more than a mere popular song book. He [illegible]

both the legends and the language of Ireland were matters of established enthusiasm.

From belief in the necessity of reviving Irish to belief in the necessity of driving out English was, naturally, a short step, and presently there arose the patriots who declared that English was an exhausted and foreign language, and that no literature worthy of Ireland could be written in anything but Irish. Further we were assured that all the beauties of rhyme, rhythm and metrical invention in post-classical European poetry were derived from the literature of Ireland. These excesses are common form in any period of intense revivalism. The [illegible]

powerful mind to the advocacy of its claims. For English readers the

which also had a London performance, is tedious. By the time he wrote *The Pot of Broth* (1904) he was writing definitely for the Irish theatre; and thereafter his dramatic works, including *The King's Threshold*, *On Baile's Strand* and *Deirdre*, were issued as *Plays for an Irish Theatre* (1903–11), some with the help of a friend, i.e. Lady Gregory. The three plays last named are among his best works. Yeats's numerous publications cannot all be mentioned here. A high place among them is taken by the autobiographical *Reveries over Childhood and Youth* (1915) and *The Trembling of the Veil* (1922). A specially attractive volume called *Collected Essays* (1924) presents together *Ideas of Good and Evil* (1903), *The Cutting of an Agate* (1912) and *Per Amica Silentia Lunae* (1918). Some of his latest publications have a note of immense remoteness. He had ceased to be Celtic and had become Asiatic; but he never ceased to be visited by the Muse.

Yeats is the greatest poetical figure of the age. He did not repeat traditional matter in the traditional manner. He had his own vision of man and the world and spoke with original authority. His best lyrics have an underived quality of music, vision and rapture, apart from any national associations, and his prose essays, in spite of frequent perversities, have the moments of divination that the mere critic may hope for in vain. He owed much to Ireland; but it is sometimes worth while to forget that Yeats is an Irish poet, and to remember that he is a poet. He is not in any sense a nationalist bard. He belongs to the line of Ferguson and Mangan, not to the line of Davis and Sullivan. He would still have been a great poet had there been no Irish revival. His quest through life for a style and form fitted to express the deep and simple emotions of a people marks him as one of those who, in various ages, have revolted from the urbanization of literature, and have sought to "get back to the land". That revolt is the ultimate literary explanation of the whole Irish movement. English readers need not "fear to speak of Ninety-Eight"; for that was the year of the English literary revolt against urbanized diction, the year of *Lyrical Ballads*.

With Yeats it is natural to consider his contemporary George William Russell (1867–1935), who wrote poems, painted pictures, sought truth in Theosophy, edited *The Irish Homestead* (1904–23) and *The Irish Statesman* (1923–30), and laboured unselfishly to show Ireland how to become self-supporting and self-respecting. He was a practical mystic. New spiritual revelations continue to reach us from the East. Recently it was Yoga. Less recently it was Theosophy; and Madame Blavatsky, inspired by Tibetan Mahatmas, was its prophetess. Buddhism was as fashionable among the intellectuals of that time as Communism was to be among the intellectuals of a later period. Theosophy attracted some earnest young men in Dublin, including Yeats, Russell and William Kirkpatrick Magee

was *The Countess Kathleen and Various Legends and Lyrics* (1892) in which the principal work is a play. A recollection of this fact should prevent the supposition that Yeats was diverted to the stage by the Irish Literary Theatre movement. His early wanderings in Sligo among the Irish peasants who retained in their memories a store of tales and songs had interested him in the literature that is spoken. Yeats, in spirit, was always a bard, and thought of poetry as something chanted, not as something printed. *The Countess Kathleen*, though dramatic in theme and form, is not, even as revised, a theatrical piece; it is a poem that can be dramatized. Between *The Wanderings of Oisin* and *The Countess Kathleen* came a curious pseu-

first story by a

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sketches and st

Dhouls and Fairies (1893), written in limpid and expressive prose. Thus from the beginning the career of Yeats as a writer was equally proportioned between poems, plays and prose; and from the beginning his own essential character appears. Those who trace his mysticism and symbolism to the influence of various writers have evidently omitted to read his own early works No genuine writer is made by influences. Influence can only influence what is already there to be influenced. That Yeats found affinities with certain writers in French need not be questioned; the point is that he was not made by those affinities. Symbolism and mysticism—especially mysticism of a kind to be mentioned later—were in the air of the age. The author of *The Wild Duck* was a symbolist; the author of *Pelléas et Mélisande* was a mystic. It was inevitable that Yeats should become an editor of Blake and that a volume of imaginative essays should be called *Ideas of Good and Evil* (1903); it was inevitable that the kind of mysticism and symbolism natural to him should grow into a preoccupation with certain forms of occultism, and that he should write the prose studies found in *The Secret Rose* (1897), *The Tables of the Law* (1897) and *The Wind among the Reeds* (1899); but his mysticism was always cloudy: there is no evidence in his work of Blake's intense and insistent vision.

Yeats's poems were put forth in numerous slight volumes and were at times revised and collected. He continued the writing of plays. *The Land of Heart's Desire* (1894), a one-act piece, had a run in London without proving the author's dramatic capacity Like *The Shadowy Waters* (1900) it is a poem for speaking Yeats's first real theatrical success, *Cathleen ni Houlihan* (1902), performed by the Irish Dramatic Company, is in prose. *Where There is Nothing* (1902),

seems to imply; but they present critical ideas of general validity and diagnose acutely the spiritual distress of the age. *Bards and Saints* (1906) appears a little more concrete and shows signs of waning confidence. *Anglo-Irish Essays* (1917) is slighter in substance and worth; but *Irish Literary Portraits* (1935) contains some almost sardonically realistic sketches of Yeats, A. E. and Moore, and should be read as a corrective supplement to Moore's own *Hail and Farewell*. His finely touched memoir of A. E. appeared in 1937. John Eglinton has attracted less attention than some of his contemporaries; but among those who have written much, he seems to be the one who should have written more. He has in prose something of A. E.'s spirit in verse.

The numerous lesser poets of the revival cannot be discussed in detail. The anthologies will present as much as need be known of Katherine Tynan, Nora Hopper, Dora Sigerson, "Moira O'Neill", "Seumas O'Sullivan", Padraic Colum and Joseph Campbell.

The influence of the Irish revival was specially felt in the theatre. At the beginning, however, the Irish dramatic movement was not specifically Irish, but was part of that general revolt of educated people against conventional commercial drama which led to the formation of Antoine's Théâtre Libre in Paris (1887) and J. T. Grein's Independent Theatre Society in London (1891). It is scarcely a paradox to say that the father of the Irish dramatic revival was Ibsen. In *Impressions and Opinions*, published in 1891 and containing articles written before that date, George Moore, moved by the Paris performance of Ibsen's *Ghosts*, had demanded an English equivalent to the Théâtre Libre, which would produce works of real dramatic art as distinguished from popular after-dinner entertainments. And specially he demanded a Théâtre Libre for original plays, and not merely for translations. The Independent Theatre Society of London, when it came, produced a play by Moore and a play by Shaw; but in the main it depended upon versions of Ibsen. Yeats was anxious for a similar organization in Ireland, and, as it happened, there was an unacted Irish Ibsen, in the person of Edward Martyn, a landowner with creative dramatic gifts. Through the efforts of Lady Gregory and Yeats the faith of others was kindled, and the Irish Literary Theatre was duly born in 1899 and began its work with Yeats's *The Countess Kathleen* followed by Martyn's *The Heather Field*. It endured for three years—a longer period than the fundamentally diverse views of the management would have led a cynical observer to predict. For historical convenience we continue the story of the theatre without reference to the dramatists. The Irish Literary Theatre was an association for the production of great plays in Ireland; it was not a society for the production of Irish plays acted by Irish players. A specifically Irish theatre was the creation, not of any

("John Eglinton"). The mystical movement went parallel with the national movement, and both had in common the quest for the powers behind phenomena—for the Celtic deities were as esoteric as the Hindu. In 1892 a monthly magazine *The Irish Theosophist* began to appear, and to it and its successors a constant contributor was George William Russell, who in 1894 published his first volume of poems, *Homeward: Songs by the Way*, with the signature "A. E." It was followed by *The Earth Breath* (1897) and *The Divine Vision* (1903). These and some later poems were first collected in 1913. *Gods of War* (1915) was an outcry of bewilderment provoked by the European disaster. Other volumes appeared at intervals. A. E.'s prose includes an address to the Fellows of the Theosophical Society (1894), much political writing, mainly defensive of the Irish co-operative movement, and many essays and sketches, some of which were collected in *Imaginations and Reveries* (1915), which also contains *Deirdre*, first acted in 1902 and printed in 1907, a tragedy in exquisite prose scarcely touched by the Anglo-Irish idiom. The best of A. E. is to be found in his first three volumes of verse, and in them the careful reader can trace both the deepening of his faith and the development of his power of communication. In the first poems there is some monotony of form, vocabulary and imagery; but the utterance grows more assured and there is perceptible gain in mastery of form. The note of A. E.'s work is to be found in a motto from the *Bhagavad-Gita* prefixed to one of the early poems, "I am Beauty itself among beautiful things". To attain and reveal that absolute beauty was his aim. "One thing in all things have I seen", he exclaims in a late poem; and he saw godhead in fallen man and an ever-living spirit in the earth To him the soil of Ireland, once trodden by the ancient deities, was holy ground. The Celtic allusions in his works are few; yet the feeling of Ireland is as strong in the twenty lines of *A Call of the Sidhe* as in whole volumes of other people's work. His pantheism is sometimes reminiscent of Emerson—more than one

[illegible]

festations of the Irish revival seem merely provincial.

Of the other Dublin Theosophists the only one calling for notice is "John Eglinton", i e. William Kirkpatrick Magee (1868), who wrote verses which survive imperfectly in anthologies, and a few collections of prose which show an international rather than a national spirit. *Two Essays on the Remnant* (1895) and *Pebbles from a Brook* (1901) deal with the "intangibles" of criticism They are not easy reading, for they say more than the quiet, finely turned prose

written by Yeats with the obvious assistance of Lady Gregory—Yeats being not naturally inclined to the farcical; and in the next year (1903) it gave *The King's Threshold* and *The Shadowy Waters*, more genuine products of Yeats's own gifts. But by a singular piece of good luck, the new national dramatic venture and a new national dramatic genius seemed to be born together. John Millington Synge (1871–1909) had lived among the islanders of the west and grew to know their life and spirit and speech. Though his sketches contained in *The Aran Islands* were not published till 1907, they represent his years of apprenticeship to the interpretation of peasant life. Encouraged by Yeats, Synge turned to playwriting, and the one-act piece *The Shadow of the Glen* was produced by the National Theatre in 1903. This play, hotly resented by the patriots as an insult to the pure women of Ireland, revealed in its short compass the special qualities of Synge: his sense of the stage, his extraordinary power of dramatizing a nation in his characters, and his natural command of the Gaelicized English, which, used almost casually by Hyde, became, under his own shaping care for the substance and rhythm of prose speech, a new literary language, appropriate to his matter, and succeeding, like a kind of poetry, by its intrinsic beauty. Synge had found at once the style for which Yeats was always seeking. *Riders to the Sea*, which followed in 1904, with poor fisher folk for its characters, and the commonplace incident of death by drowning as its theme, attains to the dignity of great tragedy. *The Tinker's Wedding* (1908), written much earlier, is a not very prosperous comedy; but *The Well of the Saints*, produced in 1905, is a highly original, racy, yet imaginative and poetic treatment of a theme that Maeterlinck would have made tenebrously sentimental, the restoration of sight to a pair of blind beggars and their final rejection of the doubtful blessing. It is, in every sense, a beautiful invention. Synge, already famous, became notorious when *The Playboy of the Western World* was produced in 1907. The patriots found in Synge's characters and incidents an insult to the Irish nation, an attack upon Irish religion, a slander upon Irish men and an aspersion upon Irish women; and they expressed their disapproval in noisy violence that carried the author's name far into the intelligent world outside. *The Playboy* is as much and as little of an insult to Ireland as *Don Quixote* is to Spain. It is at once comedy, satire, tragedy, parable and prose-poem, and like other great plays it delivers general truth in its particular story. *The Playboy* is a masterpiece of dramatic art because it is simply a piece of dramatic art. It is not a comedy of ideas, it propounds no problem, it attempts no propaganda. It exists in itself and for itself as purely as a lyric poem. Whatever message it has is part of the uncovenanted profit that comes from any artistically sincere criticism of life. The career of Synge came to an end with *Deirdre of the*

literary society, but of two actors, W. G. Fay and his brother F. J.

bardic instincts responsive to poetic speech, saw in this company the beginnings of genuine national drama; Moore and Martyn, still thinking in larger terms, saw in it the end of their desires for a nationalized international drama. Yeats, A. E. and Lady Gregory gave their support to the Fays, and in 1902 The Irish National Dramatic Company drew the more active spirits from The Irish Literary Theatre and became The Irish National Theatre Society. The providential emergence of Synge in the next year established the artistic success of the new venture. Commercially it was insecure. Persons not devoid of humour may like to observe that The Irish Literary Theatre was inspired by a Norwegian, Ibsen, and that The Irish National Theatre was maintained by an Englishwoman, Emily Horniman, who, from 1904 to 1910, gave it a home of its own in the Abbey Theatre and subsidized it generously. We may now return to the dramatists.

Edward Martyn had published in 1899 two plays, *The Heather*

Ibsen's plays, to current moral values; instead there is an intimation of impalpable forces behind apparent fact, as in *The Wild Duck* and *Rosmersholm*. Both plays are beautifully imagined and beautifully written. Two further pieces by Martyn, *The Tale of a Town* and *The Enchanted Sea*, appeared in 1902. The first, rewritten by George Moore for stage performance as *The Bending of the Bough*, is a municipal satire, recalling *An Enemy of the People*; the second returns to the note of symbolic suggestion discernible in *The Lady from the Sea*. Later plays, *Glencolman* (1912) and *The Dream Physician* (1914) show no extension of scope in the dramatist's art. Martyn, who kept to the highroad of European tradition, has never had the popularity that accrued to those who followed the by-paths of "peasant drama"; but his work for the stage is some of the best that the Irish revival produced. He followed artistic

of Ireland entirely free from self-seeking, or desire of notoriety, or passion for personal exploitation.

The National Theatre Society, or the Abbey Theatre, as it was afterwards generally called, had given the prose farce *A Pot of Broth*,

emerge not merely with credit but with charm; the rest are all a little ridiculous. De Quincey among the Lake Poets was not more ingenuously malicious. Moore's own work barely touches the Irish movement and is considered elsewhere. The one contemporary of Synge who seemed likely to attach his name memorably to the Irish theatre was Padraic Colum (1881). His *Broken Soil* was produced in 1903, the year of *The Shadow of the Glen*, and was printed later as *The Fiddler's House*. *The Land* (1905) dramatizes one tragedy of Ireland, the draining away of its vigorous life by emigration. *Thomas Muskerry* (1910) is the bitter story of a workhouse master brought down to pauperdom by those whom he has befriended. *The Destruction of the Hostel*, performed semi-privately in 1910 and published in 1913, forsakes normal Irish life for the age of legend. Padraic Colum, as the dates will show, was not a follower or imitator of Synge. He was an original writer with his own expressive style; but his plays never had power enough to force their way into the wider theatrical world. William Boyle began well with *The Building Fund* (1905) but failed to maintain its level in *The Eloquent Dempsey* (1906), *The Mineral Workers* (1906) and *The Family Failing*. Esmé Stuart Lennox Robinson (1886) touched domestic tragedy in *The Clancy Name* (1908), and Irish political history in *The Dreamers* (1915). *The White-headed Boy* (1917) is delightful as comedy and as satire. *The Lost Leader* (1918) failed to call up Parnell and *The Big House* (1926) intended more than it achieved. Of George Fitzmaurice, Seumas O'Kelly, T. C. Murray and R. J. Ray merely the names can be recorded. George Shiels ("George Morshiel", 1886) of Ulster wrote several popular comedies, the best being *The New Gossoon* (1930) and *The Jailbird* (1936). *The Passing Day* (1936) is more serious.

Unlike the other Irish writers of his time, Edward John Moreton Drax Plunkett, Lord Dunsany (1878), ignored the Celtic deities and, like Blake, invented his own myths. *The Gods of Pegana* (1905), *Time and the Gods* (1906), *The Sword of Welleran* (1908), *A Dreamer's Tales* (1910) and *The Book of Wonder* (1912) are narrative creations rich in fancy but without any deep imaginative foundation. Gods must be human if they are to be divine. Dunsany's dramatic work began in 1909 when *The Glittering Gate* was produced at the Abbey Theatre. *King Argimenes* followed in 1911. These, with *The Gods of the Mountain*, *The Golden Doom* and *The Lost Silk Hat*, were published in *Five Plays* (1914). Four others appeared in 1917 as *Plays of Gods and Men*. All are brief—so brief as to be little more than symbolical anecdotes. In *The Gods of the Mountain* seven jade deities stalk heavily into a city and turn to jade the seven rascals who have been prosperously impersonating them, with the result that doubters are convinced that the transfigured impostors were veritable gods. But the substance of the play is too light to carry so tremendous a jest. The

Sorrows, the third and most memorable of contemporary plays on that theme. In it his language has become almost too beautiful. Nothing more could be done with ...

...mitted in his name. His brief contribution of six plays made the Irish dramatic movement important not merely to Ireland but to the whole western world.

A notable figure in the Irish revival has already been named, Augusta Persse, Lady Gregory (1859–1932), whose home at Coole became a nest of poets. She directed the efforts of Yeats towards ...

...1898) by Eleanor Hull. *Gods and Fighting Men* (1904) is a second volume of the same kind. Lady Gregory's first play, *Twenty-five* (1903), is not important; but *Spreading the News*, acted in 1904 and printed later in *Seven Short Plays* (1911), set a successful pattern for its numerous successors—a humorous situation with the comedy heightened by quaint turns of talk. *The Workhouse Ward* is a perfect specimen of the kind. ...
Gregory ga...
Kiltartan' ...
comedies. ...
and *Dervorgilla* are tragedies, and *The Canavans*, *The White Cockade* and *The Deliverer* "tragic-comedies"—comedies in texture with a tone of satirical bitterness The theme of *The Image*, the statue of a non-existent hero, has been treated more farcically by "George Birmingham". Lady Gregory's Kiltartan dialect is amusing in the comedies; in a poetic tragedy like *Grania* it lacks the transfiguring touch that Synge gave to the speech of *Deirdre*. She is at her best in the lighter one-act pieces. *Poets and Dreamers* (1902) is a beautiful narrative volume and *Our Irish Theatre* (1913) is the story of an important movement told by one of its leading spirits.

But the classic account of the Irish revival is that given with exquisite malice and mordant ingenuousness by George Moore in *Hail and Farewell* (1911–14). Moore meddled with the Irish theatre to no one's advantage, not even his own; for *The Bending of the Bough* (1900) is Edward Martyn's *The Tale of a Town* and *Diarmuid and Grania* (1901) is Yeats adapted by his collaborator But Moore ...

of "a grand talker" escaping from fact and defeating the practical folk in the end of all. It is the most considerable of the Ulster plays. *Red Turf* is a brief serious treatment of the Irish passion for land. *Neil Gallina*, a revision of *The Captain of the Hosts*, is a tragedy, with Death, the Captain, triumphing over the human combatants. Rutherford Mayne is an original writer owing nothing to Synge, with whom he is sometimes uncritically paired, no doubt because *The Drone* is a kind of Ulster *Playboy*. The humorous or satirical note of the Ulster Theatre is most definitely sounded by "Gerald Macnamara", i.e. Harry Morrow, whose *Suzanne and the Sovereigns*, written in collaboration with Lewis Purcell, was produced in 1907. The "Sovereigns" are William of Orange and James II, who are represented as really fighting for the possession of "Suzanne", a non-existent girl of surpassing beauty. It is an effective satire on the Ulster animosities. *The Mist that Does Be On the Bog* (1909) and *Thompson in Tir-Na-N'Og* (1912) satirize the "peasant drama" and the Gaelic movement. Both proved obstinately popular. Other plays by Gerald Macnamara include *The Throw-backs* (1917), a satirical sketch of the Irish past, *No Surrender* (1928), a satirical excursion into the Irish future, and *Who Fears to Speak* (1929), a satirical caricature of a revolutionary club in 1797. The plays of Gerald Macnamara have no great importance, but they are evidence of a cheerful spirit not afraid of laughing at certain Irish solemnities. "Lynn Doyle", i.e. Leslie Montgomery, contributed *Love and the Land*, an agrarian comedy, and *The Lilac Ribbon*, a domestic comedy. Quite apart from Ireland in theme is *The Spoiled Buddha* (1915), a satirical religious comedy of Japan by Helen Waddell, sister of Rutherford Mayne, and now better known as the author of *Wandering Scholars*. For the Ulster Theatre George Shiels wrote his earliest comedies, *Away from the Moss* (1918) and *Felix Reid and Bob* (1919). St John Greer Ervine (1883) is an Ulster playwright by birth rather than by conviction. *Mixed Marriage* (1911) and *The Orangeman* (1913) present with power the tragedy of religious bigotry. *The Magnanimous Lover* (1912) has religious cant as its basis of action, but that evil is not peculiar to Ulster or to Ireland. *John Ferguson* (1915) is a melodramatic story of the struggle between a religious family and a ruthless money-lender. Its tragedy is accidental rather than essential. The only play by St John Ervine produced by the Ulster Theatre is *The Ship* (1924), a tragedy that is rather buried in the excess of its story. Ervine's later dramatic works belong to the English commercial theatre. Even the best of his earlier plays seem to exploit local life dramatically rather than to grow from it naturally.

Sean O'Casey (1884) stands apart from the national movement. His first success, *Juno and the Paycock* (1926), is a tragi-comedy of the Dublin slums and it forms a satirical companion picture to *The*

music of Mozart can make [illegible]

terms of farce; and in *The Flight of the Queen* the life of a hive is dramatized with delicate fantasy. [illegible] Dunsany is poetical. [illegible] oses to people his [illegible] But his inventions fail to achieve the momentum of enduring creations: his words have not the force of his fancies. He is a curiously original and solitary figure among the dramatists of his time. The works named above represent only part of his large output.

Ulster also had its dramati [illegible]

being the home of a religious antagonism that degenerates into political mob violence. Where the sanctity of a Protestant is measured by the fervour with which he consigns the Pope to Hell and the zeal of a Catholic [illegible]

ductions of the Abbey Theatre The Ulster Literary Theatre made a modest start in 1902 by performing some of the Dublin pieces; in 1904 it had begun to find its own dramatists, most of whom chose to write under assumed names, and some of whom acted as well as wrote. The first in order of date is "Lewis Purcell", i e David Parkhill, whose municipal satire *The Reformers* was produced in 1904. Other pieces by him are *The Enthusiast* (1905) and *The Pagan* (1906). The latter, printed in 1907, presents a clash between Christianity and Paganism in sixth-century Ulster, but treats the situation with satirical humour. With *The Enthusiast* was played *The Little Cowherd of Slainge* by Joseph Campbell (Seosamh Mac Cathmahoil), a poet of delicate feeling. The piece is in prose, and, though not dramatically powerful, it is remarkable as the one early Ulster play that has a poetic spirit. Most important of the northern dramatists is "Rutherford Mayne", i e. Samuel Waddell, whose *Turn of the Road* was acted in 1906. Not all the Ulster plays were produced in Ulster Rutherford Mayne's most popular piece, *The Drone*, was first performed in Dublin (1908) but was given at Belfast in a lengthened form a year later. Belfast, however, produced *The Troth* (1909), *The Captain of the Hosts* (1910), *Red Turf* (1911), *If* (1914), *Neil Gallina* (1916) and *Industry* (1917). *The Phantoms* (1923) had its first performance in Dublin. *The Turn of the Road* dramatizes the struggle between an artistic temperament and the respectable Protestant prejudices of the province. *The Drone* is more universally Irish in presenting the figure

There is real originality and even genius in *The Charwoman's Daughter* (1912), *The Crock of Gold* (1912) and *The Demi-Gods* (1914) by James Stephens (1882). The first is a humorous idyll of the Dublin slums, the second and third carry an impish spirit into the realms of fantasy. The poems of James Stephens are slight in substance, but have the character and charm of his prose. In both forms of writing he is original and follows no master. Later works have not shown evidence of developing power, and his earliest work is still the best.

The Irish literary revival was justified by its faith and its works. That there was a national as well as a nationalist spirit to be expressed in literature was clear in the *Irish Melodies* of Tom Moore, who is still the nearest approach to Burns that Ireland has produced. By being artistically true to itself the Irish movement produced works of literature when Scotland was expressing itself in commercially popular novels flavoured with odours from the kailyard. But in the end the politicians—one of the two major curses of Ireland—led the artists captive, and the Irish revival, as a creative literary expression of national consciousness, came to an end with the tragic Easter rebellion of 1916. The gunman, of whatever nationality, is the foe, not the friend of the free spirit. In its days of creative activity the Irish revival directed the gifts of Yeats and inspired the genius of Synge. It re-discovered the Celtic mythology. It made a triumphantly successful revolt against the theatre of social sham and moral humbug. It produced plays which were unlike any written before and which showed that tragedy might wear the rags of a beggar as greatly as the robes of a queen. That it should itself degenerate into a mannerism was inevitable. Literary history is strewn with the husks of forms from which the life has departed. Literature is not produced by the profession of a creed or by a conscious seeking for difference. Irish plays and poems are not intrinsically better than other plays and poems, and do not become national merely by refusing to be English. Peasant speech may be the language of tragedy or it may be a mere parochial patois, no better than provincial Cockney. The reply to much special pleading by Yeats and others can be given quite simply. Works of art in any kind are not justified by intention, national or social, moral or technical; they are justified solely by absolute success in competition with their rivals of any place and any period. The best productions of the Irish revival have justified themselves in this ultimate test; the worst have not. There may yet be other great Irish works of literature; but they will come, not through imitation of what has already been said, but, as ever, through the creative force of genius with its own form of expression.

It is instructive to remember that Ireland was not alone in its return to the antique past. The eighteenth century in England saw a curious revival of interest in the Celtic and Druidic past of Britain (see pp. 498,

Plunket. Its hero is an urban and elderly [illegible]

[illegible]

greatly attract the Irish writers can be explained by the bardic nature of their work. Legends and poems are for recitation; plays are for performance; novels are for private leisurely reading. O'Grady himself wrote stories, but they are not his best work. Other Irish writers who chose the novel as their vehicle cannot be related to any movement, and some of them are not intrinsically important. George Moore is as little an Irish novelist as Bernard Shaw is an Irish dramatist. The outstanding name in later years is that of the Hon. Emily Lawless (1845–1913), whose real sympathy with the Irish, though not of the kind approved by the nationalists, expressed itself both in poems and in stories. *Hurrish* (1886) is a serious tale of the Land League days, too veracious to please political minds, and her historical tales *With Essex in Ireland* (1890) and *Maelcho* (1894) proved more acceptable. The poems in her volume *With the Wild Geese* (1902) are good without attaining to any memorable felicity. Jane Barlow (1860–1917) the poet of *Bogland Studies* (1892) wrote many tales of Irish rural life which have the interest of their setting, but no other special merit. *Irish Idylls* (1892) is a good example of her pleasant gifts

No better humorous sketches of Irish provincial life have been written than the series of tales by Violet Martin ("Martin Ross", 1865–1915) and her cousin Edith Œnone Somerville (1861). *Some Experiences of an Irish R.M.* (1899), *Further Experiences of an Irish R.M.* (1908) and *In Mr Knox's Country* (1915) form a trilogy conveying with complete conviction the characters of men, women, horses and dogs, and depicting with quiet beauty the soft scenes of the south-west. The point of view is that of the "gentry" and so the tales are not in favour with the patriots; but the aspects of life chosen for description are rendered with fine artistic restraint and sympathetic comprehension. Few women writers have been so completely successful with male characters Apart from their Irish interest, these sketches are the best humorous short stories written in recent years. Of several other books by the same pair *Dan Russel the Fox* (1911) deserves special praise for its extraordinary understanding of horse and hound and its quiet reticence of tragedy.

John Fryer throws a good deal of light on the contemporary politics of western India in his *New Account of East India and Persia* (1698). Though less brilliant than their French contemporaries of the seventeenth century, these early Anglo-Indian writers have a characteristic flavour which is sometimes wanting in their successors.

The greater part of the eighteenth century was, in a literary sense, uneventful. The chief name of the period is that of Robert Orme (1728–1801), who, during a varied official life, gathered the knowledge which enabled him to become one of the greatest of Anglo-Indian historians. His *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan* (1763–78) is the prose epic of the early military achievements of our race in India. This was followed by *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, of the Morattoes and of the English Concerns in Indostan from the year* 1659 (1782). Alexander Dow not only produced *The History of Hindostan...translated from the Persian* (1768–72) but wrote two tragedies, *Zingis* and *Sethona*, given at Drury Lane. Of special interest is John Zephaniah Holwell, a survivor of the Black Hole, who wrote a *Narrative of the Deplorable Deaths of the English Gentlemen who were suffocated in the Black Hole* (1758).

The closing years of the Indian career of Warren Hastings saw the real birth of English literature and literary studies in India. *Hicky's Bengal Gazette*, the first newspaper of modern India, was founded at Calcutta by James Augustus Hicky in 1780. Sir William Jones (1746–94) was already an Oriental scholar when he went to India in 1783 as Judge of the Supreme Court. He founded the Bengal Asiatic Society, became the first great English Sanskrit scholar, translated the *Hitopadesa* and *Sakúntala* and wrote elaborate poems of his own, which strive greatly even if they do not succeed greatly. Everyone knows the *Ode in Imitation of Alcaeus* beginning "What constitutes a state?" Inferior to Jones as an Orientalist, but superior as a poet, was John Leyden, that "lamp too early quenched", as Sir Walter Scott put it. He lived in the East from 1803 to 1811, and is to be noted as the first of that long line of writers who expressed in verse the common feelings of Englishmen in "the land of regrets".

The closing years of the eighteenth century and the first two decades of the nineteenth were marked by other signs of literary advance. In 1789 appeared the curious work *A Translation of the Seir Mutaqueherin* by the Franco-Turk Raymond, alias Haji Mustapha, which has the intrinsic interest of a contemporary history of India and the literary interest of a quaintly exotic style. James Tod prosecuted in Rajputana the researches which he ultimately gave to the world in the classic *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1829–32), a work richer in romance than most epics. Mark Wilks made history, and wrote it in his impartial and critical *Historical Sketches of the South of India* (1810–17). Sir John Malcolm also helped to make

589). Stukeley, Williams and Davies were credulous and feeble pre-

population and its few strongholds of traditional classical culture, a movement could become national in a way impossible in England, where the Druidic revival appeared a grotesque and transient eccentricity. Blake was a poor, obscure engraver, unknown to the world. If Pope, Gray, Collins and Young had become eager converts to the Celtic movement, if Johnson, instead of scorning Ossianism, had championed Druidism, there might have been a curious diversion in the course of English literature.

X. ANGLO-INDIAN LITERATURE

Unlike the literature of the self-governing Dominions, Anglo-Indian literature is in the main produced by a small body of Englishmen

local colour, and it is written for the whole English public, not merely for the English in India. A further distinction must be made.

include literary works written in English by native Indians.

Anglo-Indian literature begins with the unimportant letters of Father Thomas Stephens, who went to Goa in 1579, and was the

the East India Company received

meant, simply, books of travel. Of these a few may be briefly mentioned. Sir Thomas Roe, who was the ambassador of James I at the court of "the Great Mogoar, King of the Orientall Indyes, of Condahy, of Chismer, and of Corason", left a very readable journal. Edward Terry, his chaplain, wrote a *Relation of a Voyage to the Easterne India*, full of interesting observations, including an account of his meeting with Coryate, whom Roe also mentions. William Bruton's vigorous *Newes from the East Indies* (1638) relates how the English obtained their first footing in Orissa in 1632 William Methold, who was in India at the same time, describes, in *Relations of the Kingdome of Golchonda* (1626), his experiences in south India, and

are pre-eminent. Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas* (1826) and Elphinstone's *History of India* (1841) are two of the classics of Indian history. Other historians are Horace Hayman Wilson, the Sanskrit scholar, who continued and edited James Mill's *History of British India*: John Briggs, the translator of Ferishta's *Muhammedan Power in India* (1829); Sir Henry Miers Elliot, the unwearied student of the history of Mussulman India, whose *History of India as told by its own Historians* (1867–77) was edited after his death by John Dowson; and Sir John Kaye, prominent in the history of Anglo-Indian letters as the founder, in 1844, of *The Calcutta Review*. He also wrote Indian history voluminously, his *History of the Sepoy War in India* (1864–75) being his best-known work. During this period fiction established itself as a vigorous branch of Anglo-Indian literature. William Browne Hockley's *Pandurang Hari, or Memoirs of a Hindoo*, a lifelike picture of Maratha character, appeared in 1826. *Tales of the Zenana, or a Nuwab's Leisure Hours* (1827) was Hockley's best book. It is a sort of Anglo-Indian *Arabian Nights*, filled with wit and liveliness. He was followed by Philip Meadows Taylor, who began his literary career with the gruesome *Confessions of a Thug* (1839). *Tippoo Sultan*, a tale of the Mysore war, appeared in 1840. More remarkable are the three later tales, *Tara* (1863), *Ralph Darnell* (1865) and *Seeta* (1873), which deal respectively with three events at intervals of a hundred years—the Maratha triumph of 1657, Clive's triumph of 1757 and the Mutiny of 1857. *Oakfield: or Fellowship in the East* (1853) by William Delafield Arnold, brother of Matthew Arnold, utters a stern moral protest against the dissipation of the Anglo-Indian community and its disregard of native interests. England has given to India few minds of more sensitive texture than that of W. D. Arnold.

After the Mutiny there was an increased outflow of literary products. George Bruce Malleson, James Talboys Wheeler, John Clark Marshman and Sir William Hunter devoted themselves to the discovery of new knowledge in Indian history as well as to the popularization of that already existing. John Watson McCrindle threw light on the history of ancient India; Charles Robert Wilson on that of modern Bengal; Henry George Keene took medieval and modern India as his subject; and Sir William Muir wrote *The Life of Mahomet* (1858–61) and other books on Islamic history. Henry Elmsley Busteed's carefully written and attractive *Echoes from Old Calcutta* (1882) deserves special mention. Of the historians named, Sir William Hunter stands out as the most brilliant Anglo-Indian of the last generation. His style was picturesque and striking, his impartiality rare, his grasp of world-history wide and penetrating, and his industry enormous. In technical, historical and purely literary work he was equally sound and brilliant. His *Annals of Rural Bengal* (1868) and his uncompleted *History of British India* (1899) remain standard

history, besides writing [illegible] *Political History of India* (1 [illegible] *of Central India* (1823), a [illegible]
Mention, too, may be made of Eliza Fay's *Original Letters from Calcutta* (1817), and of the anonymous *Hartly House* (1789), described as a novel, though in form a series of letters descriptive of [illegible] appeared in 1815.

The years preceding the Mutiny were of high importance in the cultural history of the Peninsula. Macaulay was in India from 1834 to 1838, and his Minute on education resulted in the adoption in 1835 of the English language as the basis of all higher education in India. Ram Mohan Roy, the Bengali reformer, had advocated this and other reforms in writings which used English with a mastery that astonished Bentham. He was supported by the enthusiasm of David Hare, a Calcutta watchmaker, and in 1816 the Hindu College was founded in Calcutta for the instruction of Indians in English. Other foundations, which developed into universities, followed. Those who, at the safe distance of a century, call Macaulay's policy [illegible] attempt to perpetuate their subjection. Educated Indians have readily adopted English, and recent years have seen a steady and increasing output of English books by native writers. But meanwhile the stream of normal Anglo-Indian literature flowed on. Reginald Heber, Bishop of Calcutta, claims attention rather by his *Narrative of a Journey...from Calcutta to Bombay* than by his few Anglo-Indian poems; Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, literally Anglo-Indian in blood, put all the pathos and passion of a sensitive nature into his metrical [illegible] Lester Richardson abandoned military life and devoted himself to education and literature. The titles of his most popular books, *Literary Leaves* (1836), *Literary Chit-Chat* (1848), *Literary Recreations* (1852), are an index of the general trend of his mind. Of the historians during the period, James Grant Duff and Mountstuart Elphinstone

fame in Bengali as a novelist and in English as a historian, economist, novelist and poet. His *Lays of Ancient India* (1894) and his novels show wonderful command of our language. Michael Madhu Sadan Dutt lives by his Bengali poems rather than by his *Captive Ladie*, an attempt, as early as 1849, to tell in English verse the story of Prithwi Raj, King of Delhi. Lal Behari Dey's *Govinda Samanta: or The History of a Bengal Raiyat* (1874) and his *Folk Tales of Bengal* (1883) are competent rather than brilliant. In Torulata Dutt, however, we meet a different order of intellect. The daughter of Govind Chandra Dutt, who himself wrote tasteful English verse and contributed to *The Dutt Family Album* (1876), she was in close contact with English or Continental culture throughout most of a very short life. In her English translations contained in *Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields* (1876) and in her *Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan* (1882) she came as near success as the difference between the exotic warmth of native impulse and the cooler medium of an alien language would allow. She died in 1877 at the age of 21, before her abundant promise could be fulfilled. A sketch of her life with some of her correspondence was published in 1921.

Sarojini Naidu (1879) made a more definite contribution to English poetry. She came to England in 1895 and went to Girton. Her ardent literary temperament was fired by the poetic spirit of the Nineties and she began writing verses that are entirely English in matter and form, but was advised to turn to her native land for themes. Her chief work is contained in the volumes called *The Golden Threshold* (1905), *The Bird of Time* (1912) and *The Broken Wing* (1917). Some of her songs are little more than exotically sentimental utterances that might have come from an English writer who knew the East by hearsay; but others give vivid vignettes of native life and some embody the spirit of Oriental devotion. In general her work is more remarkable for its command of English than for any revelation of India. Manmohan Ghose (1867–1924) is the most remarkable of Indian poets who wrote in English. He was educated at Oxford, where he was the contemporary and friend of Laurence Binyon, Stephen Phillips and others who became famous in English letters. So completely did he catch the note of his place and time that a reader of his *Love Songs and Elegies* and *Songs of Love and Death* would readily take them as the work of an English poet trained in the classical tradition. Indeed Manmohan Ghose had to endure the tragedy of a long expatriated writer, for when he returned to India and became a teacher and professor of literature, he found that he was neither English nor Indian. That he left no deeply memorable contribution to English literature is a defect that he shares with the numerous accomplished poets of his age. Aravindo Ghose, his brother, was more famous as an exponent of Indian nationalism than

works. Among the novelists, John Lang, author of *The Wetherbys* (1853), *The Ex-Wife* (1859) and numerous other books, cynically satirized the Anglo-Indian failings over which Arnold's deeper nature grieved. Alexander Allardyce painted an attractive picture of indigenous Indian life in his *City of Sunshine* (1877). Henry Curwen, editor of *The Times of India*, used thin plots as a peg on which to hang a vast amount of clever talk, speculation and satire. Sir George Chesney, who created a sensation in 1871 by his *Battle of Dorking*, lives in Anglo-Indian literature mainly by *The Dilemma* (1876), a powerful Mutiny romance. Jessie Ellen Cadell, who was an Oriental scholar of some merit, wrote two novels, of which the first, *Ida Craven* (1876), described frontier life. Among the poets, William Waterfield and Mary Leslie took the matter of their compositions from Indian mythology, history and natural life; and Henry George Keene, historian, essayist, and poet, made Indian topics the main subject of his verse during a long literary life. Better known than any of these were Sir Edwin Arnold and Sir Alfred Comyn Lyall, both of whom have already been mentioned. The lighter side of [illegible]

[illegible]

cally at the entire *personnel* of the government. Lighter and more pleasant are Philip Stewart Robinson's *In my Indian Garden* (1878) and Edward Hamilton Aitken's *Behind the Bungalow* (1889). With these should be mentioned *The Chronicles of Dustypore* (1875) admirably written by Sir Henry Stuart Cunningham, who wrote also the considerable novels *The Coerulians* (1887), *The Heriots* (1890) and *Sibylla* (1894) The effects of the change from the old method of selecting officials to the new are noted with fine understanding in *The Competition Wallah* (1864) by Sir George Otto Trevelyan, whose short historic sketch *Cawnpore* (1865) is a masterpiece of narrative. A special place is taken by the series of "translations" by Francis William Bain (1863–1940), imaginative stories in the Oriental manner, of which *A Digit of the Moon* (1899) and *A Heifer of the Dawn* (1904) may be named as examples.

The adoption of English as the language of the universities had the unexpected and desirable result of revivifying the vernaculars. Stimulated by English literature and English knowledge, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the first graduate of Calcutta University, created Bengali fiction. His younger rival, Romesh Chunder Dutt, sought

tended "novels of the Nineties" with India as their theme. But there is great merit in *The Potter's Thumb* (1894) and *On the Face of the Waters* (1896), which may be named as typical of Mrs Steel's fine, sincere work. Interesting, though less important, are the stories of Mrs Alice Perrin (1867–1934) contained in such volumes as *East of Suez* (1901), *The Anglo-Indians* (1912), *Rough Passages* (1926) and *Red Records* (1928). Mrs Maud Diver is best known for her sketches of Indian military life in the "Desmond" series, beginning with *Captain Desmond V.C.* (1907). Other popular writers of fiction with India as the scene or subject, such as Mrs F. E. Penny, Mrs E. W. Savi, Mrs B. M. Croker, A. E. W. Mason in *The Broken Road* (1907), Hilton Brown and Dennis Kincaid can receive only bare mention. A new note is heard in the novels of "John Travers", i.e. Mrs George Henry Bell. In *Sahib-log* (1910), *Second Nature* (1914), *The Mortimers* (1922) and *Hot Water* (1929), for example, there is a serious attempt to present the problems and failures of life in India. The reader finds little of Kipling's self-confident arrogance and is left thinking. Still more disturbing is Edward Morgan Forster's *A Passage to India* (1924) in which the incompatibility of East and West is presented strongly but dispassionately. The sketches of the "ruling race" are unflattering and have been resented. Edward Thompson (1886–1946), poet and interpreter of Tagore, has none of E. M. Forster's detachment, and is more seriously concerned with Indian politics. In *An Indian Day* (1927), *Night Falls on Siva's Hill* (1929) and *A Farewell to India* (1930) there is much matter for thought—too much to be comfortably carried by the stories. Edward Thompson lacks the fine novelistic art of E. M. Forster, but his books are specially interesting as showing how far Anglo-Indian fiction has travelled in the forty years that lie between *Plain Tales from the Hills* and *An Indian Day*. Fiction written in English by natives of India is illustrated by the "Purdah" stories of Cornelia Sorabji, which have peculiar interest as studies of Indian women. A very interesting study of the whole subject will be found in *A Survey of Anglo-Indian Fiction* (1934) by Bhupal Singh.

The steady growth of interest in Eastern scholarship during recent years found expression in the School of Oriental Studies of which Sir Edward Denison Ross (1861–1940), a man of extraordinarily wide interests, was director. Sir Henry Yule (1820–89), the editor of Marco Polo, comes into our story as the compiler of *Hobson-Jobson, A Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases* (1886). Among the greatest of Oriental scholars in our time was Sir Thomas Walker Arnold (1864–1930), whose most popular books, *The Preaching of Islam* (1896) and *Painting in Islam* (1928) showed his genius for interpretation. It is significant of the nature of his mind that his version of *The Little Flowers of St Francis* (1898) has become

as a poet, even though Ireland's ingratitude to Parnell was one of his poetic themes. More generally famous than either is Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941); but his position in English literature is less secure, for he is a Bengali poet who has translated his verses into English prose. With the value of his native compositions we are not concerned; but of his English prose-poems we are compelled to say that their absolute worth can easily be exaggerated. Indeed, it is difficult to find in his numerous volumes—*Gitanjali* (1912), *The Crescent Moon* (1913), *Fruit Gathering* (1916), *The Gardener* and others—anything richer in thought and expression than the pages of the English Bible afford to the receptive reader. The great popularity of Tagore as a prose-poet can be explained by the general appetite for moral reflections, not too deep, with an Eastern setting, not too remote.

From the closing years of the nineteenth century to the present time many stories have been written with India as the setting, the theme or the excuse. Some have been little more than journalism; some have been openly designed for the circulating libraries; some have testified to a deepening consciousness of the problems raised by our presence as rulers in a vast and distant land, the home of many races and religions The outstanding name in later Anglo-Indian fiction is that of Rudyard Kipling, whose work, however, ranging far beyond that province, must be considered later as a whole. It is easy to overestimate the actual quantity of Kipling's Indian writings. The slim books of Indian stories first made him known, and their new, astonishing brilliance led inevitably to a fixed association of his name with the land of his birth. But his tales of India belong almost entirely to the early part of his career, and a sober estimate will show how little they have contributed to our knowledge of that land. Some of the adventures might have happened anywhere, and much of the matter is repetitive Kipling's understanding is neither deep nor wide. He saw much, he divined little. His range of character is small. He is ardently on the side of the caste-system—the caste-system among the British. The Army and the Government exist; the rest of the British are almost "untouchables". He is the voice of the clubs, and writes as one of a governing class in a land of mere natives. Of what India means to Indians he shows little comprehension To [illegible] mis- [illegible] ndia; [illegible] His chief service to India is not that he made it understood, but that he made it interesting to a large general public which had never before given it serious attention There is more of India in the short stories and longer novels of Mrs Flora Annie Steel (1847–1929), though as works of art they are ineffectual beside the glow and glitter of Kipling's tales. They are, in fact, well-composed and seriously in-

and 1840, the three series being combined, later, in one volume. Haliburton also wrote *The Old Judge; or Life in a Colony* (1843), *The English in America* (1851), and many other volumes. The fun of *Sam Slick* is rather frayed and old now, and the serious motives that inspired it are out of date. Haliburton was by instinct a Tory of the old school, and he was passionately devoted to the cause of imperial unity at a time when Great Britain neglected her colonies, and when the loosely organized provinces that now are Canada were apparently drifting towards independence or annexation. Haliburton disbelieved in anything resembling Home Rule. But time has demonstrated the sterility of the beliefs which he held firmly and honestly; and *Sam Slick* has the curious interest of embodying, in its humorous extravagance, an extinct doctrine of colonial government.

The first of Canadian poets, Isabella Valancy Crawford (1850–86), was of Irish, not of Canadian birth. Her lyrical verse has a touch of the intensity and purity that we find in the work of Emily Brontë. *Love's Forget Me Not* is an example of this kind. Her dialect poems, of which *Old Spookses' Pass* is the most vigorous example, stand comparison well with the best of similar productions. The echoes in her poems are purely fortuitous—she could scarcely have known some of the writers she recalls. Her work is slight, but it is personal and original.

Archibald Lampman (1861–99) was Canadian by birth. His first volume *Among the Millet* (1888) was inspired in feeling by his intense love of nature, and in form by his reading of Keats and Wordsworth. The title of his second volume, *Lyrics of Earth* (1896), indicates his continued interest in natural themes. But his mood was changing. General problems of society were beginning to occupy his mind, and the poems posthumously published show the new direction of his sympathies. Lampman is musical and expressive. His work is neither powerful in style nor specially Canadian in theme or character, but it occupies an honourable place in the national literature.

William Henry Drummond (1854–1907), though born in Ireland, was distinctively Canadian, and found his most rewarding theme in the lives of the French settlers. While still a boy he came into contact with the *habitant* and the *voyageur* and listened to their thrilling tales of backwoods life. From one of them he heard the tragic story which he was to tell again as *The Wreck of the Julie Plante*. Drummond was genuinely original. He found his own theme and his own style, and achieved the considerable feat of transmitting the peculiarities of his characters in a language other than their own. His poems are contained in four volumes, *The Habitant* (1897), *Johnny Courteau* (1901), *The Voyageur* (1905) and *The Great Fight* (1908). Drummond's great merit is that he tells his simple stories simply. He depicts the homely lives and sentiments of the French-Canadians without false glamour

a minor religious classic. Sir George Christopher Molesworth Birdwood (1832–1917) was a doctor who wrote much on many phases of Indian life and art without securing the unanimous approval of other scholars. Singularly attractive and persuasive interpreters of Indian life are the two soldier brothers, Sir George John Young- [illegible] his work in Kashmir and Tibet. Apart from his topographical volumes, such books as *The Gleam* (1923), *The Wonders of the Himalayas* (1924), *But in Our Lives* (1926), *The Epic of Everest* (1927) and *Everest: The Challenge* (1936) are notable as revelations of a religious mind deeply touched with mysticism. Lastly we mention Sir George Abraham Grierson (1851–1941) whose numerous studies in the vernaculars reach their culmination in the monumental volumes of his *Linguistic Survey of India.*

XI. ENGLISH-CANADIAN LITERATURE

We must be content to accept English-Canadian literature as a fact without seeking for a definition. Not all Canadian writers are Canadian by birth, and some Canadian writers by birth have not written of Canada. William Henry Drummond was born in Ireland; but everybody thinks of him as a Canadian writer. Goldwin Smith [illegible] Grant Blairfindie Allen, 1848–99), who was born in Canada, but belongs to England by education and by literary performance. He was a man of wide interests; he wrote on science, history, the classics, and was, in addition, a prolific novelist.

Canadian literature, as such, naturally begins late. The men who were making a new country were not given to the making of books. They were satisfied with literary imports, and felt no need for local products. But strongly local work began to appear; though by [illegible] educated in Nova Scotia, became a Judge of the Supreme Court [illegible] lected as *The Clockmaker; or the Sayings and Doings of Sam Slick of Slickville* (Halifax, 1837). A second and third series followed in 1838

works by him—*The Bubbles of Canada* (1837) and *Rule and Misrule of the English in America* (1851)—touch the fringe of history. Major John Richardson's *War of 1812* presents much valuable material. James Hannay produced a *History of Acadia* and a *War of 1812*. Lady Edgar, in her *Ten Years of Peace and War in Upper Canada* (1890), presents a most interesting account of the time. Sir John George Bourinot, a diligent student of Canadian affairs, will be best remembered by a popular history called *The Story of Canada* (1897).

Allusions to Canada can be found quite early in English novels; but Canadian fiction proper dates from the year 1832, when John Richardson published *Wacousta*, a curious book that begins well and then goes to pieces. Of Mrs Leprohon's several novels *Antoinette de Mirecourt* (1864) is the best. Catherine Parr Traill and Susanna Moodie were sisters who diligently devoted themselves to writing. Mrs Traill, whose chief distinction was gained in natural history, wrote also several novels, of which *Lost in the Backwoods*, published in London in 1852 under the title *The Canadian Crusoes*, is the best. James de Mille (1833–80), a prolific and popular writer, made a sensation with his posthumous story *The Strange Manuscript Found in a Copper Cylinder* (1880). William Kirby wrote the best Canadian novel, *Le Chien d'Or or The Golden Dog*, published in 1877. It is an ambitious book, cast in a large historic mould. William McLennan wrote two novels, a book of short stories and a pleasant volume of verse, *Songs of Old Canada* (1886), translated from the French. His *habitant* tales are an interesting prose counterpart of the poetical work of Drummond.

Much has been accomplished during recent years in the field of history and biography. Two great series of historical works, *Canada and its Provinces* (1913, etc.) edited by A. G. Doughty and Adam Shortt and *Chronicles of Canada* (1920, etc.) edited by G. M. Wrong and H. H. Langton present the main story of the Dominion; and *The Makers of Canada* series, the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (1926) edited by W. S. Wallace, together with such individual works as Sir Joseph Pope's life of Sir John Macdonald and Beckles Willson's life of Lord Strathcona give the student the necessary personal background of history. In modern Canadian poetry the outstanding name is that of William Bliss Carman (1861–1929), who produced many volumes, beginning with *Low Tide on Grand Pré* (1893) and *Songs from Vagabondia* (1894), in collaboration with Richard Hovey. *Ballads of Lost Haven* (1897), *Pipes of Pan*, a collection extending from 1902 to 1905, and other volumes exhibit his fresh lyrical quality and his charm of utterance. He edited *The Oxford Book of American Verse* (1927). Bliss Carman was ambitious in the range of his work, but he succeeded by sweetness rather than by strength. William Wilfred Campbell (1861–1918) and Duncan Campbell Scott (1862) are other

or pathos, without any journalistic affectation of omniscience, and without the least touch of caricature or burlesque.

Joseph Howe, author of *Poems and Essays* (1874), was distinguished in the political life of his province of Nova Scotia. His poetry is rhetorical, and his literary qualities are best exhibited in his eloquent prose. Charles Heavysege, who came from England in 1833, showed, amidst much crudeness, occasional flashes of power. His reputation rests upon his sonnets and his dramatic poem *Saul*. Alexander McLachlan came from Scotland in 1840, and aspired to be the Burns of Canada. Charles Sangster, author of *The St Lawrence and the Saguenay* (1856) and *Hesperus and other Poems* (1860), was born in Canada, and before the advent of the younger generation was the representative poet of his native land. Of Thomas D'Arcy McGee [illegible] his powers. The Indian poetess Pauline Johnson, author of *The White Wampum* (1895), had a genuine lyric gift within a limited range.

There are naturally many records of expeditions into distant [illegible] in 1807 a curious pioneer volume, *Travels through the Canadas*, which is much more entertaining than his serious *History of Canada*. Alexander Henry was an American by birth who spent many years as a fur-trader in central Canada, and ended his days as a merchant in Montreal. His book *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories* was published in New York in 1809. Anna Brownell Jameson, whom we have already met as a writer on art, spent a part of 1836–7 in and near Toronto, and published in three [illegible] a similar [illegible] *it in the* [illegible] *the Bush* [illegible] da. The earliest historians were not attractive writers. John Charles Dent, an Englishman by birth, was much more entertaining; but partisanship impairs the value of his readable histories, *The Last Forty Years* (1881) and *The Story of the Rebellion in Upper Canada* (1885). The most complete and painstaking of Canadian histories is William Kingsford's *History of Canada* (1898), which covers the period from the discovery of Canada to the union of 1841. Haliburton's *Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia* (1829) is still useful. Two other

XII. THE LITERATURE OF AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

hough Australia has no background of inherited romance and egend, it has its own tales of heroism and endurance and its own mmensely varied local colour. The earliest Australian poetry was naturally an inheritance from Great Britain. In 1819, Charles Lamb's friend, Barron Field, who in 1816 became Judge of the Supreme Court of New South Wales, published his *First Fruits of Australian Poetry*. The interest of curiosity belongs to the poem *Australasia* (1823) submitted by William Charles Wentworth, an Australian at Cambridge, for the Chancellor's medal. It was published in *The Sydney Gazette*, earliest of Australian newspapers. Neither Barron Field nor Wentworth can be considered inspired bards of the southern continent. Another Australian, Charles Tompson, gave local touches to his *Wild Notes from the Lyre of a Native Minstrel* (1826); and John Dunmore Lang, a Presbyterian divine, who came to New South Wales in 1823 and took later a prominent part in Australian politics, introduced into his poems (*Aurora Australis*, 1826) allusions which are thoroughly Australian if not entirely felicitous.

The decade 1840–50, preceding the rush to the gold-diggings, was an important period in the history of Australian poetry. The development of New South Wales brought about an increase in the number of newspapers, and the newspapers gave opportunities for the publication of verse. Sir Henry Parkes, who emigrated to Australia in 1839 and rapidly made a name as a Liberal politician, wrote verse himself and encouraged others to write. Of the five volumes of verse which he published in Sydney, the earliest was issued in 1842; the best is the second, *Murmurs of the Stream* (1857); but poetry was to him the recreation of a busy life. Other poets of the period were Daniel Henry Deniehy, a graceful singer; Richard P. L. Rowe, a journalist whose miscellaneous writings under the pseudonym "Peter Possum" were very popular with Australian readers; Henry Halloran, a fluent and straightforward versifier; an J. Sheridan Moore, who sang in easy style of Australian scene Charles Harpur (1817–68) may be considered the first distinctive Australian poet, though in his earliest volume *Thoughts: a Serie Sonnets* (1845) there is much that might have been written by who had never seen Australia. But it was natural in a poet of period to reflect the style of such masters as Wordsworth Shelley. Harpur came in time to trust more in himself and his surroundings, and he was the first native Australian poet to g worthy imaginative representation of the Australian scene *Creek of the Four Graves* may be named as a typical poem. Ha play, *The Bushrangers* (1853), is not very good, but the vol

names of distinction. Scott's *New World Lyrics* (1905) attracted many admirers. A collection of his work was published in 1926. Marjorie Pickthall (1883–1922), author of *Drift of Pinions* (1913), *Little Hearts* (1915), and *Little Songs* (1925), won deserved esteem both as poet and story-teller. John McCrae (1872–1918) goes down to posterity as the author of one memorable poem, *In Flanders Fields*. Many anthologies, from L. V. Burpee's *Flowers from a Canadian Garden* to Wilfred Campbell's *Oxford Book of Canadian Verse* testify to the persistence of poetry in a great Dominion. Pelham Edgar (1871) maintains in [illegible]

Pontiac (1895) and *The Seats of the Mighty* (1896), had great popularity. His work is thoroughly efficient and holds a respectable place among the productions of the period. At the other extreme stand the bright, social stories of Sara Jeannette Duncan, Mrs Everard Cotes (1862–1922), of which *A Social Departure* (1890) and *Those Delightful Americans* (1902) may be named as typical examples. Lucy M. [illegible] red a new and de- [illegible] *Green Gables* (1908) [illegible] Mazo de la Roche [illegible] t" with *Jalna* (1927), [illegible] Her understanding [illegible] eacock (1869), born [illegible]

not endure the process of attenuation to which it was subjected. Somewhere between fiction and natural history stand the works of Sir Charles George Douglas Roberts (1860–1943) and Ernest Thompson Seton, "Seton-Thompson" (1860–1946)—the latter born in England. Seton-Thompson's *Wild Animals I have known* (1898) and *Lives of the Hunted* (1901) are two among his many books that have taken a place among the classics of their kind. Roberts, Canadian by birth, is poet, novelist, historian, scholar and naturalist. Of his many writings the most generally admired are the nature [illegible]

savage". The very interesting story of Canadian literature in the French language lies outside the scope of the present volume.

and *Galloping Rhymes* (1870). The long poem *Ashtaroth*), partly founded on Goethe's *Faust*, is a poet's negligible ice-work.

the same period belong the poems of Marcus Clarke, Thomas cken and Arthur Patchett Martin. Martin's lyrical poems are ughtful and musical, tinged with the sadness that comes from loss faith in human ideals. Bracken was a facile, sentimental poet, and ing a New Zealander by birth naturally based some of his work on aori legends or history. The poet of the Maoris, however, is Alfred Domett ("Waring"), the friend of Robert Browning, who went to New Zealand in 1842 and lived there for nearly thirty years. His longest work, *Ranolf and Amohia*, was published after his return home in 1872. In a great variety of lyrical metres it describes the scenery of New Zealand and narrates with unnecessary philosophical reflections a story of Maori life. James Brunton Stephens, a Scot who went to Australia in 1866, belongs to Queensland. His first poetical publication, *Convict Once* (1871), is a tale of remarkable power and gloom; but his popularity rests chiefly on his humorous poems, *To a Black Gin* and *Universally Respected*. Another good Queensland poet, George Essex Evans, belongs to a later period. *The Repentance of Magdalene Despar* contained in his volume of 1891 is a long narrative poem of considerable power. *The Secret Key* (1906) and *Queen of the North* (1909) show a passion for his country expressed with a strength not to be found in the gentler Kendall. After 1880 the poetry of Australia becomes less the poetry of pioneers and more the poetry of a country with leisured and cultivated inhabitants. The works of Philip Joseph Holdsworth, of Francis Adams, of James Lister Cuthbertson, of Robert Richardson, of William Gay, of Grace Jennings Carmichael, of Barcroft Henry Boake and of Victor James Daley show serious poetry firmly established among a people prepared to receive it. The Bret Harte tradition of James Bruton Stephens was maintained in the free and easy rhymes of common life written by John Farrell and his successors.

Australia has always been strong in fiction. Henry Kingsley's *Geoffrey Hamlyn*, though founded on Australian experience, car hardly be considered a novel of Australian origin; and the same mus be said of William Howitt's *A Boy's Adventures in the Wilds of Au tralia*. Charles Rowcroft's *Tales of the Colonies* (1843) and *The Bus ranger of Van Diemen's Land* (1846) possibly take first place amo native products. Then come *Clara Morison* (1854), *Tender and T* (1856) and others by Catherine Helen Spence, who was better kno as a political writer. With the fiction of Marcus Clarke (1846–8 clear advance is made. His novel *Heavy Odds* is now negligible his chief work, *For the Term of His Natural Life* (1874), is not c vivid picture of a penal settlement, but a powerful work of fi

which it appeared, and the volume called *The Tower of the Dream* (1865) both contain some good verse.

The gold rush brought to Australia a few men of intellectual attainments. Among these was Richard Henry ("Hengist") Horne, who has been mentioned earlier. His poetical work shows many traces of his seventeen years' residence in Australia. Horne's chief influence on Australian poetry lay in the advice and encouragement which he gave to younger poets. The same is true of James Lionel Michael, who gave up the idea of gold-digging and began to practise his own profession of solicitor. He is worthy of memory, less for his own partly autobiographical poem *John Cumberland*, than for his fostering care of Henry Clarence Kendall (1841–82). Kendall, born in Australia, was employed as a boy clerk by Michael, who discovered his literary talent. Some of Kendall's poems were sent to [illegible]

periodical to give recognition to Australian poetry. The two volumes, *Leaves from Australian Forests* (1869) and *Songs from the Mountains* (1880) contain Kendall's best work, for his efforts in satire and comic writing are negligible. His masters seem to have been the more facile poets of the nineteenth century—he drew little from the older and greater writers. He rarely attains to power; but there is a fine lyrical quality in his poems of nature and of domestic emotion. The paradox of Kendall is that his quiet, sensitive art is genuinely Australian. The land that gave others strength gave him sweetness.

The most famous of Australian poets, Adam Lindsay Gordon (1833–70), was born in the Azores, the son of a retired army officer, and was educated in England. He went to Australia at the age of twenty with his mind already formed by the great poets from Homer to Swinburne. Perhaps for that reason he is not universally accepted in his own adopted continent as its typical poet. As mounted trooper, as horse-breaker, as steeplechase rider, as livery-stable keeper, Gordon spent most of his Australian life among horses. The rhythm of horse-hoofs seems to beat in most of his metres. Recklessness and extravagance as well as an inherited taint of melancholy made his life unhappy and he died by his own hand. Gordon's poetry is the voice of men who lead adventurous lives, who fight gallantly against long odds, and take defeat almost as a matter of course. Where other poets have turned for inspiration to tales of ancient heroism at sea or on the battlefield, Gordon turned to a race- [illegible]

in prose. *While the Billy Boils* (1898) shows his power as a story-teller with a true Australian flavour. The South Sea stories of Louis Becke, i.e. George Lewis Becke (1848–1913), had great popularity, but are not serious contributions to literature, though *By Reef and Palm* (1894) deserves attention as one of the first collections of stories to present the Islands without deceptive glamour. Charles Edward Woodrow Bean (1879), scholar and historian, has written the official history of Australia's part in the War of 1914–18, but enters the history of literature as the author of *On the Wool Track* (1910) and *The Dreadnought of the Darling* (1911). *The Long White Cloud* (1898) by William Pember Reeves (1857–1932) is a standard account of New Zealand. The tradition of scholarship in Australia has been well maintained by A. T. Strong and T. G. Tucker, the latter born and educated in England. Some writers of Australian birth have made their home in Great Britain and have become part of our own story. One striking example is Gilbert Murray, whose work as scholar and dramatist is dealt with elsewhere. The most delicate literary talent that New Zealand produced came to flower in the stories of "Katherine Mansfield", i.e. Kathleen Beauchamp. But her work is entirely European. There is more of Australia in the novels of "Henry Handel Richardson", i.e. Henrietta Richardson of Melbourne, afterwards wife of J. G. Robertson, professor of German in the university of London. She is one of the few writers able to use music successfully as a theme in fiction and her *Maurice Guest* (1908) and *The Young Cosima* (1939) are outstanding. Like other writers of the time she attempted a long continuous story. *The Fortunes of Richard Mahony* was first published as a trilogy of novels in 1917, 1925 and 1929, and issued as a whole in 1930. Her writing is strong, and was for many years assumed to be the work of a man.

Australian newspapers and periodicals have always been vigorous and independent; and not the least of their merits is that they have given generous opportunities to writers who would have found no other means of publication.

XIII. SOUTH AFRICAN LITERATURE

South Africa differs widely in history, politics and population from the other great transmarine countries already discussed. The unhappy War of 1899–1902 distorted literary as well as personal values, and its evil legacy has not yet spent itself. That conflict, however, made people at the beginning of the century familiar with the scene and main features of the country. But a vaster war blotted out the memories of the last Victorian struggle, and South Africa has faded into unfamiliarity. Unfortunately in the new state language has become a weapon of the politicians. Upon that inflammatory subject

Clarke's shorter stories are also good and sincere. The next eminent name is that of Thomas Alexander Browne (1826–1915), who, under the pseudonym "Rolf Boldrewood" [illegible]

[illegible]

Reformer (1890) are the best pictures extant of the squatter's life. To English readers Boldrewood is best known by *Robbery Under Arms* (1888), the story of the bushranger Captain Starlight. [illegible]

[illegible]

Travel and exploration in Australia have inspired many books. An excellent summary is the *History of the Discovery and Exploration of Australia* (1865) by Julian Edmund Tenison Woods. W. C. Wentworth's *Description of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land* (1819) fiercely attacked the existing form of government. Edward Gibbon Wakefield's *Letters from Sydney* (1829) and *New British Province of South Australia* (1834) promulgated modern ideas of colonial administration. Among the many writings of John Dunmore Lang there is a discursive *Historical and Statistical Account* of New South Wales (1834). Samuel Bennett's accurate and lucid *History of Australian Discovery and Colonization* (1867) brings the story down to [illegible]

[illegible]

covery in Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand (1865) and R. H. Horne's very lively and amusing *Australian Facts and Prospects* (1859), which was prefaced by his *Australian Autobiography*, are both attractive and interesting works. James Bonwick's *Last of the Tasmanians* and *Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians*, both published in 1870, are important contributions to anthropology. Alexander Sutherland's *Victoria and its Metropolis* (1888) is the leading work of its kind in a later period. The important *History of Australia* and *History of New Zealand* by George William Rushden (1819–1903) were published in England in 1883. Numerous ethnographical studies are not our concern in this volume. As we have already seen, New Zealand contributed something to the making of Samuel Butler.

Later Australian literature has been prolific rather than distinctive. Andrew Barton Patterson is a "banjo-bard". Henry Archibald Lawson (1867–1922) had original talent and wrote both in verse and

(1925) and *The Beadle* (1926) are exquisite interpretations of South African life. The novels and general works of Sarah Gertrude Millin present definite views. In *God's Step-Children* (1924) she touches one of South Africa's major problems, the treatment of the native races. Her biographies of Rhodes and Smuts are mainly political in interest. Novels and poems in South Africa, as elsewhere in the Dominions, tend to follow what may be called an "Overseas" pattern, and genuine originality is rare; but it can be found in the poems of Roy Campbell (1902) contained in *The Flaming Terrapin* (1924), *Adamastor* (1930), his satirical comment on his contemporaries called *The Georgiad* (1931), *The Flowering Rifle* (1939), and other volumes. The exuberance and wilfulness of Roy Campbell are clear signs of genuine and vigorous poetic life. His prose—some of it relating to his bull-fighting performances—has the kind of interest not expected in a South African writer. Arthur Shearly Cripps, an Oxford contemporary of some of "the poets of the Nineties", became a missionary and has written verse of fine, traditional quality in *Pilgrimage of Grace* (1912), *Lake and War* (1917) and *Africa* (1939), and well-imagined stories in *Faerylands Forlorn* (1910) and *Lion Man* (1928). Charles Murray, born in Scotland, became an official in South Africa, and has used the Doric in his *Hamewith* (1900) and similar volumes. There is no profit in citing a multitude of names. The reader will find an excellent selection from recent writers in *The Centenary Book of South African Verse* (1925, revised 1945) edited by Francis Carey Slater, himself the author of *The Sunburnt South* (1908) and *The Karoo* (1924).

XIV. EDUCATION

An extraordinary fertility of invention in the means of mechanical production and transport produced, at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, what is commonly called the Industrial Revolution. Into details of the changes included under that name we are not called upon to enter. But we shall not understand the spirit of nineteenth-century literature, in its widest sense, without some knowledge of the "condition-of-England" question and of the attempts to combat manifest social evils by some measure of intellectual civilization. Many of the changes had been rapid. Population increased; great urban communities arose in the midlands and in northern England; there was a general movement away from the rural districts; a hitherto unwonted aggregation of capital altered the scale of industrial operations. While wealth increased, so, also, did poverty. It would be difficult to parallel in the previous history of England the wretched and degraded condition of the workers during the last years of the eighteenth and the first decades of the nineteenth century. The state did nothing at all for

Africans themselves the father of their poetry. A somewhat younger contemporary of Wordsworth, Coleridge and Scott, a nearer contemporary of Byron, Shelley and Keats, he fell under the influence of the former group. He was already a distinguished man of letters when he decided in 1819 to seek a new life in Cape Town. He was appointed government librarian, but ruined his prospects by well-meant but not well-judged political radicalism. He returned to London and in 1827 became associated with the Anti-Slavery campaign of Wilberforce and Clarkson, but died in 1834 without seeing the accomplishment of his labours In that year, besides a new edition of his poems, he published a prose work, *Narrative of a Residence in South Africa*, which made a strong impression. Poets of his own day, from Coleridge to Tennyson, held a high opinion of Pringle; and he is valued in South Africa equally for his literary genius and his independence of spirit. Both were of great value to his adopted home. Pringle reproduced the scenes and events of the colonial days with remarkable vividness. He knew the people, white and black, and he had seen the hunting of the beasts. The piece, perhaps, which, more than any other, marks this pious Scottish farmer's son for a real literary artist is *The Bechuana Boy*. Those who wish to know what South African life was like at the beginning of the last century will find almost everything in Pringle.

A good early collection of English South African poetry is *The Treasury of South African Poetry and Verse* (1907) gathered from various sources and arranged by Edward Heath Crouch Among the poets included is John Fairbairn, friend and contemporary of Pringle. A poet of some merit with an eye and voice for the characteristics of South African nature was E. B. Watermeyer (1824-67). His sea-

duced so far by South Africa is *The Story of an African Farm* (1888) by Olive Schreiner. This has already been discussed. A writer touched with the artistic spirit—but not the missionary spirit—of Olive Schreiner is Pauline Smith, whose stories *The Little Karoo*

Lovell Edgeworth and his daughter, Maria; but the initial movements were due to Richard's mother, Jane Lovell. Richard married the first of his four wives before he was one-and-twenty; his first child was born two years after the publication (1762) of Rousseau's *Émile*. From the age of three this son was brought up for five years on Rousseau's system, with results that did not entirely satisfy the father. It was at this time that Edgeworth's college friend, Thomas Day (in later years author of *Sandford and Merton*) was superintending, at the age of twenty-one, the education of two orphan girls with the purpose of marrying one of them. He married neither. Edgeworth conducted his educational experiments, as we may call them, in the bosom of his family, which was ample, for he was married four times and had eighteen children. He studied educational methods on the Continent and met Pestalozzi himself. Edgeworth proposed (1809) a scheme of "secondary" schools (the word is his) to be established throughout the country under the management of a private association—a more practical scheme than that suggested in Joseph Lancaster's *Improvements in Education* (1803). With his second wife, Honora Sneyd, Edgeworth wrote *Harry and Lucy* (1778), which, undertaken as a supplement to Mrs Barbauld's writings, itself became the originator of *Sandford and Merton*. Honora Edgeworth, anticipating "modern" discoveries, declared that education was an experimental science, and began in 1776 to keep a register of observations concerning children, upon which her husband was still engaged nearly twenty years after her death. That record guided Maria Edgeworth in writing the collection of tales for children which she called *The Parent's Assistant* (1796); it formed the basis of fact beneath the theory applied in *Practical Education* (1798), the joint work of herself and her father, and the most considerable book on its subject produced in England between John Locke and Herbert Spencer. Its reiterated recommendation of play and of spontaneous activity in general, as agents of instruction, is an anticipation of Froebel, without a trace of the German's mysticism. As evidence of the care bestowed by Edgeworth on teaching the rudiments of English to children, it may be noted that he devised (and published in *A Rational Primer*) a set of diacritical marks to make the alphabet phonetic. Nearly all his ideas are thoroughly modern—including his prejudice against fairy-tales. *Professional Education* (1809) is the work of Richard Edgeworth alone. If it were written to-day it would probably be called "Vocational Education". A quite unmerited neglect has fallen upon the educational writings of the Edgeworths, who taught principles which have been eagerly accepted in England as revelations when presented by German or American or Italian authors.

The numerous utterances of Wordsworth upon education, both in *The Prelude* and in *The Excursion*, can be barely referred to here.

the minds or bodies of the industrial population. Such educational provision as charity, parish or Sunday schools offered was both meagre and unsuitable. It was in every sense a beggarly contribution. The desperate plight of parents and the unsparing employment of children in mills and factories would have made the offer of a complete provision little more than a mockery. Yet these very conditions of ignorance and of moral degradation stirred the hearts of reformers to attempt their alleviation by some form of instruction. The bodies of the poor seemed past help. Could anything be done for their minds?

[illegible] been almost entirely an ecclesiastical activity; but the relations of church and state had changed, and the modern state was unwilling to leave the upbringing of the young entirely to the church. In France Rousseau had altered the whole current of thought about the teaching of children. The expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 struck the first great blow at the kind of instruction which, for some two and a half centuries, had been general throughout Europe. Prussia had initiated reforms that made her the model for the German people. As early as 1763 Frederick had decreed compulsory instruction and the provision of primary schools. A little later Prussian schools other than primary passed from ecclesiastical control, and in 1789 the first advance was made towards the evolution of the modern German university. Although much of this educational activity was inspired by the teaching of an Englishman, Locke, the history of English education during this period is a sorry tale of obstruction and animosity. The admissions to Oxford and Cambridge fell steadily in numbers. The Church of England stood in the gates of those ancient foundations and denied their benefits to any who would not subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles. The struggle was not between religion [illegible] tent. Not till after the time of Arnold did the public schools become civilized. For girls of what we should call the middle classes, such education as existed was almost entirely domestic, for girls of higher social standing, education meant nothing but the acquisition of pretentious and useless "accomplishments".

The eighteenth century exhibits no more sincere exponents of Locke's educational ideas than the Edgeworths of Edgeworthstown. The literary monuments of their activity are the work of Richard

Philosophy of Rhetoric (1776) by George Campbell, and the *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783) by Hugh Blair. These writers and lecturers did good by asserting the importance of the emotions in the production and in the enjoyment of literature. The Scottish school laid great stress on the value of public speaking and reading, a matter about which Vicesimus Knox and Richard Edgeworth were both emphatic. William Enfield's *The Speaker* (1774), a long-popular anthology of recitations from the standard writers, was intended to be associated with the Scottish teaching of rhetoric. But it did greater service than that: it gave many young people their first acquaintance with poets.

To the modern mind, which expects "the State" to do everything for everybody, it is a little surprising that advanced thinkers at the end of the eighteenth century were antagonistic to the interference of the state with education. They foresaw what we have seen elsewhere in these latter days, namely, a determination of the state to call the tune as well as to pay the piper. Priestley, Paine and Godwin were all against the establishment or maintenance of schools by the state. Mary Wollstonecraft stood almost alone in her readiness to accept the French conception in full. The effect of this suspicion is clearly discernible in the whole history of English national education to the present time. There has been no such difficulty in Scotland, where the principle of national education was fully accepted and where the so-called "religious question" has been boldly faced. Elementary education passed beyond the range of merely academic discussion on the appearance of Joseph Lancaster's *Improvements in Education* (1803). Lancaster proposed the establishment of a society, "on general Christian principles", that is, on undenominational principles, for the provision of schools, and the instruction of teachers. The Church was alarmed, and the matter became political. Lancaster's "undenominational" system was taken up by the Whigs as a guarantee of religious liberty and opposed by the Tories as an attack on the Church. In 1811, therefore, "The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church" was founded. The rival organization was "The British and Foreign School Society" (1814), the successor of the Royal Lancasterian Institute and Lancaster's Committee founded in 1808. "National" and "British" schools (so named from the supporting societies) were set up and continued their rival existence without serious competition, till the appearance of the "Board" schools created by the Act of 1870. A famous pioneer in education was Robert Owen (1771–1858), the social reformer, who established at his New Lanark cotton-mills an adult evening-school, a day-school for children whose ages ranged from six to ten, and an infant-school for little ones of a year old and upwards. The fame of New Lanark spread all over the world. But

They contain very sound doctrine, especially in their recollections of what children found delightful and in their repudiation of mere "useful knowledge". Coleridge, Lamb and Wordsworth were agreed in a passionate defence of the fairy-tales despised alike by eighteenth-century utilitarians and twentieth-century psychologists. In any consideration of the minds of children, the divining experience of a poet's creative spirit is worth much more than the theories of pseudo-scientists who manufacture their own data.

Two books belonging to the close of the eighteenth century deserve mention, *Liberal Education* (1781) by Vicesimus Knox and Joseph Priestley's *Miscellaneous Observations relating to Education* (1778), the latter of which contains an anticipation of the first chapter of Herbert Spencer's *Education* so close in thought and phrase as to suggest Spencer's familiarity with the work. Knox is valuable for his account of current abuses as well as for his constructive suggestions. No subject had greater interest for the reformers than the mother-tongue, the teaching of which had usually been sacrificed to [illegible]

no tradition and no technique. A belief—expressed by Swift, for example (see p. 470)—gradually established itself that the English language could be fixed and secured against changes. In other words, a living language was expected to behave as if it were dead, and in this spirit grammar books treated English as if it were a kind of Latin. Most famous, or notorious, of such books was the *English Grammar* (1795) of Lindley Murray, who was the chief, though not the only, begetter of that formal treatment of its subject which long [illegible] d [illegible] is [illegible] y [illegible]

dical systematization which educationists had long been seeking, and the book became disastrously popular and authoritative. The revolt, a century later, against the teaching of English grammar was not really a revolt against grammar, but a revolt against the artificial aridities imposed upon English. A remarkable fact is that this discredited process of making English grammar a kind of foreign grammar has been lately re-invented and re-established under a delusively imposing name. In Scotland the quest for a method in teaching the living language ended in the emergence, not of grammar books, but of the Scottish school of "rhetoric" and of some famous works which expressed its principles, the most notable being the *Elements of Criticism* (1762) by Henry Home, Lord Kames. *The*

principle of undenominational education embodied in the university of London was extended to Ireland in 1844–9 by the foundation of Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Cork and Galway and their incorporation as Queen's University in the next year, notwithstanding strong Catholic protests. The hierarchy determined to establish a Catholic university in Dublin and placed John Henry Newman at its head. Here were delivered the discourses which Newman afterwards collected as *The Idea of a University*. But as everybody concerned appeared to have different intentions, the Catholic University failed, for reasons that had nothing to do with education.

Shortly before Parliament, in 1833, voted £20,000 per annum in aid of schools for the people, John Arthur Roebuck unsuccessfully moved a resolution in the Commons in favour of universal compulsory education, the professional training of teachers, and the appointment of a Minister of Education. Over seventy years were to pass before that policy was made even partially effective. The Government attempted some form of control by appointing inspectors of schools; but the great extension of the franchise in 1867 made the question of public education acute, and at last, in 1870, a Bill was introduced to provide for public elementary education in England and Wales, and this was passed after six months of contentious debate. The Act did not touch the "National" and "British" schools; but it empowered School Boards to provide undenominational schools which should be inspected in secular subjects only. It did not attempt to settle the religious dispute; it kept the dispute alive; but, with all its faults, the Education Act of 1870 was immensely important, because the English state then for the first time assumed direct responsibility for public education as a national need. This responsibility was at first confined to elementary instruction; but its extension was unavoidable. It would be ungrateful to mention the first Education Act without a tribute to Ruskin, whose unwearied advocacy had prepared the public mind for the acceptance of free compulsory education as a national duty. Another honourable name is that of Matthew Arnold, whose service in the cause of education cannot be valued too highly. As an inspector he sought to give life to the bare bones of elementary education and he preached unceasingly the necessity of an organized scheme of liberal secondary education. Our middle classes, he declared again and again, were the worst educated in the world. Arnold died before any of the sane and creative reforms for which he pleaded were effected; but that they were at last effected is due to his patiently reiterated demands. Arnold's official educational writings still remain excellent and valuable reading. Of numerous other works on education only a few of special interest can be mentioned here. Among the most conspicuous was Herbert Spencer's *Education, Intellectual, Moral and*

Owen, like other great pioneers, knew nothing of compromise, and his determined opposition to any form of organized religion [illegible]

activity was fostered by the Infant School Society (1824) and its superintendent, Samuel Wilderspin, who wrote *On the Importance of Educating the Infant Poor* (1824).

Lord Brougham, who had been educated in Scotland, and admired the system that made the parish school a step towards the college, vigorously promoted educational advance in England, [illegible]

Kingsley, Ruskin and others were moved to found and support the Working Men's College in 1854. Later years have seen such further developments as Ruskin College, and the University Tutorial classes of the Workers' Educational Association. Yet another activity with which Brougham was connected was the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, founded in 1827. The Society's publications (most of them issued by Charles Knight) included *The Penny Magazine* (1832–7), *The Penny Cyclopaedia* (1832, etc.), *The Library of Entertaining Knowledge* and *The Library of Useful Knowledge.* Brougham was also active in supporting the foundation of the new secular "University of London", as it was called, established in [illegible]

a college in which no form of religion was taught, hastened to found a rival Anglican institution. This second institution received its charter as King's College, and was opened in 1831. The older college did not receive its charter till 1836, when it was re-named University College, the title "University of London" being given to a new examining corporation. London remained without a real university until quite recent times.

A new tone was set in the public schools by Samuel Butler at Shrewsbury and Thomas Arnold at Rugby Oxford and Cambridge, strongly entrenched behind the ancient college foundations, long resisted any kind of reform; but the course of the nineteenth century witnessed many changes of a kind too complicated for notice here But in a history of English literature it is proper to record that there was no Honours School of English Language and Literature at Oxford till 1893 and no English Tripos at Cambridge till 1917 Th[illegible]

system was completed by the incorporation of these colleges as the University of Wales in 1893.

The English School Boards had been feeling their way towards secondary education by the establishment of Pupil-Teacher Centres, Higher Grade Schools, and so forth; but the position was cleared by the Cockerton judgment (1901), which declared that any public expenditure upon education other than elementary was unlawful. The way was thus cleared for new action; and the general policy long before indicated by Matthew Arnold and reiterated by the Bryce Commission of 1894 was at length embodied in the Board of Education Act of 1899 and the Education Acts of 1902–3. A thousand years after the death of King Alfred, the English state had at last consented to accept responsibility for national education in all its branches. But it evaded, and continues to evade, "the religious question", which still impedes the natural progress of a supremely important creative national activity.

XV. CHANGES IN THE LANGUAGE SINCE SHAKESPEARE'S TIME

In a general view of the fortunes of the English language since Shakespeare's time, one of the first things to strike an observer is the world-wide expansion of its use. At the beginning of the seventeenth century English was, with few exceptions, confined to England. The exceptions were Ireland, where English colonization had begun in the previous century, and Scotland, where literary English was already influencing the speakers of a tongue descended from the old Northumbrian dialect. Even to-day English does not completely occupy the whole of the United Kingdom. Outside the British Isles, the language has followed the flag, and is spoken all over the Empire, and it possesses a vigorous life and literature among many millions in the United States of North America. In these large regions of the world, as well as in the small regions of the mother country, the spoken language varies in sound and in actual vocabulary; but the printed language of standard and current literature is everywhere the same. To discuss the changes which the last three centuries have made in that language is impossible in a volume like the present. All we can do is to give, under the three divisions of pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary, a few examples of such changes.

1. *Pronunciation*

Any person of moderate education can read without difficulty a play in the First Folio edition of Shakespeare dated 1623. The differences in orthography are slight, and whole sentences may occur in present-day spelling. But if such a person could be taken back to a

Physical (1861). Spencer's book is largely Rousseau's *Émile* in nineteenth-century English guise. With very obvious faults, it remains a [illegible]

raises the discussion about education to a level which controversies seldom reach. Mill's *Inaugural Address* and Newman's *Idea of a University*, when made mutually corrective, portray ideals of individual attainment which it is hard to imagine irrelevant at any stage of human civilization. Edward Thring's *Theory and Practice of Teaching* [illegible]

professional or an administrative interest, and can hardly be classed as literature.

The advance in the education of girls and women may be traced [illegible] Governesses' Benevolent Institution, [illegible] ford College for Women by the foundation of the latter in 1849. In 1869 Cambridge and London universities instituted examinations for women. Emily Davies then started the college at Hitchin which, in 1873, was removed to Girton; in 1869 courses of lectures were begun in Cambridge, and this activity led to the foundation of Newnham College. The Girls' Public Day School Company was founded in 1872 and The Maria Grey Training College in 1878. The university of London threw open its degree examinations to women in 1878, Cambridge opened the Triposes to them in 1881, and three years later Oxford allowed women to pass the examinations of certain of its Schools. Colleges for women had been instituted at Oxford in 1879. It will be seen that Tennyson's "sweet girl graduates" of *The Princess* (1847) were a long time in attaining actual existence.

The creation of universities out of provincial colleges has been formally effected in recent years—Manchester and Liverpool in 1903, Leeds in 1904, Sheffield in 1905, and Bristol in 1909. The University [illegible]

The Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889 gave the principality a scheme which filled the gap between public elementary schools and her three colleges, Aberystwyth, Cardiff, and Bangor; and the

like *backward, forward, Edward*, where, in the seventeenth century, the *w* sound was regularly dropped. Dickens makes the driver of Mr Wegg call his donkey *Eddard*; Shakespeare spelt *bear-ward* as *berrord*, and sailors still say *forra'd*. In some words letters were inserted as a clue to the etymology. In certain instances this insertion has not affected the pronunciation, as *b* in *doubt*; *c* in *scent, victuals*; *g* in *foreign*; *l* in *salmon*; *s* in *island*; in others, the letter has gradually come to be pronounced, as *c* in *perfect, verdict*. Milton uses both *perfet* and *perfect*. *Fault* was pronounced without the *l* sound right into the eighteenth century. Pope rhymes it with *ought, thought*. At the present day, *solder* and *sawder* are both heard. The word *ache* is very curious. Originally the noun *ache* and the verb *ake* differed in spelling and in pronunciation, like *speech* and *speak*. For both words *ache* we now have the spelling of the noun and the pronunciation of the verb. But the old distinction must be remembered for the sake of certain puns. Thus Thackeray says: "(She) never wanted medicine, certainly, for she never had an *h* in her life."

2. *Grammar*

The story of English grammar is a story of simplification, of dispensing with grammatical forms. Though a few inflections have survived, yet, compared with Old English, the present-day language has been justly designated one of lost inflections. It is analytic, not synthetic. One "good riddance" is the disappearance of grammatical gender from nouns, adjectives and most pronouns. Verb forms like *cometh*, regularly used in the Bible of 1611, were replaced by forms like *comes*. The simpler forms, at first colloquial, found their way into poetry for metrical or euphonic reasons. Thus, Sir Henry Wotton writes "That *serveth* not another's will", and, a little lower in the same poem, "Who *envies* none that chance doth raise". For a time the custom prevailed of writing *-eth* and saying *-s*; so that in 1643 among lists of words "alike in sound and unlike in writing", we find *rites, rights, wrights, righteth, writeth*, and "Mr *Knox* he *knocketh* many *knocks*". Steele protests against *pardons* and *absolves* for *pardoneth* and *absolveth*; and Addison regrets the multiplication of hissing sounds due to the use of *-s* for *-eth*. The later poets revived *-eth*, and, indeed, sometimes over-used it. The *-ed* of verbs was shortened in pronunciation to *'d*, though the spelling was unaltered. The poets used both forms (shortening *ed* into *t*, as in *washt*, when possible). The old texts of Shakespeare usually distinguish between the long and short forms; modern texts often do not. Thus we now find printed in some editions,

Hugged and embraced by the strumpet wind,

where the first word is "hugg'd" and the third "em-bra-ced". The second person singular of verbs and the pronouns *thou* and *thee* have

Shakespearean performance at the Globe Theatre, he would be puzzled by the differences in sound. Some words he would fail to understand, and the performance as a whole would strike him as the effort of a company drawn from some remote provincial region where "standard English" had failed to penetrate. We, for instance, give *week* and *weak* the same sound. Once they were different. An Irishman still tends to give the latter word its old pronunciation *wake*. Pope rhymes *days* with *ease*—just as the traditional Irishman

[illegible]

pronounce *point* as *pint*. Shakespeare requires *o-ce-an* as a trisyllable, and *passion* can be found still earlier spelt as *passyoun*. In older English the *-tion* termination must often be given its French value and not be reduced to the modern monosyllabic *-shon*.

In recent times one of the most noteworthy developments has been the loss of *r* as a trill. Once "the dog's letter", so called from its snarling sound, it is now lost medially before other consonants, and [illegible] where a vowel sound [illegible] hern speaker will pro- [illegible] he *r* merely determines [illegible] ot know how to pronounce *e*, but we know how to pronounce *er*, even though the *r* is not sounded. Phonetic changes do not necessarily make a language better or worse in its essential character of an instrument to reveal our thoughts; but they may spoil old rhymes, even though they admit new ones, and they may obscure other effects. When *chivalry*

[illegible]

syllabic stress may also tend to spoil the rhythm of old lines. Such words as *re-vén-ue*, *ob-dúr-ate*, and *con-tém-plate* were pronounced as written here till quite recent times.

Modern spelling is marked by two features; fixity and dissociation from the spoken language. Phonetic representations are few, and even these vary in pronunciation in different parts of the country. On the whole, we spell by the eye, not by the ear The ear helps little in a language where one sign may represent several sounds, as *ch* in *which*, *chemistry*, *machine*, and *i* in *pick*, *pike*, *pique*, or where one sound may be represented by a variety of signs, as *o* in *go*, *oath*, *dough*, *sow*, *sew*, and *k* in *call*, *keen*, *deck*, *chaos*, *quoit*. A fixed printed symbol is translated into different sounds in Glasgow, Galway, Wales, Bloomsbury, Peckham, Virginia, California and New York—a fact often forgotten by the advocates of scientific phonetic spelling. Fixed spelling has sometimes modified pronunciation, as in word

blished that the old *his* or *it* seemed strange. Shakespeare's "It had it head bit off by it young" is often thought a misprint. We have gained the indispensable *its*; we have not yet acquired a singular pronoun of the third person, common gender, and are reduced to saying, with pedantic accuracy, "*each* did *his or her* best", or with cheerful inaccuracy, "*Each* did *their* best". Careful writers endeavour to find safety in the plural.

The auxiliaries *shall* and *will* established their present use during the seventeenth century, but only in England. To this day Scotsmen and Irishmen find it difficult to follow the usage that seems instinctive to Englishmen. The uses of *do* as an auxiliary have settled down. In the seventeenth century *write* and *do write, wrote* and *did write* were used without grammatical difference, as in the text "*Rejoice* with them that *do rejoice* and *weep* with them that *weep*". This unemphatic *do* became a poetic fashion and its indiscriminate use led to the making of many weak lines. The Bible of 1611 uses *doth* and *doeth* without any distinction. The nineteenth century made *doest*, *doeth*, the verb of full meaning, *dost*, *doth*, the auxiliary. The verb *do* is now the common auxiliary in negative and interrogative forms, and it is used idiomatically in constructions like "Swallows never build here now". "Yes they *do*."

A noticeable feature of the English verb is its wealth of tenses, whereby precise and accurate expression is given to many shades of meaning. Forms like *I am writing* existed long ago; but it was well into the seventeenth century before the current distinction arose between *I am writing*, the actual present, and *I write*, the present of general application or of habit. The corresponding passive forms in *-ing* were much later in origin than the active, and at first met with fierce opposition. Constructions like "The house is being built" and "Rabbits were being shot in the field" have not been traced further back than the last decade of the eighteenth century. The adaptability of the English passive may be seen in the fact that, not content with a construction like "A book was given him", the language has devised "He was given a book".

3. *Vocabulary*

During the last three centuries, the vocabulary of English has displayed the characteristic marks of a living tongue—words have become obsolete, words have altered in meaning, words have been created. In addition, many words have been borrowed, and the borrowing has been world-wide. To display the changes by examples would need the space of a small dictionary. Shakespeare uses many beautiful and expressive words that we have lost. He also uses words like *let* (hinder), *secure* (unwatchful), *censure* (judgment), *conceit* (imagination), which we keep, with a different meaning.

gradually vanished from normal language, and though we have gained in simplicity, we have lost the advantages of the Continental second person singular. Subjunctive forms have almost entirely vanished, and with them part of the imperative. We no longer say, "Break we our watch up". Gone, too, is the so-called "ethical dative", familiar in Shakespeare, as in "Knock me at this gate and rap me [illegible] *dogs'* [illegible] dog's lively", is more defensible.

A tendency towards condensation has robbed us (except in poetry) of the emphasis conferred by double negatives and double comparatives. Condensation has also allowed a much larger use of attributive nouns than the old grammarians would have liked. We are quite used to *Empire products* and *press notices*, and we can even speak without ambiguity of a *loose leaf note book manufacturer*. Hyphens sometimes give a sense of unity to compound epithets as in *the condition-of-England question*. These uses exhibit one aspect of the freedom with which in English any part of speech can be used as any other part of speech. We not only have a *garage* for cars, but we *garage* the cars in it. We make a room *tidy* or we *tidy* a room. We not only *sit down*, but, colloquially, we have *a sit down*.

Oddly enough, there is no marked tendency for strong verbs to become weak. We now generally say *crowed* instead of *crew*, and we always say *climbed* instead of *clomb*; but on the other hand we say *dug*, when Shakespeare, Milton, and the Bible never say anything but *digged*. Within the strong conjugation, numerous changes have been made. In the sixteenth and the seventeenth century, there was a general movement towards supplanting the form of the perfect participle by the form of the past indicative. Shakespeare used *mistook* for *mistaken*, *drove* for *driven*, *wrote* for *written*. In Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, Nahum Tate the librettist has the precious couplet, "Our plot has took, The Queen's forsook." In present-day English the original participles have, as a rule, been restored.

We have secured regularity in the use of pronouns, often wildly irregular in Elizabethan English. *Who*, *which*, and *that*, as relatives, have now fairly clear differences, and we distinguish clearly between nominative and accusative, except in such admitted colloquialisms as *Who is that for?* and *It's me*. The most valuable addition to the language is the word *its*. This form does not occur at all in the Bible of 1611; it does not occur in plays by Shakespeare printed in his lifetime; it occurs very seldom in Milton. At first a colloquialism, it appeared in print (as far as we know) for the first time in Florio's *Worlde of Wordes* (1598); but by 1660 it was so well esta-

ally seen in the signification of some foreign borrowings. des *man* and *manly*, we have *human* and *humane*; besides *king* and *ly*, we have *royal* and *regal*; in addition to *length* we have *longi-e*; in addition to *height*, we have *altitude*. Fanatics who want to ct "foreign" words in favour of something they suppose to be pure English" are complicators, not simplifiers, of the language. ure English is not plain English. A "farspeaker" is not a simpler ning than a "telephone"—which at least lends itself to abbreviation.

At all periods there has been opposition between the plain style and the adorned style. Each has its merits and its defects. The plain style tends to become bare and inexpressive, the adorned style tends to become gaudy and unintelligible. Some of the Elizabethans deliberately endeavoured to beautify prose. In the first half of the seventeenth century we meet with various devices to enrich literary style, exemplified in verse by the "conceits" of Donne, Crashaw and other metaphysical poets, and in prose by the antitheses and tropes of Bacon, the quaintness of Burton and Fuller, and the ornate splendour of Taylor, Milton and Browne. The Royal Society appointed a committee to improve the language; but nothing was done. What a committee or an academy could not do was done by a great writer, Dryden, who showed how great prose and great poetry could be written in a conversational manner. The Royal Society, anticipating Wordsworth, preferred "the language of artisans, countrymen and merchants before that of wits"; but L'Estrange and the mob of pamphleteers showed the depths to which that kind of "native easiness" could descend. Swift, Steele and Addison sought to improve the language by dignifying the plain style. Addison desiderated "something like an Academy, that by the best authorities and rules drawn from the analogy of languages shall settle all controversies between grammar and idiom". Swift, more mistakenly, in his *Proposal for correcting, improving and ascertaining the English Tongue* (1712) believed there should be some method of "*ascertaining* and *fixing* our language for ever". Johnson, in the preface to his *Dictionary*, acknowledged with his usual manly sense that language was somethin not to be fixed by any lexicographer or academy, but urged the dut of individual responsibility in maintaining a high standard.

One remarkable recent experiment should not be passed witho notice, the invention by C. K. Ogden of what is called "Ba English", as a kind of universal language which would defeat grossly illiterate "pidgin English" and the grotesquely lite "babu English" of the foreigner, and especially of the re foreigner. Basic English reduces the number of essential wor 850, yet keeps to normal English constructions. It begins at with a clear foundation in meaning. In idiomatic English the fo tion in meaning is obscure. Basic English, in short, is a sys

universal language only the future can prove; but for us the mere possibility of its existence is a sign of the immense vitality possessed by our rich and chaotic speech.

of pedantry, preciousness and provincialism the final answer is the

the seas.

CHAPTER XV

LATE-VICTORIAN AND POST-VICTORIAN LITERATURE

I. THE EIGHTEEN-NINETIES AND AFTER

In any period or generation of literary activity the period or generation least known and most derided is that which has lately passed away. The course of opinion can be illustrated simply from the kindred world of female fashion. The crinoline, a universal jest in the Eighteen-eighties was found charming fifty years later; but the "bustle" of the Eighties has not returned to permanent favour. Forms of grace, however execrated as obsolete banalities, will have their resurrection; oddities will always be local and transient. Recent criticism has been so heavily darkened by a cloud of superstition about late-Victorian and post-Victorian times that a brief consideration of some facts may help to clear the air.

Only those who were adult observers of life in the last dozen years of the nineteenth century can know the thrill and exaltation of that time. This country had something then that it has never had since: it had Security. Science had shaken the foundations of biblical theology, but the foundations of religion stood fast; and those who had abandoned the traditional creeds had not abandoned their belief in the permanence of moral order in the world. Princes and states respected treaties and the plighted word. That nation should rise against nation and fling men in millions to sheer wanton destruction was beyond belief. What cause was there for war? The Dynasties were secure on their thrones. Great Britain was indisputably the first of nations and her Navy kept ceaseless watch on the Seven Seas. The Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1897 seemed such a natural demonstration of lasting security that the *Recessional* of Kipling, written as an epilogue to the pomps and glories of the celebration, appeared t[...] sound a note of warning almost untimely in its seriousness. Thi[...] surely, was the hour of triumph, not of supplication. But alrea[...] there was a cloud in the summer sky. The great Dock Strike of 18[...] had changed for ever the relations between employers and employ[...] and Labour was slowly organizing for victory. Far away in So[...] Africa affairs were going ill. The new British South Africa Comp[...] had come into conflict with the native tribes, and the British c[...] mercial interests in the subterranean wealth of the Transvaal Rep[...] were at strife with the patriarchal governance of the Boer r[...] There was injustice, there was acute discontent, and at last the[...]

open conflict. At the end of 1895 came the ignominious Jameson Raid; in 1899, two years after the Jubilee, war was declared against the Boers. Of that long struggle, so lightly entered upon, the historian must find it difficult to say whether the disasters or the triumphs were more lamentable. The War left England without a friend in the world. To the protested purity of our intentions the universal retort was brief and cynical—"Gold and Diamonds". Moreover, the might of Britain, impressively exhibited at the Jubilee, had proved to be almost ridiculously vulnerable, and the traditional calm of the English descended without shame to the hysteria of "mafficking".

In the first month of the new century and before the War had ended, Queen Victoria died, and a great chapter in the national history came to a close on a note of doubt. Our sense of security had been shaken. Edward VII became king in 1901, and by his personal charm helped to [illegible] country and France [illegible] no understanding [illegible] end in 1902; but the bitterness of feeling did not cease with the laying down of arms. Into the national consciousness there had come a sense of distrust, which Joseph Chamberlain's "Tariff Reform" Policy, following the War, did little to remove. Some of the "post-War" sense of loss and frustration, usually dated from 1918, can be put back to the close of the South African War. People were shocked by the apparent surrender of the Government to the powers of the Stock Market and attributed corrupt motives to innocent public figures. At the General Election of 1906 the Liberals drove the Unionists from power and gained their last spectacular triumph. The new century was to demand a policy more potent than the mild individualism of the Liberals could offer. A strong impetus was given to the attack of Socialism upon Capitalism, and a Utopian ideal of society was persuasively presented by notable writers. On the other side, the danger through which the country had passed and the rallying of distant dominions to its defence appeared to give substance to the old dream of colonial federation, and an Imperialist ideal was picturesquely presented by other notable writers. Neither the Utopian nor the Imperialist ideal was created by the South African [illegible]

But literature, in the narrowest sense, had stood aloof from all causes other than artistic. The writers of the Nineties were much concerned with "style", and the "right word", and the "authentic note"—with rhythm, and significance, and values. Walter Pater died in 1894, and admirers of the mortuary perfection of *Marius* awaited

with melancholy interest the unpublished fragments of the master. Stevenson, too, died in 1894, and the volumes of the new collected, limited edition of his works were soon at a premium. In the same year appeared the first number of a quarterly periodical called *The Yellow Book*, with its tone set by the decadent decorations of Aubrey Beardsley. Two years later *The Savoy* followed, and carried contempt for bourgeois ideals even further. But it is an easy mistake to suppose that the literature of the last Victorian decade was a literature of decadence, cultivated by the apostles of art for art's sake upon more than a little absinthe. Ernest Dowson was a poet of the Nineties; but so was Rudyard Kipling. *The Picture of Dorian Gray* was a novel of the Nineties; but so was *The Time Machine*. Hubert Crackanthorpe was an essayist of the Nineties; but so was George Bernard Shaw—the first article in the first number of *The Savoy* itself being from the pen of the editor of *Fabian Essays*. The whole period was marked by intensely varied literary activity. As we have seen, the women novelists were vigorously attacking male prerogative. The theatre was aware of Ibsen knocking at the door. Translations of Tolstoy, Turgenev and Dostoevsky, among the older Continental writers, and of Maeterlinck, Nietzsche and D'Annunzio, among the later, were seriously read. In tales, in poems and in essays new themes and new styles were apparent. Kipling astonished the public with the outside of India and the inside of the barrack-room; Wells brought a menacing science to assail the comfort of suburban villas with a threat of destruction from the air; Shaw not only derided bourgeois ideals of art in the columns of respectable weeklies, but attacked bourgeois economic security with a gay Voltairean wit more disquieting than the muttered threats of thick-voiced Labour orators at the corners of sordid streets. The view, often presented, of the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth as a period of florid opulence luxuriating in traditionalism till awakened to realities by the rude shock of war is ludicrously unlike the facts. As we shall see, in discussing individual writers, the note of social unrest after the South African War was almost menacingly insistent. This was the period when Shaw became the prophet of the young men and even more specially of the young women. The novels and Utopian sketches of Wells held out hopes of a world more rationally based and more righteously ruled than the world they criticized. The shape of things to come was already foreshadowed. The Intellectuals of that period were singularly like the Intellectuals of to-day. Imperialism, Socialism and Aestheticism under those names are not now fashionable, but they have changed their names without changing their natures. Most of the accepted literary dictators of the Twenties and Thirties might have walked straight out of the Nineties, and they enjoyed the freedom won for them by their predecessors.

The decadents and detrimentals of the Nineties, with all their follies and excesses, made a clear distinction between Art and Produce. They were inspired, not by the alleged profundities of psychology, but by the frank, unconceding art of the new French painters and poets. That literature was a fine art, that it was a necessity of civilized life, that it was to be pursued as an art without fear and without shame, that its themes could be found in any aspects or circumstances of life, that those themes should be presented with artistic veracity, without any reference to the tastes, desires and prejudices of the bourgeois, that literature, as an art, had no concern with the inculcation of ideas currently accepted as moral, that "academic" art was invariably "produce" and not art at all, that the true response to art could be found in the select few at one end, and in the unsophisticated, ingenuous frequenters of the old music-halls at the other, and scarcely at all in the solidly respectable bourgeois patrons of Mudie's and the Royal Academy—these were among the faithfully accepted *credenda* of the Nineties Further, the writers of that day won a decisive victory over the censorship of the libraries. Novels were then published in three volumes at thirty-one shillings and sixpence. No novel likely to be suspected by Mudie's, Smith's

issued translations of Tolstoy, Dostoevsky and other foreign writers, and was literally persecuted to death by a body of Christian men and women for the abominable crime of publishing translations of Zola—almost at the moment when Zola himself was being fêted in England as a master of literature. The more advanced writers of the Nineties found successors to Vizetelly in publishers like Elkin Mathews, John Lane and William Heinemann, who issued various series of experimental novels at a price that encouraged buying rather than borrowing; and presently the three-volume library novel at a guinea-and-a-half disappeared, and was replaced by the one-volume novel at six shillings—actually four-and-six at discount prices. This

While the younger adventurers at the end of the [illegible] were beginning to hear the call of literature, the last of the Victorian giants were passing away. Matthew Arnold died in 1888, Browning in 1889, Newman in 1890, Tennyson in 1892. Ruskin survived, with clouded faculties, till 1900. But Meredith, born in 1828, was able to

publish, as late as 1895, a vigorous invention like *The Amazing Marriage*, and Hardy, born in 1840, not only astonished the last Victorian decade with *Tess*, but gave the Edwardian period its greatest literary creation in *The Dynasts*. Some of those who were writing at the close of the century survived the publication of *The Cambridge History of English Literature* and so were not included in its survey. Of these a few have been noticed in appropriate pages of preceding chapters. Hardy, for instance, who divided with Meredith the suffrages of serious novel-readers in the later years of the century, naturally belongs to the chapter that would have considered him had not the accident of longevity prevented his admission. But there are some typical figures, who, for a variety of reasons, cannot be assigned to any of the existing chapters, and must now be briefly discussed in order of seniority. The most popular form of modern literature being the novel, those writers whose main production took the form of fiction naturally claim priority of notice.

II. FICTION

The most considerable of late-Victorian novelists, Henry James (1843–1916), barely qualifies technically for admission to these pages, as he did not become a British subject till a few months before his death. But though born in the state of New York and educated almost everywhere in artistic Europe, he was by instinct an Englishman. To call him a detached Englishman would be misleading, for detachment is the note of all his work. He was detached from life itself, and wrote as a curious and interested spectator of the human comedy in which he could play no part. The story of a childhood and youth unusually fortunate in opportunity of social and artistic experience is told in the fascinating [illegible] sketches *A Small Boy and Others* (1913), *Notes of* [illegible] (1914) and *The Middle Years* (1917)—the last unfinished. Artistic and intellectual activity was the normal condition of existence in the remarkable family to which he belonged, and Henry James took easily to writing and had no difficulty about publication. There was much "miscellaneous" composition. His earliest volume, *A Passionate Pilgrim* (1875), contains stories like *The Madonna of the Future* and *Madame de Mauves* that retained the respect of his latest readers. In 1876 came his first long novel, *Roderick Hudson*, the main theme of which, the mental adventures of an American in Europe, was to be in varied forms a constant concern of James's art. The story is clumsily contrived, but full of matter. In the ensuing forty years of a prolific literary life, volume followed volume so rapidly that even a bare citation of their titles would occupy disproportionate space. A full condensed bibliography is given in Vol. XIII of the original *Cambridge*

and *The Aspern Papers* (1888), both exhibiting characteristic excellences, and *The Princess Casamassima* (1886), which, taking over the chief female character from *Roderick Hudson*, and plunging for a time into a region of poverty, crime and shabby "revolutionism", conveys a disconcerting sense of not being the novel its author really meant to write. This second period closes with *The Tragic Muse* (1890), still a little "lost" in argument, but showing an extraordinarily sensitive understanding of what the art of acting means. The sense of failure was intensified later by the unsuccessful London production, early in 1895, of his play *Guy Domville*.

The third and more assured period of James's work may be dated from 1895, when the volume called *Terminations* appeared, containing *The Coxon Fund*, a fantastic sketch with Coleridge as the model, and *The Altar of the Dead*, an exquisite story of the kind that only Henry James could write. The intense scrutiny of character, exalted, mean, shabby, infatuated, was to be the occupation of his remaining years. *The Spoils of Poynton* (1896) and *What Maisie Knew* (1897) show his curiously blended psychological and pictorial manner applied to the tragi-comedy of life. *The Two Magics* (1898) includes *The Turn of the Screw*, a terrifying ghost-story in which everything convinces—except almost everything that matters. *The Wings of the Dove* (1902) and *The Ambassadors* (1903), the one a tragedy, the other a comedy, examine with exquisite discernment details that seem almost trifling. Many stories, long and short, are necessarily left here without mention. James's last important work in fiction, *The Golden Bowl* (1904), is in a sense crucial, for those who can read it can read everything he wrote. It is a fascinatingly elaborate fantasia upon an intrinsically worthless theme. The treatment is everything, the subject nothing; and the book, sure of esteem by the connoisseurs of technique, is sure of disdain by those who want, crudely, results. Among later miscellaneous works the autobiographies have already been mentioned. *Notes on Novelists* (1914) attracts less for the value of its actual estimates, some of them over-generous, than for its revelations of the author's own approach to fiction—revelations more extensively manifested in the prefaces to the volumes of the collected edition of his tales. Henry James, like Jane Austen, is unique. Though (unlike her) he had travelled much in many lands, he wrote from a vital experience almost as limited. Of what happened "outside" in the noisy contending world he cared as little as Jane Austen had cared, but of what he knew he wrote with an artistic determination as resolute as hers. Perhaps Henry James's supreme merit is this, that no other novelist has ever equalled him in the power of revealing what is really going on in the minds and souls of characters, while describing, apparently, with great exactness, no more than is outwardly going on. No writer who accomplishes that doubly difficult

feat of art can ever be easy reading. Henry James's devotion to the [illegible]

[illegible] tried to kill with it. That his art was over-civilized and valetudinarian can hardly be denied; but it exhibits no symptom of morbidity. His best prose stands as a noble rebuke to literary loudness, crudeness, violence and coarseness; and though no character invented by him has been incorporated in the national mythology, he himself has [illegible]

[illegible] ment and a breeder of race-horses; he was educated, after the only fashion that suited him, in the cafés and studios of Paris; and, apart from a temporary flight to Ireland, he was for over forty years a leading figure in the literary life of London. He had become independent at the age of eighteen, and, having spent some time as a [illegible]

[illegible] pen and not the brush was his destined instrument when he was, in the academic sense, scarcely literate. He had read some of the [illegible] English verse (*Flowers of Passion,* [illegible] he had dabbled in French; but he [illegible]

[illegible] sometimes as insecure as those of an ambitious schoolboy. But he learned quickly. Everything was in his favour. He was an odd

compound of ingenuousness and shrewdness. He had been impressed by the French realists, but he had watched Zola and the Goncourts laboriously following blind alleys, and he profited both by their successes and by their failures. His mind, almost naively responsive to certain forms of art, was undeluded by academic pretence, and he had gathered an unusual store of experience. At no time was he unwilling to shock the bourgeois when he felt he was artistically in the right.

His first novel, *A Modern Lover* (1883), though clumsy and flashy, related with the kind of frankness unusual at the time the story of a painter's sexual life in London and in Paris. He re-wrote the book later as *Lewis Seymour and Some Women* (1917), but the earlier state is more revealing because of its faults. Though in the usual three-volume form, the book was a challenge to the censorship of the libraries. *A Mummer's Wife* (1885) in one volume, more important as a story and much more successful as a piece of craftsmanship, is the first English "realistic" novel in the French sense, and gives to sordid place as well as to sordid person the appropriate values in the artistic effect. George Moore's Hanley in *A Mummer's Wife* is the acknowledged begetter of Arnold Bennett's "Five Towns". *A Drama in Muslin* (1886) applied the realistic method to Irish life and the search of spinsterhood for marriage. *A Mere Accident* (1887), *Spring Days* (1888), *Mike Fletcher* (1889) and *Vain Fortune* (1890) call for nothing but bare record. They are just fiction of the Eighties, commonplace and even common. In 1888 came *The Confessions of a Young Man*, the first of the autobiographical fantasias which were to be so specially releasing to his genius that, like Rousseau, he may live chiefly as the exploiter of himself, an odd fate for the artist who sought passionately for "objectivity". From his journalistic work he made two collections, *Impressions and Opinions* (1891) and *Modern Painting* (1893), both still interesting as a body of criticism and as a revelation of the author's prentice-stage in the art of writing. In them he first made Verlaine and Rimbaud known to English readers, and gave one of the earliest reasoned criticisms of Whistler. Both books contain some very faulty writing, but both contain genuine critical utterance. To compare *Impressions and Opinions* by George Moore with the contemporary *Views and Reviews* by W. E. Henley is instructive—the first inept and fumbling in style, yet convincing in its statement of artistic faith, the other stylish, aggressive and pontifical in manner, yet almost entirely empty of matter. Moore had attempted (in collaboration) the dramatic form in an early play about Luther (1879). In 1893 *The Strike at Arlingford* was produced by The Independent Theatre. Neither that nor such later plays as *The Coming of Gabrielle* (1920) and *The Passing of the Essenes* (1930) justified Moore's claim to be taken seriously as a dramatist. The year

[illegible]

memorable the figure of the brave, simple, illiterate kitchen-maid whose fight for life as an unmarried mother is its theme. The "flashiness" of the earlier books has utterly disappeared. Esther is as "pure" a woman as Tess, and she is a victor, not a victim. *Esther Waters* brought to a climax the warfare—openly declared in *Literature at Nurse or Circulating Morals* (1885)—between Moore and

[illegible]

time was that forty years later Mudie's itself would collapse and pass ignominiously out of existence. *A Communication to My Friends*

[illegible]

recognizable contemporary figures. As a novel *Evelyn Innes* (with its continuation) does not rank very high—there is some return to the flashy manner—but it gives a faithful sketch of certain current artistic enthusiasms—Wagner, the old polyphonic Catholic music, the work of Arnold Dolmetsch, and the dramatic ideals of Yeats.

At this time Moore developed strong antipathy to England on account of the Boer War and felt a call to return to Ireland. Of his participation in the Irish revival we have already spoken One effect

[illegible]

story called *The Lake* (1905), namely, his abandonment of the novelistic manner of *Esther Waters* and *Evelyn Innes* for the pure narrative style of which *Marius the Epicurean* was to him the great exemplar. This was something more than an alteration of method: it was a sign that his first creative vigour was exhausted. More and [illegible] The semi- [illegible] rains many exquisite effects in the [illegible] a delicately ingenuous manner applied to delicately malicious matter is the

islands of the Far East provided the fund of matter upon which the future novelist was to draw most richly. Conrad's nature was intensely artistic. He perceived finely, and instinctively fashioned his impressions into shapes and scenes. The mysterious East, perfumed like a flower, never failed to inspire him. Perhaps the instinct for adventure at sea was first aroused by his father's version of Hugo's *Les Travailleurs de la Mer*. Certainly his first contact with the sea was made in France; for between 1874 and 1878 he was a French sailor in and around Marseilles, and amassed a store of Mediterranean impressions which served him well in later books. In 1877 he joined an English ship, first touching English soil at Lowestoft in 1878, and began to learn the language from men in the North Sea coasting service. From that time English became his professional tongue; but to the end he looked and spoke like a foreigner. Encouraged by John Galsworthy, who happened to be a passenger on a ship of which Conrad was one of the officers, he began to write seriously in 1889; but his first book, *Almayer's Folly, A Story of an Eastern River*, did not appear till 1895. He was at once recognized as a new and original force in fiction, and though he was unaccountably long in gaining popularity and prosperity, he never at any time failed to find a responsive and admiring public. *An Outcast of the Islands* (1896), a further instalment of the same story, deepened the impression he had made. *The Nigger of the Narcissus* (1898) and *Tales of Unrest* (1898) showed that the writer was gaining firmer command of his medium. Conrad appeared established as a writer who had placed the Malayan seas and islands on the map of literature and depicted the exotic life of nature and man in the tropics with brilliant colour and glowing atmosphere. *Lord Jim* (1900) showed the first clear advance in creative power, for it was, in essence, a tragedy of character. The collections of stories, *Youth* (1902) and *Typhoon* (1903), firmly established both his reputation and his peculiar method. There are no finer "long-short" tales of their kind than *Youth, Heart of Darkness* and *Typhoon*, even in Conrad's own work; and for them he adopted the method of oblique narration, the tale within the tale, the "yarn" told at length and leisure by "Marlow", an imaginative projection of the author himself, who was thus enabled to offer reflections, reminiscences, interpretations and general exposition, with complete command of all values in the scene, and without any suggestion of the stiffness, curtness and remote objectivity produced by either direct narration or impersonal record. This method of the "long yarn" had been used, at far too great length, by Stevenson in *The Wrecker*. Conrad, with a finer constructive instinct, knew just how much could be told in that way. The method is implied rather than employed in some of Henry James's stories; but James left his interpreting observer vague and undefined. Conrad made narrator

and narrative not merely complementary but mutually necessary. The stories are thus "subjectively" told. *Romance* (1903), written in collaboration with Ford Madox Hueffer, had less artistic success; but *Nostromo (1904), a tale of South American silver mines,* restored a conviction of its author's power, though in its great length the fascinating "instantness" of the shorter stories was naturally wanting; and so it missed popularity. *The Secret Agent* (1907), the melodramatic tales called *A Set of Six* (1908), *Under Western Eyes* (1911) and another collection called *Twixt Sea and Land* (1912) showed no advance in his art, but the first and third were new in matter, as they drew upon Russian memories. Conrad's best book of this period is not a story, but a collection, part essay, part reminiscence and part commentary, called *The Mirror of the Sea* (1906); and with it may be [illegible] to pure fiction in *Chance* (1914) [illegible] heroine, of Jamesian subtlety de- [illegible] Oddly enough this proved a great popular success. *Victory* (1915) returned to the Eastern islands and *Within the Tides* (1915) offered more short stories. *The Shadow Line,* [illegible]

Elba. *Tales of Hearsay* (1925) was a posthumous volume of stories. *Notes on Life and Letters* (1921) and *Notes on My Books* (1921) contain, like his fairly copious correspondence, matters of much critical interest. That Conrad should praise Henry James and Turgenev was to be expected; the tribute to Marryat and Fenimore Cooper, less foreseen, is a salute to maritime adventurers. Conrad was in every respect a writer of strong artistic integrity and had thought deeply about his work; but happily he raises few critical problems. That he [illegible]

(which is easy to assume) but with masterly economy (which is much harder to attain). His greatest scenes succeed by their daring simplicity. He was n [illegible]

exotic locality. [illegible]

longer novels [illegible]

influences behind human action, his real strength is most firmly displayed in the tales wherein the seas, broad or narrow, play a dominant part. He resented being labelled as a writer of sea-tales, and claimed to be broadly a writer, with the sea as a mere fraction of

matter. But no arbitrary restriction in the range of his art intended. The public instinct, usually sound, recognized the ference between a high level of excellence and a unique achievement. As a writer of psychological romance Conrad has powerful competitors; as a writer of tales presenting man in some phase of conflict with the elements he is unique. *Chance* may long be admired; *Youth* will always be loved.

Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936), another writer with "far-flung" matter, was younger than Conrad in years but older and more precocious in literary practice. Born in Bombay, he was, like Henry James, cradled in culture, for his father, John Lockwood Kipling, curator of the Lahore Museum, had interests in several arts and published in 1891 the delightful *Man and Beast in India*. Rudyard Kipling's first poetical lispings appeared as *Schoolboy Lyrics* (1881) and *Echoes, by Two Writers* (1884)—the latter containing thirty-nine poems (mostly parodies) of which seven were by his sister Beatrice. Certain of his stories, e.g., *Wee Willie Winkie* and the beginning of *The Light that Failed*, indicate an unhappy childhood spent with unsympathetic relatives in England. Then followed his schooldays at the United Services College, Westward Ho, Devonshire. In 188 he returned to India, and began writing for the papers. Maturity came early to him, and he soon reached a point beyond which he never grew. *Quartette*, the Christmas Annual (1885) of *The Civil and Military Gazette*, written by the father, mother and two children, contained two of Rudyard's existing tales, as well as other pieces in prose and verse not reprinted; and the official skits called *Departmental Ditties* (1886) showed the first clear symptoms of a characteristic manner in verse. Kipling was now, in a sense, quite "set", and in quick succession came gatherings of stories already printed, beginning with *Plain Tales from the Hills* (1888), which first introduced the celebrated "soldiers three" to the public, and continuing with six slim volumes in Wheeler's Indian Railway Library—*Soldiers Three* (1888), *The Story of the Gadsbys* (1888), *In Black and White* (1888) *Under the Deodars* (1888), *The Phantom Rickshaw* (1888) and *We Willie Winkie* (1888). In 1890 followed *The City of Dreadful Nig* and *The Courting of Dinah Shadd*, and in 1891 *American Notes*, *T Smith Administration* and *Letters of Marque*, some of which w suppressed and re-issued later. These early books achieved immedi popularity in India and became almost as quickly known in Engla Their evocation of distant place, their full-blooded matter and pronounced confidence of manner appealed to readers who weary alike of current library fiction, precious literary affecta and imitations of French realism. The acrid stories of m flirtations among the "Sahibs" and the humorous stories of adventures among the "Tommies" were equally popular, a

style, which combined vividness of descriptive journalism with terseness of cynical epigram ... the general reader and the ... at once the most eagerly ... "modern" of the moderns. He had unquestionably succeeded with the short story. Could he build on a larger scale? *The Light that Failed* (with a magazine "happy ending" in 1890 and a more appropriate tragic ending as a volume in 1891) evaded rather than answered the question. Kipling's staccato manner, very taking in the ... strain upon both writer and re... "stuff" did not ring quite tr... a short story, or by putting ... *Naulahka* (1892), a long tale ... association with Wolcot Balestier, was an obvious failure. *Life's Handicap* (1891) and *Many Inventions* (1893) triumphantly resumed the short story—*In the Rukh* ...

... it is the india of animal life, humanized in the manner of the fabulists, but clearly charactered and imaginatively interpreted, with Mowgli, the wolf-child, as the focus of attention Some of Kipling's animals are more memorable than his human beings. In 1896 appeared *The Seven Seas*, his best volume of verse, and in 1897 *Captains Courageous*, a tale of the Grand Banks, in which the setting is greater than the event. The short story was effectively resumed in *The Day's Work* (1898) At Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1897 Kipling had spoken nobly in the verses of *Recessional*; at the outbreak of the Boer War in 1899 he spoke ignobly in the verses of *The Absent-minded Beggar*. *Stalky and Co*. (1899), an unpleasant book about unpleasant boys in an unpleasant school, was confidently offered for admiration ...

... of verse, *The Five Nations*, appeared in 1903, and another volume of short stories, *Traffics and Discoveries*, in 1904. *They* in the latter volume struck a new and moving note; but the author appeared, in the main, to be repeating old successes. Once more, however, his multivariety was demonstrated when *Puck of Pook's Hill* appeared in 1906 with a continuation, *Rewards and Fairies*, in 1910. Here was a new mythological

interpretation of England itself in stories for the young with delightful illustrative verses. This was the last of Kipling's many inventions; for the stories, sketches and poems in *Actions and Reactions* (1909), *A Diversity of Creatures* (1917), *The Years Between* (1919), *Debits and Credits* (1926) and *Limits and Renewals* (1932) show a lowered standard of performance. *Thy Servant a Dog* (1930) might be taken for a cruel caricature of Kipling at his worst perpetrated by his dearest foe. His numerous writings on the War together with many miscellaneous pamphlets, addresses and occasional pieces must be left unmentioned here. They do not affect his standing in the history of English literature.

The authors we have already discussed in this chapter sometimes wrote below themselves, but they were extraordinarily sensitive and self-critical. Kipling is a puzzling case, because, in spite of his astonishing efficiency, he was extraordinarily insensitive and uncritical. To him his worst was like his best. He continued to reprint pieces that a finer nature would have endeavoured to suppress, especially those that give voice to the tough politics favoured by his least literate admirers. Kipling was not an exceptional person who made politics the matter of literature; he was a popular writer who held strong political views. Now the political views of an author are no more valuable than the political views of a clerk. A belief that *South Africa* and *Ulster* are fine poems because of their imperial sentiment is merely a form of the delusion that *A Lost Chord* and *The Better Land* are fine poems because of their pietistic sentiment. Kipling's sincere demand for a national "askēsis" (to use Pater's favourite Greek word), expressed in various poems, was triumphantly answered by a million nameless fighters in the recent wars. No really constructive creed can be drawn from his accusations and assertions. His instincts were feudal. His idea of "loyalty" was blind obedience to the "Sahib's Law". For "Democracy" and "the People" his ultimate remedy is "Order the guns and kill". These views are very agreeable to some persons; but they do not raise the author's standing in literature. Kipling's best service to the Empire was rendered, not by his hymns of hate and admonition, but by his creative pictures of the British people at their work in all the regions of the world. As a politician he encouraged the crudest animosities; as an artist he brought the far-flung family of Britons to a sense of their common heritage and obligation. Kipling was an effective compound of journalistic and creative energy. To condemn him for his journalism is as stupid as to overpraise him for it. He is unquestionably a great story-teller. A tale by Kipling, like a tale by Conrad or James, bears this convincing hall-mark of genius, that no one else could have written it. His creative energy and invention are tremendous. Too often the journalist in him resorted

to a cocksure display of technicalities; but at his best he shows true artistic economy. Cleverness was his besetting sin. He was born clever and never outgrew the love of display. "There's only wan fault about you, little man (says one of his own characters), an' that's thinkin' you know all there is in the world, an' a little more." The instinctively drawn soldier Mulvaney, in spite of his impossible dialect and his stage Irishry, is as vital as the elaborately clever and voluble sailor Pyecroft is lifeless and irritating. *My Lord the Elephant* is a masterpiece of *bravura* and *They* a masterpiece of impalpable delic[illegible] *The* [illegible] by sh[illegible] *that Found Herself* and *·007* give us the prose-poetry of modern inventions. Kipling intimates his sense of "something afar", not merely in such evocations as *Wireless* and *The Finest Story in the World*, but in many facets of other tales—*The Brushwood Boy* and *They* are outstanding examples. The animal creations of *The Jungle Books* achieve a genuine life of their own; and *Puck of Pook's Hill* gives an almost uncanny sense of our long continuing. To Kipling, as to Shakespeare, England is "not any common Earth"; and for his much love much will be forgiven him. Admitting his open and [illegible]-gloriousness, we [illegible] of narrative that [illegible] who try to belittle [illegible] writer since his [illegible]ergy, authority, [illegible] genius.

Kipling was the most memorable advocate of the Imperialist ideal. The Utopian ideal found its strongest advocate in Herbert George Wells (1866–1946), who embodies the persistent fallacy that Science, *which has done so much for man, can be made to do everything.* Instinctively, as a creative artist, Wells admits the power of the irrational in man; constructively, as a man of science, he is irritated by the irrational, and tries to reduce life to mathematical certitude. He came into literature from shop-keeping, teaching and science—he had studied biology with Huxley—and his earliest volumes were [illegible] arrival, however, was announced by *The Time Machine* (1895), a short tale of sixteen chapters, which showed not only the ability to make science the matter of a story, but the rare gift of scientific imagination. This small book, written in fine quiet prose and made more terrible by its avoidance of "sensationalism", is a shining

ple of the artistic use of ideas. The novelist transfigures a tific idea into an artistic creation; he does not employ fiction to pagate an idea. The difference is vital; and the time came when lls lapsed from the first, the higher, level, to the second, and ver. This lapse, both in him and in some of his contemporary eachers, was partly deliberate, through the curiously persistent elusion that science is greater than art, and partly unavoidable, hrough the fact that, with age, invention fails and is replaced by ntellectual effort. Ideas will come when creative impulse has ceased. There was no lack of creative impulse in the young Wells. After *The Time Machine* came *The Wonderful Visit* (1895), a delicately fantastic criticism of life, with an angel as the critical visitant. *The Island of Dr Moreau* (1896), a ghastly scientific romance of creatures whose reflexes had been conditioned by a super-vivisectionist appeared in the same year as *The Wheels of Chance*, the first of Wells' delightful human comedies, with a touch of autobiography in the draper's-shop scenes. This was specially the age of the bicycle, before the imminent automobile made it a mere nuisance of the roads, and bicycles are, in a sense, the hero, the heroine and the villain of *The Wheels of Chance*. In 1895 appeared *The Stolen Bacillus*, first of several collections of short stories, a form of literary art in which Wells is seen at his best. *The Invisible Man* (1897) is a horribly logical tale of bodily invisibility in a bruising, assaulting world. Much more impressive was *The War of the Worlds* (1898) in which the Wellsian combination of scientific imagination with homely realism made an invasion of the earth by creatures from Mars appear only too possible. *When the Sleeper Wakes* (1899) was the first serious excursion into the future. *The First Men in the Moon* (1901) is not important; but the Wellsian logic was reasserted in *The Food of the Gods* (1904): if men can be made gigantic by the aid of scientifically adjusted food, so will the rats and vermin that feed on the remnants. *The War in the Air* (1908) gave readers their first extended sensation of aerial warfare; but the book suffers from understatement, the prophetic fancy being much less terrible than the now familiar fact. Wells, with his native simplicity of mind, has never really understood the diabolical wickedness of man. In following the course of his scientific romance we have passed over some books of the kind in which Wells supreme, the tragi-comedies of lower-middle-class life, foreshadowe by *The Wheels of Chance*. *Love and Mr Lewisham* (1900) contains so autobiography and tells its commonplace story excellently. *The S Lady* (1902), a beautifully written fantasy, returns to the manne *The Wonderful Visit*. But the triumph of this period, and perhaps crown of the author's achievement, is *Kipps* (1905), in which hum pathos and a delicate understanding of the semi-articulate are jo to Dickensian vigour of portraiture.

That the mind of Wells would pass from scientific speculation romantically applied to scientific speculation socially applied could be predicted from his earliest stories. Three volumes mark the arrival of the prophet who was henceforward to be yoked to the novelist, *Anticipations* (1901), *Mankind in the Making* (1903) and *A Modern Utopia* (1905). The time was propitious. A national reaction against the squalid Imperialism of the South African War had created a

varied from year to year. That is their strength, not their weakness. A Utopia is always more valuable as criticism than as construction—as a dark disclosure of the present against the bright background of a

delusion of dons with comfortable fellowships or of well-placed persons with assured incomes and pensions. But the convinced Utopian grows to believe in his own fables, and he thinks he can plan for ultimate perfection. He omits to notice that the Utopian sweeps and garnishes a room for the seven devils of Dictatorship and Gangsterdom to enter in and possess. And so Wells, in his infatuation, went on to *New Worlds for Old* (1908) and a multitude of millennial constr

and sometimes n

Free (1914), *The*

(1916), *Men Lik*

others. But in the tales that seemed to exist for their own sake a troubled note was presently heard—the note of sex-discord and the failure of marriage. *Ann Veronica* (1909) is an unpleasing tale of

book. *Tono Bungay* (1909)—perhaps

that fails as completely as the lovabl

is a main note in *Marriage* (1912),

Wife of Sir Isaac Harman (1914),

The World

discontent. An exception is *Bealby* (1915), a brief return to pure comedy. Later novels are intellectual exercises rather than creations and hardly call for comment.

There are many other works—treatises, miscellanies and argu-

s—which must necessarily go unmentioned. Two, however, be named, the *Experiment in Autobiography* (1934), which enriches occasional personal reminiscences of the novels, and *The Outline* *History* (1920), which is a bold attempt to tell the story of man as an olutionary creature. That fanatical historians like Belloc have tensely disliked this book is no reason why people who wish to arn something about the progress of man through time and space, s seen by an unusually gifted observer, should be bullied into no' reading it. The *Outline* is a monument to Wells's own passionat belief in the power of "the right books" to cure wrong thinking. But we have had Moses and the prophets for a long time and are still unconverted. The gunman will still be a gunman even when he has read the Hundred Best Books. Of all recent social philosophers Wells has been the most fertile, the most undaunted. If good-will and patient argument could bring order to a muddled world, Wells would be numbered with the great reformers. But he has never appreciated the power of the irrational in man. He has regarded the arts with suspicion—they do not prove anything, and they have no place in his scientifically planned future. Rousseau and Voltaire knew mankind better; they kindled and inflamed: Wells has continually argued. Still, his influence was potent. He educated most of thos who have gone beyond him and now disown him. His greatest merit is that he helped to keep hope alive in an age of despair. For the lover of literature he lives as the creator of a new romance of science, as a shrewd delineator of his period, and as the humorous kindly chronicler of inconspicuous lives. The early Wells, like the early Wordsworth, is still the best. Not all his voluminous (and often tiresome) mass of planning and speculation can outweigh the simple art of *Kipps* and *Mr Polly*.

Enoch Arnold Bennett (1867–1931) was a pure artist. As a man he was a convinced rationalist and liberal; as a novelist he kept his books as free from "ideas" as George Moore. He abounds in penetrating criticism of life, but it is artistic and not argumentative criticism. Those who tried to construct a figure of the author from his books and then sought to fit the books to the supposed figure wer ludicrously wrong. Bennett came from the industrial Midlands—th "Five Towns" of the Potteries, one of which was first put on the m of literature in *A Mummer's Wife* by George Moore—and he v acutely conscious of the aristocracy of industrialism, which measu success by wealth, and measures wealth by the scale of great ho As a writer Bennett desired to succeed artistically; as a man a Midlander he desired to succeed commercially; but to confus two desires and to suppose that he wrote in the way likely to pr the most money is a critical blunder of the most rudimentar sentimental kind. Bennett, always sensitive and sincere, was

cally devoted to literature as a creative art; and though he wrote some inferior books, he was precisely in the case of Kipling—he did not recognize their inferiority. *Against not one of his books can the* accusation be made, "This is a deliberate attempt at a best-seller".

the Five Towns is a gravely written tragi-comedy of excellent

Writing

passages.

by Frenc

than that known to Moore, but an attempt to put musical life into a novel, *Sacred and Profane Love* (1905), was quite unsuccessful and the book fell far below the author's intention. Other unimportant volumes followed.

So far, Bennett had shown himself a novelist of original invention, the master of a quiet, characteristic style, the faithful observer of local life and humour and the amused chronicler of those who acquire or disperse wealth in centres of luxury. He had written several

as completely objective as Moore; but his realism was touched by a

well as the beauty of human emotion unconquered by grimy

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surpassed, even by its own author. In the same year (1908) came one of his best domestic comedies, *Buried Alive*. *The Glimpse* (1909), a tale of the borderland between life and death, showed that Bennett's gifts were more happily at home in more earthly scenes, as in the pleasant comedy of *Helen with the High Hand* (1910). But that year (1910) was remarkable for *Clayhanger*, the first part of a trilogy completed by *Hilda Lessways* (1911) and *These Twain* (1915). Though the trilogy became steadily less important and less interesting with each instalment, *Clayhanger* itself remains one of Bennett's best studies of Five Towns life. *The Card* (1911), an amusing farcical comedy, followed by an inferior sequel, *The Regent* (1913), deserved its success. Later novels indicated a tired author. Bennett never possessed the unflagging vitality of Wells, and he appeared to be written out. But in 1923 came *Riceyman Steps*, a Memlinc-like study of misers in their shops, that showed the creative artist of *Clayhanger* and *The Old Wives' Tale* still active. *Lord Raingo* (1926) offered a striking sketch of domestic complications and death in high politics, and *The Strange Vanguard* (1928) was a brightly efficient if rather sophisticated comedy. Bennett remained the pure teller of tales, and, unlike Wells, never sought to fill out his lesser stories (many of which are unmentioned here) with social sermonizing. In the end he returned to the Grand Babylon Hotel, not as the scene of international conspiracies, but as a creation of human effort. *Imperial Palace* (1930) was stupidly described as a final display of his vulgar interest in wealth. The charge is uncritical and unliterary. A hotel, a bridge, a ship, a railway, a war, a state, or any work of elaborate human organization is a perfectly legitimate theme for novel or poem. *Imperial Palace* fails, not because its chief character is a hotel, but because its slight domestic story is not strong enough to support a character of such magnitude. For the first and last time Arnold Bennett had been overwhelmed by his own material, the realist had been defeated by realism. But though *Imperial Palace* fails, it is an honest failure, not a vulgar failure, and it has some of Bennett's curiously endearing qualities.

Of his numerous essays in admonition and advice, such as *How to Live on 24 Hours a Day* (1908) and *Literary Taste, and How to Form it* (1909), there is no need to say more than that they are characteristic of the midland and northern instinct to discover "how to get the best out of life". Bennett's travel books are pleasant, but unimportant. His plays will be mentioned later. The essays contained in *Books and Persons* (1917) and the three series of *Things that have interested me* (1921–5) are engaging notes of criticism, individual, sincere, challenging and underived. More important for their autobiographical account of a literary life and their revelation of a delightful personality are the *Journals* (1930–3) and *Arnold Bennett's Letters to*

his Nephew (1936). Much that Bennett wrote has not survived; but the stories and comedies which endure depict the intimacies of domestic life with singular delicacy and beauty. He succeeds notably,
elderly,
things,
mark of genius, that no one else could have written his books. His artistic integrity was complete. In a highly individual way he shows that man is greater than circumstance and that there is always the human comedy, whether the scene be the haunts of ostentatious display or the smoke-clouded streets of industrialism.

John Galsworthy (1867–1933) gained equal success as novelist and as dramatist. His plays will be considered later. But plays and novels alike bear this one record of their author, that just as surely as Kipling was an Imperialist and Wells a Utopian, Galsworthy was a Humani-
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the cart
he had
heard of the Russians, and would have been a humanitarian if Russian fiction had never existed. Unlike Bennett and Wells,

class. Turgeniev and Tolstoy, born in a feudal, medieval and almost tribal society, could meet the serf as one of the family Galsworthy could not move, otherwise than consciously and conscientiously, from his place on the social spiral To the poor and oppressed he gave indignant pity; he could not give the real fellowship in which Dickens is as rich as Dostoevsky, to whom there was nothing common or unclean. That Galsworthy came pseudonymously into literature may be taken as a sign of his natural shyness *From the*

Pharisees (1904), the first novel published with his name, showed greater strength and typical indignation; but Galsworthy did not enter his real region of success, the history of a solid, comfortable family, till he wrote *The Man of Property* (1906), first of the Forsyte books. Here he spoke with an authority no one could question. It is a good novel, apart from its interest as the beginning of a long chronicle. *The Country House* (1907) deepened the favourable impression made by its predecessor and Galsworthy acquired definite

standing as a novelist. *Fraternity* (1909) was disappointing, but *The Patrician* (1911) made amends, and *The Dark Flower* (1913) exhibited real emotional power. *The Freelands* (1915), a tiresome study of a well-intentioned reformer, and its successors *Beyond* (1917) and *Saint's Progress* (1919), made little effect. *In Chancery* (1920) was a second, and *To Let* (1921) a third instalment of *The Forsyte Saga*, the name under which the three major stories with minor pieces were collectively issued in 1922. A further set of Forsyte tales appeared separately as *The White Monkey* (1924), *The Silver Spoon* (1926) and *Swan Song* (1928), and collectively as *A Modern Comedy* (1929). The saga was continued by *Maid in Waiting* (1931), *Flowering Wilderness* (1932) and *Over the River* (1933), and these were collected as *End of the Chapter* (1934). There were briefer Forsyte sketches and various collections of short stories, some of great beauty. Galsworthy also wrote verses, which carried, however, no poetic conviction. His fame rests on the Forsyte stories, which depict with scrupulously exact detail and with a strong sense of character the social life and the possessive instincts of a vanished society. They make a literary parallel with the novels of Trollope, though between the men themselves there was no similarity. Trollope had known hardship; Galsworthy had never experienced discomfort. Galsworthy was always mounted for a crusade; Trollope had an instinctive dislike for crusading and preferred hunting the fox. Galsworthy had little of Trollope's genial sense of common life and cherished a graver ideal of literary art. But, in spite of their differences, both took a spacious view of English society and together left a true record of a long opulent period in the national life, now ended for ever.

The writers named so far are the most important in the history of the English novel during the first decades of the twentieth century. Many others, too numerous for mention, contributed to the serious entertainment of their age without contributing to the history of fiction as a literary form. One or two apparent exceptions will be discussed in their place. At the moment we can do no more than record the names of a few writers with outstanding qualities. Algernon Blackwood (1869) chose for his special field the science that is near the occult and the nature that is somewhat beyond the natural. His work can be tested in such volumes as *John Silence* (1906), *Jimbo* (1909) and in the collections called *The Empty House* (1906), *The Listener* (1909), *The Lost Valley* (1910) and *Incredible Adventures* (1915).

John Davys Beresford (1873–1947) attempted a compound of personal experience, realism and psychology and may be studied in his trilogy, *Jacob Stahl* (1911), *A Candidate for Truth* (1912) and *The Invisible Event* (1915). *The House in Demetrius Road* (1913) found many admirers. A later trilogy, *The Old People* (1933), *The Middle Generation* (1932) and *The Young People* (1933) did not repeat the

success of the earlier. Beresford is a careful, conscientious writer, but not visibly moved by strong creative impulse.

Much more impressive is

ise and even considerable

never came. Some of

metallic efficiency and to keep under rigid restraint any warm creative impulse. The reader is found wishing that the author would "let himself go". His travel sketches, of which *The Gentleman in the Parlour* (1930) is a typical example, have almost every quality except a conviction that the reader is in the author's confidence. *The Summing Up* (1938), an autobiographical sketch, is, like all

defect of Maugham is that he would not. *Books and You* (1940), a slender volume of essays, contains characteristically frank opinions about books we ought to read

Edward Morgan Forster (1879) offers a complete contrast to Somerset Maugham. His work has a shy, unworldly quality and is almost diffidently presented. The fine quality of his mind is revealed in *A Room with a View* (1908), *Howards End* (1910), *A Passage to India* (1924) and the stories in *The Celestial Omnibus* (1911) The lectures collected in *Aspects of the Novel* (1927) show a definite but unduly narrow view of the novel as a work of art, and reveal some lack of sympathy with large and exuberant creation At heart

darken it. Swinnerton showed acute critical faculty in his studies of Gissing (1912) and Stevenson (1914) and in various volumes of essays; but his best work is contained in *The Georgian Literary Scene* (1934), a survey, both spacious and shrewd, of the writers who flourished during the present century. Its cheerful irreverence has

ked the young and the solemn, who are so reverent about nselves; but there is no better guide to the literature of its period. ugh Walpole (1884–1941), a prolific, efficient novelist of en- ging quality, first attracted attention with *Maradick at Forty* (1910) d firmly secured it with *Mr Perrin and Mr Traill* (1911), a powerful ory of personal antagonisms in a school. *Fortitude* (1913) and *The uchess of Wrexe* (1914) showed that Walpole was really a novelist, nd not merely a writer who had successfully attempted fiction. *The Dark Forest* (1916), fruit of his war-time experience in Russia, raised him to the ranks of those from whom something great might be expected; but *The Cathedral* (1922), though popular, failed to fulfil the promise. Walpole has ambitiously sought success in continued chronicles. Thus, *The Green Mirror* (1917) continues *The Duchess of Wrexe* and *The Secret City* (1919) continues *The Dark Forest*. There are several attractive stories of the boy Jeremy, beginning with *Jeremy* (1919). The boldest and strongest of his work is contained in the Herries series—*Rogue Herries* (1930), *Judith Paris* (1931), *The Fortress* (1932) and *Vanessa* (1933). *Portrait of a Man with Red Hair* (1925) has both power and popular appeal. There are many other works that must remain unmentioned. Walpole's chief merit is tha he is a genuine, instinctive teller of tales who has kept his standard of performance high. What is not clear at the moment is which, if any, of his very competent works will settle as a firm deposit upon the extant mass of English fiction.

If mere quantity of discussion and shrillness of assertion offered any true test of quality, James Joyce (1882–1941) and David Herbert Lawrence (1885–1930) would have to be regarded as the greatest novelists of their time. But we must not mistake the fervid claims of coteries for the calm voice of general judgment. Much of the discussion about Joyce and Lawrence can be dismissed as totally irrelevant to literature. Writers who describe sexual or digestive events in language not usually admitted to print are sure of loud assailants in the name of morals and loud defenders in the name of freedom. But the loudness on either side is absolutely valueless as a criterion of worth. Whether there should be any restraint upo frankness of utterance about any kind of bodily experience is n simply a literary question and is not, therefore, the concern of t historian. The follies of censors of all kinds have been both numero and ridiculous; but we must beware of assuming that anythi "banned" by any kind of authority is, on that account, of spe artistic importance. The fact that Lawrence's pictures were seize the police as indecent may prove something about the stupidi the police, but it proves nothing about the worth of Lawrenc painter. The fact that Joyce's *Ulysses* could not be publicly o for sale in England may prove something about the obtusen

magistrates, but it proves nothing about the worth of Joyce as a writer. Further, we must beware of assuming that discussion of technique or method is discussion of artistic success. We could use some of Wordsworth's feeblest compositions to illustrate the Wordsworthian technique without proving that the bad poems were good. Technique is the science of art; but bad art may raise the same [illegible]

[illegible] external and irrelevant matters—matters of morals or matters of machinery. In fact, much of modern art is neither good art nor bad art, but pseudo-science. The survival of Joyce and Lawrence will depend, not upon the amount of discussion they have excited, but upon their fitness to survive in the struggle for life among the numerous literary species.

James Joyce, a Dublin man, was intended for the priesthood, be[illegible] veloped a gift for [illegible] pean countries. As an author he was born in the full tide of the Irish renaissance and inherited a generation of Dublin tradition. A volume of verse called [illegible] the poems of its [illegible] author to write [illegible] *of the Author as a Young Man* (1916) is now interesting mainly as a forerunner of *Ulysses*; but it is noteworthy as showing, first, the author's ability to [illegible] called psychological [illegible]

[illegible] writers. In 1922, however, came *Ulysses*, difficult to obtain and even more difficult to read when obtained, but clearly a new and ambitious attempt at creative literature. That the action of this immense book [illegible]

[illegible] after many adventures, returned at night to his uxorious domesticity. The book is as loosely built as *Tristram Shandy* and is not held together by any characters as humanly appealing as My Uncle Toby and Corporal Trim. It is longer than the whole of Peacock's novels put together and has something of their quality as intellectual discussion conducted by freaks of nature. It is, in fact, not a story or chronicle, but a vast literary miscellany in which "psychological"

explorations of character are joined to experiments in all the possibilities—and some of the impossibilities—of English prose. Joyce was a musician, and sought, as others have sought, to find a more complete notation for literature. He desired to put down on paper the actual workings of the mind, the half-thoughts, the imperfect expressions, the unpausing sequences, of consciousness in action; and so words are augmented, diminished, truncated and telescoped, and sentences are contracted, protracted and counterpointed. Joyce tried to do in printed prose what might be done by a combination of motion-picture and programme-music. The ironic humour, untouched by any geniality, is unfailing; the Rabelaisian exuberance is unconstrained; the mastery of language is consummate. Almost every kind of prose is attempted—indeed one single chapter could be studied as a historical survey of English prose from the earliest examples to the latest transatlantic slang. Through the vividly depicted scenes and crowds moves the Irish Jew, Leopold Bloom, perfect type of vulgar consciousness. Much could be written in praise of *Ulysses*; but in dispraise the one fatal word must be uttered: it is unreadable. It would never have a public, even if copies were given away like tracts. Only to the specially literate can it be fully intelligible, and of the literate only to those whose knowledge includes Dublin life since the time of the Phoenix Park murders. To explain its allusions and imperfect communications a volume almost as long as itself would be needed. The wild enthusiasm of its immature readers can therefore be dismissed as a pretence. *Ulysses* is a series of experiments in the technique of writing, and, as such, will attract the curious and inspire the courageous; but it remains a series of experiments and does not fulfil itself as a successful result. *Finnegans Wake* (1939) is equally experimental and even more unsuccessful.

For an understanding of D. H. Lawrence some knowledge of his life is necessary. His father was a Midland miner. His mother, a woman of strong character and fine feeling, was a deep influence in his life. The domestic resources were small, but Lawrence found a way of intellectual escape in the peculiarities of elementary education. He became a pupil-teacher, and was able later to take at Nottingham the normal training course and to become a fully qualified teacher For several years he taught in a school, conscious of urgent literary instincts and debarred from following them by the necessity of earning a living. Lawrence was very little different in circumstances from others who, beginning as he began, won honourable rank in literature or in public life. His peculiar difference lay in an abiding and resentful sense of inferiority. The hidden feeling that drove Meredith to displays of intellectual vanity drove Lawrence to personal assertiveness. That he was acutely sensitive to circumstances and bitterly conscious of social disabilities can be seen in

his own and the sexual triumph of *gipsy and gamekeeper* over

at variance, are in agreement about the impression he gave of

restlessness, due to incurable suspicion and a sense of persecution, that drove him east and south and west in search of the certitude

fiction; its weakest parts are the psycho-sexual displays that he thought the strongest. There need have been nothing specifically set down in the book to prevent publication in the usual way; and the later preface, *My Skirmish with Jolly Roger* (1929), is painfully

ey theme.

v available

ms (1933),

Beasts and

Flowers (1923) and other volumes, have not given him an assured place

among later poets. The best are hardly distinguishable from his best prose passages, such as can be found in travel books like *Twilight in Italy* (1916) and *Sea and Sardinia* (1917), which certainly prove that he had a seeing eye, even if his actual pictures did not prove that he was a painter. A later generation puzzled by the discrepancy between Lawrence's lurid fame and his disappointing performance will find more explanation in his numerous letters than in the competing, and even opposing, critical studies by those who believed they knew him. In an age of much chatter about writers Lawrence offered a fruitful theme for discussion. He attempted psychology himself and he tempted the amateur psychologist. He was never in the least obscure. He was sedulously self-exhibitory. He was a "case", and, like an absorbed patient, was lavish in recounting his symptoms. He was therefore attractive to those who believed they showed profundity by allusions to the Oedipus complex and mother-fixation. The lover of literature must resolutely brush aside all unliterary considerations and examine the author's own works. In them there is little to prove that Lawrence was a great creative force in fiction. To the reader of Stendhal he must always appear inadequate as novelist or psychologist. What he does show is a sort of lower-class parody of Byronism, together with the desire of a sick man for a life of action, and the resentment of a miner's son at being cheated of social standing and security. His strength lies not in psychology, in characterization, in invention, or in any new "reading of earth", but in sheer wizardry of words.

A noticeable feature in the literature of the present century has been the increase in the number of women novelists. Some of these were discussed in an earlier chapter. Of the others only a few typical examples can be named. First by right of seniority and of quality is Elizabeth Mary, Countess Russell, formerly Countess von Arnim (1866–1941), who, under the name "Elizabeth", established herself as a writer of delicate yet formidable humour with *Elizabeth and Her German Garden* (1898). This and *The Solitary Summer* (1899), *The Adventures of Elizabeth in Rügen* (1904) and *The Caravaners* (1909) ruthlessly ridiculed the Germans, among whom she had, apparently, endured much. Later books such as *Vera* (1921), *The Enchanted April* (1923), *Father* (1931) and *Mr Skeffington* (1940) displayed a talent which was always sure of its purpose and tensely economical in means, and which at times (as in *The Enchanted April*) was used with an accession of kindness. "Elizabeth" was never a narrowly "feminist" writer, but no one knew better how to make the conquering male ridiculous. In her best books she achieves not only penetrating wit, but positive prose beauty, and has in reserve even a touch of tragedy.

Rose Macaulay is more elaborate in invention than "Elizabeth", and less restrained in satirical assault, but her level of literary achieve-

kely ever to be widely read. She is neither easy nor gratifying shallow reader. The texture of her work is elaborately ght and she concedes little to popular demands. Intensity of g and intensity of expression reaching almost beyond the scope rose give to her pictures of country life a heavily charged osphere, as if nature were active rather than passive (as in Hardy) ne events. The presentation of rural superstition and its cruelties *Precious Bane* is intensely individual and penetrating. The talent of ry Webb was highly original; but she followed the usual patterns fiction and raises no technical problems. That, perhaps, is why she issed the "penny plain" public of the suburbs and the "twopence oloured" public of the studios.

Katherine Mansfield, i.e. Kathleen Beauchamp (1888–1923), is a curiously detached figure, having little affinity with New Zealand, the country of her birth, or England, the country of her adoption. Indeed, her talent may be described as international; for her first collection of short stories, *In a German Pension* (1911), showed delicate originality in a form of writing much admired during the period when Chehov had been discovered by older writers and lauded by the younger. *Bliss* (1920) and *The Garden Party* (1922) proved that Katherine Mansfield's success was not fortuitous, and that her creative power was developing; but ill-health and early death terminated a career of great promise. There is in Katherine Mansfield an oddly penetrating quality that, with the lightest of touches, gets to the heart of a character and situation. Her posthumous journal and letters are personal revelations of unusual interest.

Some notice must be given to a few of those who are known mainly as writers in the comic, humorous or satirical manner. "F. Anstey", as Thomas Anstey Guthrie (1856–1933) called himself, is assured of remembrance for his "Lesson to Fathers", *Vice Versa* (1882), with its magic exchange of persons between father and son. A characteristic touch of fantasy and fable, indeed, gives point to other popular stories by F. Anstey, especially to *The Giant's Robe* (1883), *The Tinted Venus* (1885) and *The Brass Bottle* (1900). *Voces Populi* and *Baboo Jabberjee, B.A.* represent the broader fun-making of his sketches in *Punch*. Anstey also wrote a play which once engaged the agreeable talent of Charles Hawtrey and which still survives as a sketch of contemporary snobbery, *The Man from Blankley's* (1901).

Jerome Klapka Jerome (1859–1927) was a successful exponent of the saloon-bar and music-hall type of humour at the level of the cockney clerk of his period. His first success was gained with *On the Stage and Off* (1885) and this was followed by *Idle Thoughts of an Idle Fellow* (1886) and by his popular invention, *Three Men in a Boat* (1889), which still survives in episodes and retains its interest as a period piece. Later books showed that his limited vein of hum

was worked out. Humorists have usually their serious side. Jerome's weakness lay in his tendency to exploit a didactic and sentimental pathos to distressing extremes. The outstanding example of this is the religiou [illegible] (1907), [illegible]

[illegible] those exquisite. Some delightfully humorous sketches of children in *Pagan Papers* (1893) were extended and developed in his chief work, *The Golden Age* (1895). Similar sketches followed in the less successful *Dream Days* (1898). Many readers find the most charming expression of Grahame's slender genius in *The Wind in the Willows* [illegible]

[illegible] the Thames-side wharves and peopled them with short-distance mariners of pronounced humours. His sketches, intended for periodical consumption, survive with difficulty the test of continuous reading; but his "waterside characters" have a life of their own and even a value as examples of a type that refuses assimilation. Such books as *Many Cargoes* (1896), *The Skipper's Wooing* (1897) and *Light Freights* (1901) can be taken as fair samples of his work. Certain stories, notably *The Monkey's Paw*, showed an ability to use macabre effects successfully.

Hector Hugh Munro (1870–1916) united a keen sense of the ridiculous with a talent for biting and even bitter satire. As "Saki" [illegible] political squibs of which the one [illegible] 902) *illustrated by* [illegible] *ald in Russia* (1910) [illegible] *that show a penetrating power of criticism in the disguise of humour. In The Unbearable Bassington* (1912) *the social satire takes a tone of disconcerting* ruthlessness that many believe to be the peculiarity of "post-War" literature. *A career that seemed to promise greater fulfilment* was cut short by the War in 1916.

Of Pelham Grenville Wodehouse (1881) it is enough to say that [illegible] vacuous, amiable idiot of aristocratic connections [illegible] Jeeves, the grave, orotund and infallible retainer. Wodehouse has a

gift for highly original aptness of phrase that almost suggests a poe struggling for release among the wild extravagances of farce.

To name a large number of recent novelists would serve no useful purpose. Some whose different work includes fiction receive mention later. Before the War that began in 1939 there had been an enormous growth in literature as a commercial product, and especially in fiction. Like newspapers, novels were manufactured for sale in the largest numbers among the most extensive public, and authors with big circulations were inevitably taken as big men. Even good novelists found themselves compelled to write when as artists they should have been silent. Most successful novelists have written far more than they should. For many readers the novel was the only kind of literature that existed, and some newspapers reviewed no other sort of book. The "book of the week" or the "book of the month" was usually a novel, and editors or managers of papers boldly advertised the "boom" that their patronage had created in the sales. Tales of crime and detection (almost invariably involving murders and sometimes multiple murders) were not only encouraged by "Crime Clubs" but received, even in respectable newspapers, the honour of specially dedicated columns of reviews. The murderer added to the gaiety of the Twenties and Thirties. These are disquieting symptoms. The novels and magazines that burdened the railway-bookstalls and the twopenny libraries represent "boss" methods applied to publishing. Are the bosses to conquer all literature under the pretext of giving the public what the public wants? Will boss methods capture publishing as they have captured journalism? Illiteracy has captured the films and is trying hard to capture broadcasting. Books are being called upon to show "entertainment value", a distinction being enforced between a desirable thing called "entertainment" and a detestable thing called "instruction". Many people really appear to suppose that the housemaid's notion of amusement must also be the scholar's notion of amusement, and that, as the housemaid is not entertained by *Marius the Epicurean* and *Gryll Grange*, those who pretend to enjoy them are humbugs, highbrows nd, what is worse, purveyors of "instruction". We must not be raid of admitting the disquieting truth; but we need not suppose at it is the whole truth. During the present century the English vel has not gained, for it did not need, any new accession of ative vitality; but it has certainly gained new freedom to speak hout conventional pretence. The War of 1914–18 did not te new and original writers; but it created a new multitude of ers, and enlarged rapidly and variously the public experience. e reprints of good novels are sold now than ever before. Though is a very large public for unworthy fiction, there is a very public for good fiction. That the novel has conquered n

territory since 1920 can hardly [illegible]
and intellectual, of the latest [illegible]
papers cannot be predicted. [illegible]
the writer, but the reader; the reader suddenly grew up and was [illegible]

again repeat their former easy triumphs. That the novel, as a form, has successfully enlarged its scope—that there has come into existence a "new fiction"—cannot be seriously maintained. The Dorothy Richardson formula is old; the Virginia Woolf performance is feeble: what is the use of a new technique applied to compositions of no vitality? Recent researches in psychology may (or may not) help novelists to a clearer understanding of character; but that is a question of matter, not of form, and, so far, nothing important in that direction has appeared. The one outstanding experiment is *Ulysses*, [illegible]

to do, and sure of their ability to do it. In short, they must succeed.

III. THE DRAMA

The novelists and poets of the twentieth century had to enter into competition with the giants of the nineteenth, who stood in formidable array from Wordsworth and Byron to Swinburne and Rossetti and from Walter Scott and Jane Austen to George Meredith and Thomas Hardy. The dramatists of the twentieth century had no competitors in the nineteenth, and their victories had to be gained, not over the vested interests created by established writers, but over the short-sighted materialism of commercial management and the blank stupidity of an arbitrary and irresponsible censorship. To *commercial management*, the theatre was a place into which intelli- [illegible] theatre [illegible] The [illegible] there [illegible]

lags behind the novel, but the advance guard has caught up. Some

plays of the twentieth century have been greater than any novels of the same period. The showman and the censor still block the road, but the drama is learning how to march round them.

As we pointed out in an earlier chapter, it was Ibsen who first proved in this country that a serious modern prose play could be as thrilling as any arrangement of artificial complications by an imitator of Scribe or Sardou. The first native disciple of Ibsen to make his mark on the English stage was George Bernard Shaw (1856), whose comedy, *Widowers' Houses*, with slum property as its general theme, was produced by The Independent Theatre Society in 1892. Shaw was a disciple of Ibsen, not an imitator. His manner of approach to the stage was entirely his own; but from Ibsen he had learned the vital truth that a good play must be about something that really matters. Shaw was born in Dublin, and received, chiefly through his mother, who was a teacher of singing, the kind of education that was to prove most fruitful to him, an education in music and especially in the substance and performance of standard opera. The actual matter or means of education is of small importance. The real problem of education in all ages is to find something to which the youthful instincts will profitably respond. Neither George Moore nor George Bernard Shaw would have acquired anything but mulish resentment from the traditional curriculum of schools. Actually a great deal can be learned from music by those so inclined. Music is an exact and exacting art taking a multitude of forms. Successful opera is successful drama with music as the medium, and it must succeed in song as written and in song as sung. No one can pretend to be a dramatist in music. You can draw in music the perfectly distinguished characters of *Così fan tutte* or you cannot. No one can pretend to be a composer of opera. You can write *Rigoletto* or you cannot. No one can pretend to be a singer of opera. You can sing *Casta Diva* or you cannot. There is in successful opera not only immense efficiency of statement, but close-knit team-work. Moreover, as Mozart proved, a *dramma giocoso* like *Don Giovanni* or a pantomime like *The Magic Flute* can present the eternal verities. Nothing of this was lost on the youthful Shaw. The first potent literary influence on his mind was that of Shelley, whom he admired characteristically as a poet who was also an atheist, a vegetarian and a revolutionist. In 1876 Shaw came to London and in time found it easy to attach himself to various "advanced" political bodies and specially to The Fabian Society. With his extraordinarily alert and tenacious mind, he soon became a ready speaker and a formidable debater. His first literary efforts were novels, written between 1879 and 1883—*Immaturity*, *The Irrational Knot*, *Love among the Artists*, *Cashel Byron's Profession* and *An Unsocial Socialist*. None gained the slightest sign of success. The last four appeared serially in obscure

"minority" periodicals hard-up for copy, the only one achieving separate publication being *Cashel Byron's Profession* (1886). They were not re-issued till the author had become famous. They show ignor-
so show capacity, and though the
there are signs that Shaw might
of power and originality. *Love among the Artists* is one of very few satisfactory novels about music and *Cashel Byron's*

But though Sh
brilliant wit, he
He first attracted general
"Corno di Bassetto", in a
88. These, reprinted fifty
937), showed a writer of

The Saturday Review between 1895 and 1898, reprinted, though not

Essays in Socialism and in 1891 he had published the stimulating essays called *The Quintessence of Ibsenism*. There were later propagandist writings that do not call for mention Thus, by 1892, when *Widowers' Houses* was produced
public character. The play, first
but it has definite individuality
to the last, is the touch of the born dramatist able to devise natural

attempt; yet the curious fact is that his lifelong friend William

acted dramatist again till 1894, when *Arms and the Man* was produced with fair success during a season under the patronage of Emily Horniman, whose name is inseparable from dramatic adventures at

t period. *Arms and the Man* is one of the best modern English medies and should have instantly "caught on"; but in its own me it encountered a strong prejudice, not against its methods or its morals, but against its matter: it made fun of the Army. This, in the lays when the Duke of Cambridge was still Commander-in-Chief, was a grave offence; for though no one took the Army seriously as a machine of national defence, every one took the Army seriously as an ornament of Society. And Society really mattered. At the moment when Kipling was casting new glamour round the national figure of "officer and gentleman", Shaw was demonstrating with keen humour that the plumed and upholstered warrior from the best families was dangerous to everyone but the enemy, and that a successful soldier must have an organizing mind like a Swiss hotel-keeper's. Society was not amused. The peculiar charm of *Arms and the Man* is that, professing to be anti-romantic, it is gaily romantic, besides being rich in wit and in character. But though *Arms and the Man* was obviously successful as dramatic entertainment, Shaw did not conquer the theatre; and the first true revelation of his genius was made when the two volumes of *Plays Pleasant and Unpleasant* appeared in 1898, he then being forty-two. The volume of "unpleasant" plays contained *Widowers' Houses*, *The Philanderer* and *Mrs Warren's Profession*. *The Philanderer*, a play of the "Ibsen period", when there was supposed to be a "new woman", is neither interesting nor important, except as a sidelight on its age. That *Mrs Warren's Profession* dealt with prostitution and the traffic in women as the result of economic pressure ensured that it would not be passed by the Lord Chamberlain's Examiner of Plays, who, however, would have made no difficulty about licensing a gay musical treatment of its theme with a beauty chorus of "ladies of the town". The play, though written seriously, is little more than a diagram and hardly survives as a vital drama. The volume of "pleasant" plays containe[d] *Arms and the Man*, *Candida*, *The Man of Destiny* and *You Never C[an] Tell*. *Candida*, the heroine of which should have been played [by] Ellen Terry, is a beautiful play with a feminist thesis. The charact[ers] are drawn with verisimilitude, from the adoring Prossy to the [dis]concerting young poet, who might be a portrait of the yout[hful] Shelley. Candida's father alone tends to be farcical, and is somew[hat] incredible as her parent. Morrel, a rather cruelly sacrificed chara[cter,] is no more of a phrase-maker than the contemptuous poet hi[mself.] However, Shaw, like Barrie, was on the side of the women an[d was] sometimes taken in by his own creations. But in spite of its defects, wilful rather than necessary, *Candida* remains one of th[e most] beautiful of modern plays. No comment on the state of the [theatre] in the early Nineties can be more scathing than the fact t[hat this] dramatic masterpiece had to make its first appearance in pr[int.]

Man of Destiny, which should have been played by Irving and Terry, is a one-act piece of great interest but no great importance. Irving toyed with it, but in the end preferred to waste himself upon rubbish [illegible] delightful piece of amiable sagacity. In spite of manifest merits as stage entertainment the play was ignored by the united intelligence of all the managers in London and remained unacted for several [illegible] War (1777), has penetrating wit, strong situations and well-drawn characters. Unfortunately the author, with one of those touches of excess which he came to use more and more prodigally, destroyed [illegible] extraordinary letters which passed between them and which were published in 1931, after her death; but it is the actress, not the dramatist, who has the star-part in the correspondence.

Man and Superman (1903) bore the ominous sub-title "A Comedy and a Philosophy", and it marks the determination of the new Molière to incorporate pamphlets into his inventions. *Man and Super-* [illegible] woman, not man, is the wooer, is neither new nor important. The alleged philosophy of the comedy is an exceedingly thin discussion of something called the "Life Force"; and the appended tract called *The Revolutionist's Handbook*, witty and suggestive, is quite irrelevant to the play. This was specially the period of popular social philosophies, the period of Wells's early essays in perfectionism. What Shaw contributed was not matter but style, the purely literary talent that places him with Voltaire as a master of razor-edged utterance,

ptures the attention of the least philosophically inclined among s. The infantile condition of the English theatre can be under- from the fact that though Shaw was by this time a recognized ighly esteemed dramatist abroad, he still remained unacted in and. The Stage Society, formed in 1899, had given in its first on performances of *You Never Can Tell* and *Candida* to limited iences; but neither commercial managers nor actor-managers owed the least sign of understanding that Shaw offered them the h reward of artistic and material success. However, in 1904, arley Granville-Barker, a young actor who had gained distinguished iccess in Stage Society performances, joined with J. E. Vedrenne in theatrical season at the Court Theatre, and here, between 1904 and 1907 was given a memorable series of performances that made Shaw the greatest figure in the drama of his time. A record of these performances belongs to theatrical rather than to literary history and here, henceforward, we shall notice Shaw's plays as published, no as performed. *John Bull's Other Island*, originally written for the Iris Theatre in 1904, was too much for that parochial institution digest, and it had to be played in England, the natives of which not mind being made to appear foolish. The volume *John Bu*... *Other Island and Major Barbara* (1907), though overloaded with prefatory matter, shows the author at the height of his power, with his vision still keen, his sense of poetry and religion still fresh, and his besetting sin of volubility still restrained. He was to write nothing better. The plays are genuine dramatic inventions and not pamphlets in dialogue. Then came a decline. In the volume *The Doctor's Dilemma, Getting Married and The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet* (1911), only the first is important and even that fails in vital places. There is excess of thesis. The writer who had given a persuasive sketch of a young poet in *Candida* could not give a convincing portrait of a young painter in *The Doctor's Dilemma*, and, with his usual incorrigi- bility, having failed with a serio-comic execution scene in *The Devil's Disciple*, courted and achieved a second failure with a serio- comic death-bed scene in *The Doctor's Dilemma*. The play is saved by its vivid sketches of medical practitioners. *Getting Married* abandons all pretence at drama, and is pure discussion, not all of it successful. *Blanco Posnet*, with a root of religious understanding, fails to grow into anything. Its prefatory matter degenerates into the sheer volu bility that makes later volumes a trial of patience. Shaw was at h best when he was forced to work within recognized limits. L uncontrolled he expatiated, like his idol Wagner (the worst influen in his life), till everyone but the author was exhausted. The n collected volume, called *Misalliance, The Dark Lady of the Sonnets* *Fanny's First Play* (1914), carries an enormous amount of prelimi discussion. Shaw had now begun to issue vast encyclicals w

trifling play as the occasion of public admonition. *Misalliance* is a long discussion on parents and children diversified by bright and

Androcles could not be sustained by the buffoonery of a waltzing lion out of pantomime; *Overruled* calls for no comment; but *Pygmalion* is a delightful comedy which fails at the end because its author lost courage

the reader
farcical fa
speech—he
of his norm
ments with

dramatic studies in futility and a composition, part parable, part debate and part extravaganza, which leaves off because there is no conclusion. "Heartbreak House" is a symbol of the cultured, leisured, socially established class who have let civilization fall into bankruptcy because they are politically null and void and can save neither the world nor themselves Some of the talk is good, some mere volubility; some of the invention is imaginative, some mere farce. *Heartbreak House* indicates the course he was to follow in later writings. *Back to Methuselah, a Metabiological Pentateuch* (1921), begins with a vigorous, popular essay on Creative Evolution and the need (totally unrecognized by Wells, for instance) for the re-creation, in

people are *faith-numb* as some people are colour-blind or tone-deaf; but they are the exceptions. In most there is a wholesome, natural response to religion of some kind as there is to art of some kind. The psychological or physiological explanations of this response need not concern us. That it has some connection with the emotions, however, can be accepted. But, unfortunately, the major defect of Shaw as a dramatist is that his touch upon emotion of any kind is faltering and uncertain. The dramatist who has given to the English theatre the keenest intellectual satisfaction has given it the poorest emotional satisfaction. Some of Shaw's criticism of Shakespeare is extraordinarily good; but some of it is extraordinarily silly, because of his instinctive revolt against a man who can make such irresistible use of the emotional appeal. So unresponsive is Shaw to the emotions, that he has discussed Wagner delightfully as a disseminator of ideas, without the least recognition that what makes the *Ring* popular is not its revolutionary appeal but its erotic appeal. In *Saint Joan* Shaw could present the intellectual conflict; he could not present Joan's simple faith; and she appears as a character carefully thought out but never emotionally experienced. Shaw's real success is to be found in the presentation of the arguments, and he makes a strong case for Warwick, for the Inquisitor, and for the Bishop, against whom all our instincts rebel. In fact, his play seems to be a defence of Joan's death, not of her life. Joan is a puppet who serves the author's purpose. She never rises up to live her own life and carry us in her death to the heights we reach when the wanton Cleopatra dies. *Saint Joan* was the last of Shaw's important plays. The volumes that followed, *Translations and Tomfooleries* (1926), *The Apple Cart* (1930), *Too True to be Good* (1934), *The Simpleton, etc.* (1936), *Geneva* (1939) and *In Good King Charles's Golden Days* (1939) show extraordinary vitality in presenting ideas, but are content with a lower level of dramatic invention. The best of them declare the need for a spiritual change in man and seek to indicate this need by means of symbolical figures that take us back towards the region of the morality plays; but the author's intention is often defeated by unrestrained habits of loquacity and farcical excess. He could no more resist farce than De Quincey could resist facetiousness—his grotesque diminutives of proper names, for instance, presumed to be funny, disfigure almost every play from the first to the last.

Shaw's understanding of religion is sound when it is instinctive and incidental, but disappears when it is reduced to discussion and argument. He had come to the exposition of mystery at an age when he had lost the power to make an end of speaking. Talk, for talking's sake, is an Irish weakness, and Shaw was always something of the stage Irishman, self-conscious, self-confident, pugnacious, unabashed, voluble and vain. He was, too, something of the stage Athenian, for,

like Bottom the weaver, he wanted to play all the star-parts: he wanted to be taken seriously as critic, publicist, politician, economist, humorist, dramatist, philosopher and man of science. His direct contribution to thought comes to nothing more than a power of statement always clear, but always liable to be defeated by excess. His most enduring work is to be found in his early criticism and in the plays of his maturity. Many acute critical observations can be extracted from the lengthy and reckless utterances of his prefaces. The main principle of criticism which he repeatedly asserted is the need for distinguishing between works of "the first order" and works of "the second order", works of the first order being those in [illegible]

extraneous to art is so confidently asserted that we need George Moore's uncompromising denunciation of any traffic between art and ideas. *There is constant confusion between the fact that a work of* art, in making its artistic effect, may provoke reflections and ideas, and the supposition that a work of art must be the vehicle of reflections and ideas. Art has nothing to do with ethics, economics, politics or theology, because they are sciences and belong to a different sphere of human activity. Art is the product of man's creative energy, and has a "morality" of its own, which consists in [illegible]

of the result depends upon its artistic success as poetry and not upon its moral validity as doctrine. Songs like *Take, O take those lips away* and *When daisies pied* are perfect poems without any morality, "original" or "ready-made", except their artistic perfection, which is all the morality they need. The Shaw who appreciated Mozart knew this quite well; but the Shaw who had successfully harangued [illegible] regard art not morally, [illegible] to think of art as a [illegible] passing off something called "original morality". Shaw's own place in literature depends not on the propaganda-value of his work, but upon its entertainment-value. His best plays are the greatest contribution to the English

drama for more than a century. He brought back to the theatre the public that was willing to give to the drama the intelligent reception that it gave to poetry. Further, he did what has been granted to few to accomplish, he gave current English drama a place in the literature of the world. More than any other man, he has stimulated the enthusiasm of those who can now confidently offer the public a drama that appeals to the whole understanding, instead of a drama that dopes all response save the lowest. Even those who at first rejected him found that they had to clear their minds of cant and discover what they really felt. Shaw can be justly charged sometimes with mere fatuity and sometimes with mere facility; but in his best work he has added to the gaiety of thinking and extended the range of rational enjoyment.

James Matthew Barrie (1860–1937), a highly original dramatist, attained literary success more quickly than his older contemporary Shaw, whom he resembles not only in his early beginnings as journalist and novelist, but in his importation of something slightly "foreign" into current English literature. Shaw brought Irish impudence, pugnacity and volubility; Barrie brought Scottish humour, reserve and sentimentality. Barrie was born at Kirriemuir (Thrums), and, after studying at Edinburgh university, found his way into journalism at Nottingham (1883). He had sent articles with a personal flavour to the London papers, and in 1885 he boldly invaded the metropolis determined to make his way as a writer. Indications of his early struggles can be gathered from the collected humorous sketches *Better Dead* (1887) and the novel *When a Man's Single* (1888). Some of his contributions to the *St James's Gazette* with his own later comments were reprinted in *The Greenwood Hat*, privately published in 1930 and publicly issued in 1937. The first book to give Barrie a name and standing in current literature was *Auld Licht Idylls* (1888), a series of reprinted sketches, describing with humour and pathos the domestic and religious life in his native town. This was followed by a similar volume called *A Window in Thrums* (1889); and what came to be called "the Kailyard School" of Scottish writing can be dated from Barrie's Kirriemuir sketches. The soft and homely Scottish scenes of Barrie and the hard and brilliant Indian scenes of Kipling caught equally the favour of the public. Another volume of humorous sketches, *My Lady Nicotine* (1890)—still quite enjoyable—added to Barrie's growing reputation, and a full length novel, *The Little Minister* (1891), which mingled local humours with completely unabashed sentiment of the "novelette" kind, made him one of the most popular authors of the day.

This son of a Scottish religious household had always been fearfully attracted by the theatre. He now regarded it as an auriferous world to be conquered. His first known play, *Richard Savage* (1891), written

in collaboration, had no success. It was merely stage stuff. A short skit, *Ibsen's Ghost* (1891), gave indications of stage humour. His attempt to dramatize *Vanity Fair* in *Becky Sharp* (1891) can be dismissed without comment. But in *Walker, London* produced by J. L. Toole in 1892, Barrie contrived a successful farcical comedy (with a houseboat borrowed from *My Lady Nicotine* and an impersonating rascal borrowed from *When a Man's Single*) in which the sentiment was not too exuberant and the humour not too far-fetched. [illegible]

Scottish scenes from the "Thrums" sketches, mingled with sentimental flights of an almost distressing sugariness, proved an obstinate theatrical success, as did a dramatized version of *The Little Minister* (1897). Barrie had thus won an assured position in the English theatre at a time when Shaw was regarded as nothing but a perverse eccentric. Shaw insisted that the theatre should take the best that his creative mind could give it; Barrie, with Scottish canniness, was content to give the theatre anything that the theatre was ready to [illegible] afterwards to write some plays of original genius; [illegible] that the [illegible] s willing to lower himself to the depths of theatrical desire But we may note with interest that when popular success had made him independent and able to choose his own theme, he produced *The Wedding Guest* (1900), an exceedingly disagreeable "triangle" play, sufficiently sincere and original to be entirely unpopular and unremunerative. This play marks the appearance of Barrie in his second, and important, phase as a dramatist Nothing he had written up to this time would have entitled him to anything more than a footnote in theatrical history. Barrie had not entirely abandoned books for plays and *Margaret Ogilvy* (1896) was a tenderly written tribute to his mother. *Sentimental Tommy*, a novel with unexpected hardness of texture, appeared in 1896, and its sequel *Tommy and Grizel*, even more relentlessly contemptuous of the expected happy ending, followed in 1900, the year of *The Wedding Guest*. After this outbreak of resentment at life came a return to his tenderest manner in The [illegible] of fanciful, whimsical reveries [illegible] reation, the half-human, [illegible] e book were disfigured by rank sentiment, but some of it had the delicate charm of true fairy tale. There had been nothing quite like it before. From this

time onward Barrie gave his best to the theatre. *Quality Street* (1902) was not guiltless of adulterating its charm with a liberal allowance of sentiment; but *The Admirable Crichton* (1902) was an acute criticism of life—a perfectly dramatized idea—faultlessly presented with a mastery of comedy that subdued the "moral" to its rightful place. This remains one of Barrie's best plays. *Little Mary* (1903) was humorous and ingenious but insubstantial. Barrie's most popular success came in 1904 with *Peter Pan*, a play for children, which took the rather undefined figure from *The Little White Bird* and made him the hero of a fairy-tale. *Peter Pan* is quite evidently a play that grew out of contact with children, as *Alice in Wonderland* had grown. Upon *Peter Pan*, as upon *Alice* and similar inventions, modern psychology has turned an accusing finger and a repellent flow of jargon. We need not regard any science very seriously when it takes to criticism of the arts. The fact (which is the sole concern of science) is that *Peter* has proved to be the only enduring addition to the world of juvenile mythology since *Alice*. Children are, after all, the best judges of what children like. Regarded as a play, *Peter Pan* offers a few scenes that, to adults, seem overcharged with domestic sentiment; but to children who are really children it offers scenes that contain the essence of all imagined adventure. *Alice Sit-by-the-Fire* (1905) is one of Barrie's charming but insubstantial anecdotes, and *Pantaloon*, which accompanied it in the theatre, is pure theatrical sentimentalism. *Josephine* (1906) was a totally unsuccessful attempt at political satire, and *Punch*, played with it, was an unworthy skit on Shaw. Barrie's dramatic inspiration seemed to be fading; but in 1908 came *What Every Woman Knows*, with a first act of perfect, original comedy. The inspiration was not sustained in the later acts. A triple bill of 1910 contained a very good one-act play, *The Twelve-Pound Look*, and a very bad piece called *Old Friends*, in which a terrible theme is quite trivially presented. *Rosalind* (1912), a delightful "half-hour" in the life of a famous actress, is one of Barrie's best short plays. His almost brazen literary economy is illustrated by the piece called at first *The Adored One* (1913), a rather feeble anecdote of alleged murder, which gently satirized the ruthlessness of women at the time of the suffragist outrages. The public missed the point—never very obvious—so Barrie shortened his play into *Leonora* with the point left out. The public still failed to be amused; but a Scotsman was not going to waste an idea; and its last transmutation was the one-act piece called *Seven Women*. With *The Adored One* was produced *The Will*, one of Barrie's most moving inventions. The revue or extravaganza *Rosy Rapture* (1918) was an incredible aberration; and this, with the weakly sentimental *A Kiss for Cinderella* (1916), once more suggested the failing of a slender talent; but *Dear Brutus* (1917), daringly invented, presented with charm and simpli-

city a stern criticism of life, weakened by one concession to popular desire for a happy ending. The four short plays issued as *Echoes of the War* (1918) seem now to have lost any point they ever had. After a short silence came *Mary Rose* (1920), a disconcerting ghost-story, which conveyed the impression that the author had got lost in a Tir-n'an-Og of his own, and could not find his way back; and so a play with moving symbolical suggestions narrowly escaped a crash into material anti-climax. One ingenious act of a murder story called *Shall we Join the Ladies?* (1921) was not continued, and was not meant to be continued. Then, after a long silence, the author of *Peter Pan* wrote his last play and called it *The Boy David* (1936). This

any case, was too delicate to bear the weight of heavy and un-

remove the reproach of unreadability incurred by the usual stage directions and allow even his less good pieces to be read with some reward. Certain plays, hitherto unreprinted, appeared in a collected edition of 1942. Compared with the ruthlessly combative Shaw, Barrie seems to lack robustness But we must not be misled by appearance. *The Boy David could slay Goliath with the lightest of* weapons. The stage must be as hospitable to delicate invention as the novel. Barrie, in his best plays, brought to the commercial theatre a delicacy of texture without precedent, and triumphed over material grossness. When he failed, he failed where failure was certain; when he succeeded, he succeeded where success was almost impossible. Barrie's natural gift was for humorous and wistful evocations touched by the intense sentimentalism which the Scotsman usually pretends to suppress. Like the Irishman, the Scot is a "playboy", but, unlike the Irishman, the Scot imposes restraint upon his fancies and dourly denies their existence. The greatest fear of Stevenson was that, at a

Barrie's sentimentalism will go the way of Stevenson's extensive caperings. His hardness rather than his sofmess will survive. Barrie wrote no poetry. His poetry was written by another; for the child in the *Garden of Verses* might have been as naturally James Matthew ... But Barrie, unlike Stevenson, was

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tly irresistible rejection of illusion that is more impressive than erocities of the realists. Barrie is kind only to be cruel. He is as less as an old ballad. His talent is unique. He brought to the atre an entirely new world, in which, as in the stories of Ansen, we were shown life as a poetic child might see it, but in which ere were sudden, heart-chilling glimpses of cruelty and suffering. John Galsworthy, a humanitarian in his novels, was even more dently a humanitarian in his plays, which are careful arrangements f life designed to solicit our sympathy for the defeated and distressed. As theatrical pieces most of the plays are effective; as works of literary art they are below the level of his best novels. "You know what you really are, I suppose," says Ann to her father in *The Pigeon*, "a sickly sentimentalist." Against Galsworthy the playwright that accusation can be fairly made. Barrie sentimentalized the domestic affections and even the domestic affectations. That is, at the worst an agreeable offence: it is a clinging to hope for the best. Galsworthy sentimentalized sheer unsuccess and abject failure. That is not an agreeable offence: it is a clinging to the bad for its mere badness. Galsworthy's sufferers do nothing but suffer. His first play, *The Silver Box* (1906), showed extraordinary command of stage technique and remains his most considerable contribution to the drama of his day. The difference between the magistrate's treatment of the poor and the well-to-do for exactly the same kind of offence is a matter of daily experience. Galsworthy's two cases of theft as "a lark" are fairly presented and *The Silver Box* is impressive both as a play and as a social indictment. Its successor, *Joy* (1907), is a very feeble story in which whatever case there is for the mother who seeks a lover is not convincingly presented. *Strife* (1909) takes up the social parable. The central conflict is that between two dictators, to whom success at any cost is necessary. The cost is heavy. But as long as dictators are tolerated there will be human sacrifice; and human nature appears to desire dictators. *Strife* is thus little more than a social diagram. *Justice* (1910) is a legal diagram used to harrow the feelings of the audience with the horrors of prison life. But the feelings of the audience are harrowed by the torture scene in *La Tosca* and would be just as harrowed by a scene representing the failure of a beneficen major operation. Any dramatist can harrow the feelings of a audience. That improvements have been made in the conditions prison life as a result of this play is comforting but irrelevant. T real problem of the play, what is society to do with a young cle who falsifies his employers' cheque and steals their money in order run away with another man's wife and children, alleged (but ne shown) to be unhappy, is entirely shirked. *The Eldest Son* (1 reverts to the parallelism of *The Silver Box*. A county mag implacably forces marriage upon a young keeper who has got

into trouble; when he discovers that his eldest son, heir to his title and estates, has committed the same offence with a girl in the house-service, he resents the marriage proposed in that case. Our feelings are engaged in the strife between pride of caste and desire for repara- [illegible]

(1920) we have a melodramatic struggle between the country-gentleman and the newly rich. *A Family Man* (1921) says less in three acts and several scenes about the domestic autocrat than Barrie had said in the one scene of *The Twelve-Pound Look.* In *Loyalties* (1922) we have the massed solemnity of English country-house, military, and club life assailed by the ungentlemanly pertinacity of an obnoxious young Jew. Unfortunately one of the gentlemanly party has stolen a thousand pounds from the Jew to pay off his mistress before marriage to one of the ladies, and after trying to carry off his theft [illegible]

pleasing anecdote of what happened to a girl released from prison after murdering her baby. *The Forest* (1924) is a nasty story of financial adventure in Africa. *Old English* (1924) may be described [illegible] (1925) exhibits [illegible] f suicide. *The* [illegible] *The Sun* and *Punch and Go* are short dramatic scenes of no importance. *Escape* (1926), a convict play, *Exiled* (1929), a racing play, and *The Roof* (1929), the play of an incendiary fire, have a loosely elaborated structure and a touch of allegory, but little substance. Galsworthy's plays, collected in 1929, are very numerous, but only a few are likely to engage the attention of playgoers or the admiration of readers. The defect of his earnestness is that it has nothing of Shaw's sense of comedy or Barrie's penetrating humour. Such a play as *Justice* [illegible]

purely theatrical as the happy endings of the old melodramas What gives Galsworthy importance is a keen sense of the theatre, which he shared with Jones and Pinero, and a literary grace of

presentation which was beyond their reach. Thus, *The Eldest Son*, which tells a well-worn melodramatic story, tells it with extraordinary richness of texture. In spite of his concern with difficult social problems, Galsworthy does not dramatize any great idea, and his pity for the world's victims leads him, at times, perilously near the kind of sentimentalism that ignores the murdered and makes a pet of the murderer.

William Somerset Maugham was already favourably known as a novelist when he approached the theatre, through the private performances of The Stage Society, with *A Man of Honour* (1903), an uncomfortable play of misalliance and suicide. In substance this was thin and not guiltless of occasional farce; but it clearly showed ability to invent an effective story that could be told on the stage in the natural speech of possible characters. Whether the author could do more than this, whether he could devise a play that should "add the gleam" and throw a memorable light on human life was a question to which the play itself gave no definite answer and to which the author refused to attempt an answer; for, having discovered his gift for the stage, he applied it to the construction of successful theatrical diversions. *Lady Frederick* (1907), *Jack Straw* (1908), *Mrs Dot* (1908), *Man and Wife*—afterwards called *Penelope* (1909), *Smith* (1909), *Grace*—afterwards called *Landed Gentry* (1910), *The Tenth Man* (1910), *Loaves and Fishes* (1911) and *The Land of Promise* (1914) succeeded, not because they were good drama, but because they were "good theatre"—they were fresh variations on stock theatrical themes and characters. The author (like the early Barrie) took the theatre at its own valuation, gave no more than it asked, and flourished commercially because his inventions were effective on the stage and had a grace and brightness that the leaden substance of Jones-Pinero comedy lacked. Sheer literary intelligence would keep breaking in. *Home and Beauty* (1919), a comic treatment of the Enoch Arden theme, even contrives to satirize the manufacture of evidence for divorce cases in its scenes of farce. With *The Unknown* (1920) Maugham went further, and approached a problem. Can a man who has suffered bodily and spiritual indignity in the filthy horrors of war still believe in a merciful Providence? In posing that question *The Unknown* appears to discuss religion. Actually it discusses nothing more than church-going, and it forfeits any claim to serious consideration when it makes a devout woman decoy her lover to Holy Communion by a trick which an atheist would have disdained to use. Maugham shows a man-of-the-world's apprehension of the conventional religious difficulties; of the nature of religion itself he shows no trace of understanding. He found his right level again in *The Circle* (1923), and with it resumed his dramatic comments on "such a being as man in such a world as the present". *Caesar's Wife*

(1922) is a story of passion with its scene in Egypt. Much more important
stant Wife
Restoration
melodram
Breadwinner (1930), *For Services Rendered* (1932) and *Sheppey* (1933).

compel enduring interest, because, though they join to deftness of workmanship a kind of cynical honesty in their view of life, they contain no creative touch of faith, hope or charity.

An unexpected dramatist who found a place on the English stage during the first dozen years of the twentieth century was Euripides. In George Gilbert Aimé Murray (1866), scholar and publicist, the Greek tragedians found a translator in the tradition of North, Holland, Urquhart and Dryden, those bold adventurers, who had no fear of the timid pedant's ultimate epithet, "unscholarly", but laid ... Spanish, and gave ... Translation must ... lation "into". In recent times, however, the half-learned have demanded mere correctness, not a version, but a construe, and have seriously objected that Murray will not do, because he sometimes uses two words where Euripides used one, and because his metres are not those of the originals. The observations of Dryden upon such objections would be

translator must give not only the meaning of the original, but the momentum of the original. Murray did not take the liberties of Racine. He kept strictly to the Greek form, retaining the Chorus, which, on the modern stage, and in modern plays as well as in ancient, usually drives producers to despair and audiences to the solemnity that is only one remove from mirth, but, differentiating for the ear between the choral lyrics and the dramatic dialogue, the translator chose mainly Swinburnian measures for the former and heroic couplets for the latter, and thus made the plays actually playable. Murray was not a novice in drama. He had written *Carlyon Sahib* (1899), and his *Andromache* (1900), a modern prose tragedy on an ancient Greek theme, was acted by The Stage Society in 1901 This

was bold, but not *quite* bold enough. Its grave traditional prose seems to stretch out with longing towards the traditional verse. In translation, however, Murray defied tradition; and the production of his rhymed version of the *Hippolytus* in 1904 made a theatrical sensation. Then followed in quick succession *The Trojan Women* (1905), *Electra* (1906), *Medea* (1907) and *The Bacchae* (1908). Euripides became as familiar in the mouths of modern playgoers as Ibsen or Shaw. Murray turned next to Sophocles, and his version of the *Oedipus Rex* was memorably produced by Reinhardt at Covent Garden in 1912, the year in which the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides was performed. The classical translations of Gilbert Murray, which include some from Aeschylus and Aristophanes, form an original and illuminating addition to modern literature. They did in the theatre what such attempts had failed to do for a couple of centuries: they succeeded.

The most disappointing dramatist of the period was Harley Granville-Barker (1877–1946), already mentioned (p. 984) as actor and manager. His first play, *The Marrying of Ann Leete*, produced by The Stage Society in 1902, showed, in its elaborate blend of simplicity and artifice, more promise than performance. The Pierrot fantasy *Prunella* (1904), written in collaboration with Laurence Housman, was successful as well as delightful. His second serious play, *The Voysey Inheritance* (1905), entirely changed its ground and dealt strongly with the tragedy of a family inheritance of fraud. *Waste* (1907), equally sincere and powerful, fell under the ban of the Examiner of Plays, apparently because its story of a statesman's illicit love-affair was treated tragically instead of farcically. *The Madras House* (1910) is a dramatic discussion that raises some important feminist questions, and leaves them (as they still are) unsolved. But *The Madras House* was a "pre-War" play and discussed its dangerous topics with almost hopeful freedom. *The Secret Life* (1923), a puzzling, disturbing "post-War" play, shows us the intellectual world reduced to spiritual nihilism. There is no clear centre of dramatic interest. The characters just come and go, and what "love interest" there is seems entirely gratuitous. The dialogue is sometimes normally dramatic and sometimes philosophically enigmatic, as if the speakers had no other purpose than to ask riddles to which there can be no answer. Perhaps in no other volume is there so complete a revelation of the spiritual bankruptcy produced by the War. *His Majesty* (1928) is more simple and less important. Granville-Barker's purely theatrical activities included not only the Court season of 1904 and later, but a memorable season at the Savoy in 1907 where he gave as producer some of the most satisfying Shakespearean performances seen in recent times. He was associated also with Charles Frohman's repertory season at the Duke of York's Theatre (1910, etc.). Lately readers have been

indebted to him for successive volumes called *Prefaces to Shakespeare* (1928, etc.), vital discussions of certain plays considered practically as works for the theatre, without the mere ingenuity that has disfigured some later criticism of Shakespeare. We have called Granville-Barker a disappointing playwright because, possessing, as it seemed, both the intellectual and the imaginative gifts for dramatic composition, he has left us nothing that takes an assured place among the classics of the English theatre.

A dramatist of promise was St John Hankin (1869–1909), whose chief plays

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employment. Enforced marriage is the remedy in both cases; but whereas in *The Eldest Son* it is the injured girl's father who proudly refuses a marriage of charity, in *Hindle Wakes* we have what seems a new and modern situation, the girl herself refusing marriage with an amiable weakling good enough for a holiday lover, but not good enough for a husband. Fanny Hawthorn's bold defiance of the accepted convention in such cases gave her more importance than she really deserved, for, in spite of the interest of its provincial humours, *Hindle Wakes* is thinly invented and poorly charactered. Houghton's other plays, *The Dear Departed* (1908), *The Younger Generation* (1910), *The Master of the House* (1910), and *Fancy Free*

in his opportunities. Emily Horniman, who had backed the Avenue Theatre in London (1894) when Shaw's *Arms and the Man* was

Abbey Theatre in Dublin (1904),

1907, and inaugurated in

anchester, *her repertory* seasons which ran from 1908 to 1921. Houghton thus found a field ready for his talent. Another Lancashire playwright, whose work

...ced *Mary Broome* (1911), *The Education of Mr Surrage* (1912), *The* ...nquering *Hero* (1923) and several other pieces of fair quality. But ...s reputation remained local, and his work was never caught into ...he general current of English drama. Charles McEvoy (1879–1929) ...egan well with *David Ballard* (1907), which opened Miss Horniman's ...campaign, but he gradually lapsed into the ordinary theatricalism of *The Likes of Her* (1923). The "Manchester School" exhibited the possibilities of local drama and stimulated the formation of other provincial repertory theatres. That it did not approach the success of the Irish School was the fault neither of time nor of place. Dramatists must be born before they are made and Manchester produced nc Yeats or Synge.

A curious place among dramatists is held by Laurence Housman (1865), who seemed fated to write plays that could never be performed. His share in *Prunella* has been mentioned. *Pains and Penalties* (1911), dramatising the connubial discord between George IV and Queen Caroline, *Angels and Ministers* (1911), containing three Victorian plays, and *Palace Plays*, first series (1930), second series (1931), third series (1933), dealing with the reign of the great Queen, were all barred from the stage because they referred to the life of the royal family. The ban was removed later. A long series of *Little Plays of St Francis* offered the theatre no chance of normal success. In fact, the plays of Laurence Housman (which include many not mentioned here) hardly belong to the ordinary theatre. They are pleasant anecdotes in dramatic form.

John Masefield (1878), already distinguished as a poet, wrote *The Tragedy of Nan* (1908) in prose with a kind of rustic music, and thus invited comparison with the contemporary successes of Yeats and Synge. Though the Irish do not habitually use the language of *Cathleen ni Houlihan* and *Riders to the Sea*, their speech endures that kind of exaltation; but peasants by the river Severn at no time used the language of *Nan*. They have had a poet's speech imposed upon them. Further, the tragedy in the play is gratuitous rather tha... essential. The real tragedy of Nan has happened before the curtai... rises, and nothing is shown us but mischances. Thus, in spite of fi... imaginative qualities, the play does not belong to the highest level... dramatic inventions. *The Campden Wonder* (1907) and *Mrs Harri...* (1907), two other prose tragedies, are unimpressive. *The Traged... Pompey the Great* (1910) is in a different manner. Here the pro... intensely dramatic—it is modern prose which does the work of ... without any overlay of rhetoric, Elizabethan or Victorian. The ... is impressive in itself, and proves that tragedy can be written i... manner. *Philip the King* (1914) and *Good Friday* (1915) forsake... for rhymed verse of its own kind and period. Masefield appea... be experimenting in form, moved either by artistic curiosity...

some example that had attracted him. A clue is given in

(1915), a Japanese play in sir

the Japanese "No" dramas

recently been translated into

The Coming of Christ (1928), *Easter* (1929), "a play for singers", and *End and Beginning* (1934), show a plastic freedom of form, and mingle prose and verse, chorus and dialogue, with sure poetic instinct. A modern adaptation of the old miracle-play style is successfully used not only for the beautiful invention called *The Coming of Christ*, but even for *End and Beginning*, the final tragedy of Mary Queen of Scots.

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written for private performance. Few of them have reached the public. They form a most interesting series of attempts to solve the problem of finding a tragic style free from conventional diction, and they are, in general, undervalued. They are the most considerable contribution made by an English poet to the theatre during the present century.

At one time it seemed that a new dramatist of importance had appeared in John Drinkwater (1882–1937), who had connection with

prose chronicle play, was more than an experiment, and had a theatrical success which it deserved, for a great figure and a great cause were not unworthily presented. *Mary Stuart* (1921), *Oliver*

Drinkwater also ventured into modern comedy with *Bird-in-Hand* (1927) and other pieces, but the resounding triumph of *Abraham Lincoln* was not repeated. None of his work attains a high level.

James Elroy Flecker (1884–1915) left one poetic play, *Hassan*, highly praised by the "moderns" of that age as a great contribution

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Some of the writers named in the preceding paragraphs stood

rather aside from the general traffic of the stage. A direct line from Barrie brings us to Alan Alexander Milne (1882) who, like his master, began with light journalism, some of it reprinted in agreeable volumes, of which *Not That it Matters* (1919) and *If I May* (1922) can be taken as examples. His books for children, *When We Were Very Young* (1924), *Winnie-the-Pooh* (1926) and *Now We Are Six* (1927) had a popular success out of all proportion to their intrinsic merit. Milne's most ambitious work was done for the stage, and his numerous pieces can be conveniently cited in their collected form as *First Plays* (1919), *Second Plays* (1921), *Three Plays* (1923) and *Four Plays* (1926). Some are slight to tenuity. Among those in the first volume, *Belinda* (obviously a near relation of Barrie's *Rosalind*) gave a delightful part to Irene Vanbrugh, the original Rosalind. The second volume contained the more considerable *Mr Pim Passes By* and the amusing mockery of *The Romantic Age*. The volume called *Three Plays*, containing *The Dover Road* (a light variant of *Dear Brutus*), *The Truth about Blayds* and *The Great Broxopp*, represents Milne at his best, touching realism with fantasy, and strengthening fantasy with realism. *Four Plays* and *Michael and Mary* (1929) did not go beyond their predecessors. Milne has brought to the stage a charm it can ill spare; it is perhaps ungrateful, therefore, to ask for power.

St John Ervine has already been mentioned as a figure in the Irish dramatic revival. Among the plays written after the Irish period we may mention *The Lady of Belmont* (1925), a "continuation" of *The Merchant of Venice*, *Mary, Mary, Quite Contrary* (1924), *Anthony and Anna* (1926), *The First Mrs Frazer* (1929) and *Robert's Wife* (1937), all competent pieces, but without any fulfilment of the promise of strength shown, however crudely, in *Mixed Marriage*, *Jane Clegg* and *John Ferguson*. Ervine was a forcible critic of the drama, and wrote, besides biographies of Parnell and General Booth, several novels, of which *Mrs Martin's Man* (1917), *Changing Winds* (1917) and *The Wayward Man* (1927) have some power.

Most of the principal novelists left the theatre alone. During an earlier period, Stevenson had collaborated with Henley in *Deacon Brodie*, *Beau Austin* and *Admiral Guinea*, published as *Three Plays* (1892) and in *Macaire* (1895). All received occasional performances, and *Beau Austin* made a favourable impression. There was unusual pleasure in hearing such graceful prose spoken at a time when the stage was nothing if not stagy; but the plays were unvital.

Eden Phillpotts wrote many plays alone or in collaboration; and of these the most successful, in all senses, were the three "Devonshire Plays"—*The Farmer's Wife* (1916), *Devonshire Cream* (1924) and *Yellow Sands* (1926). They do not rank above pleasant entertainments. Henry James, Wells and Conrad have no theatrical history worth mentioning, and George Moore made little impression with his few

the theatre is Arnold Bennett, whose plays fall into two classes, those adapted from novels and those written directly for the theatre. The

course. Bennett wrote other plays, original or derived, that hardly call for mention.

A later novelist-playwright of importance is John Boynton

mysteries of our existence and duration. In quick succession came *Dangerous Corner* (1932), *The Roundabout* (1933), *Laburnam Grove*

(1940). Priestley has brought to the theatre very good intentions.

writing beyond his means.

Two typical playwrights of the post-War period are Frederick Lonsdale (1881) and Noel Coward (1899). Lonsdale's *Aren't We All?* (1923), *The Last of Mrs Cheyney* (1925), *On Approval* (1927) and *Canaries Sometimes Sing* (1929) show a keen sense of the theatre,

operetta, comedy and spectacle, has given glimpses of a shrewd estimate of life, but he belongs to the theatre rather than to letters. *Design for Living* (1933), produced here in 1939, is the most cynical of his dramatic comments on modern life. Others are *The Vortex* (1924), *Fallen Angels* (1925), *Hay Fever* (1925), *Private Lives* (1930),

Conversation Piece (1934) and *To-night at Eight-thirty* (1936). With consummate skill he offers a "drama of ideas" to shallow modern minds in the only kind of language they can understand. His contempt for the self-flattering audiences who take his satirical farces seriously is so undisguised as to be accepted complacently by the victims as a delightful part of his humour. It is possible to view Noel Coward as a Victorian in spirit, who wrote against the grain for an age of gigolos and lounge-lizards.

To name all who have contributed to the progress of the drama during the present century is impossible; but, for purposes of record, a few individual plays may be cited as attempts to find themes outside the usual theatrical expectations of their own time: *Diana of Dobson's* (1908) a pre-War feminist comedy by Cicely Hamilton; *Chains* (1909) a drab realistic piece by Elizabeth Baker; *The New Morality* (1920) a cynical comedy by Harold Chapin; *A Bill of Divorcement* (1921) by "Clemence Dane" (Winifred Ashton), an anticipation of divorce for reasons that have since become legally valid; *Outward Bound* (1923) a symbolical study of "after death" by Sutton Vane; *Journey's End* (1928) a tragic drama of the War by R. C. Sherriff; *The Barretts of Wimpole Street* (1930) by Rudolf Besier, presenting the love-story of the Brownings; and two very attractive biblical plays by James Bridie (James Mavor), *Tobias and the Angel* (1931) and *Jonah and the Whale* (1932).

During the last half-century the English drama has been re-created and restored to literature. This achievement is the work, partly of the writers already discussed, and partly of organizations that have embodied dramatic ideals or ventured boldly in production. Among these associations or enterprises we should name The Independent Theatre, The Elizabethan Stage Society, The Irish National Theatre, The Stage Society, The Drama League, The Vedrenne-Barker seasons at the Court and the Savoy, the Frohman season at the Duke of York's and the provincial repertory theatres, beginning with Emily Horniman's Manchester experiment. These belong to the Nineties or the dozen years that followed. Later still, drama has flourished, not only in large centres of population, but in small towns and villages as a communal activity. Perhaps the most popular dramatist of the century has been Shakespeare; for the stirring adventures at the Old Vic and Sadler's Wells together with some striking individual performances were made possible because William Poel and The Elizabethan Stage Society had shown that Shakespeare whole and unmutilated, and played with the intended continuity, was a new and thrilling theatrical experience. Even general financial pressure and the popular competition of "the pictures" have not prevented a remarkable development of the drama. The entire theatrical productions of the year 1894 in London include only three

new plays worth a second thought, Yeats's *The Land of Heart's Desire*, Shaw's *Arms and the Man* and Jones's *The Case of Rebellious Susan*, and even of these the first two were produced in a subsidized season. The leanest of modern years can show a richer harvest than that.

IV. POETRY

As we remarked in the preceding section, the progress of poetry in recent years has been less spectacular than the progress of drama. Drama, at the beginning of the century, had a bare and open road before it; the way of poetry was still populous with the great Victorians. No poetic figure of their magnitude has yet emerged; [illegible] is even more [illegible] of the greatest [illegible] of English poems. The period from 1900 to 1940 can [illegible]

[illegible]

the great poets, when great, are also good poets. Insistence on the importance of goodness over greatness is merely a device for evading comparison. Another device is the assertion of some specific superiority of the new poetry to the old. But we need not take this claim too seriously, for the most commonly repeated incident in the history of English poetry is the revolt of the moderns against their predecessors. Thus the seventeenth century revolted against the diction of the sixteenth, but thought it liked some earlier poetry; the eighteenth century revolted against the seventeenth, but showed some liking for the sixteenth; the nineteenth century revolted against the eighteenth, but showed some liking for the seventeenth; the twentieth century has revolted against the nineteenth, but believes it has re-discovered the eighteenth. The graphs of poetical [illegible] and fall with the regularity of a malaria chart. At the [illegible] is become [illegible] must not be intimidated by labels [illegible] Victorian as a [illegible] Those who use "Victorian" [illegible] to the level of those who use "[illegible] in music. The [illegible] qualities of literature are in different categories and must not be confused. Nor must the term "modern" be used as if it had absolute significance. "Modern" means that something has gone before. Thus Skelton was modern compared with Hawes; Surrey was modern compared with Skelton; Donne was modern compared

Spenser; Dryden was modern compared with Donne; Tennyson modern compared with Scott; Kipling was modern compared h Swinburne; Hardy was modern compared with Tennyson; sefield was modern compared with Dowson. When Bridges was ade Poet Laureate in 1913, a periodical devoted to poetry raised an utcry, and declared that a "modern" poet should have been ap-ointed; and the two "modern" poets it named as possessing "modern" qualities were Newbolt and Noyes. Obviously "moder-nity" is a variable and not a constant. The view that poetry is a secretion from some active political principle is certainly not "modern", as we may see by considering Kipling, Tennyson, Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, Dryden, Milton and the author (or authors) of *Piers Plowman*. There have been Chartist poets, and Tory poets, and republican poets, and nationalist poets, and separatist poets, and Catholic poets, and Anglican poets, and atheist poets, and all that has ever mattered is whether they are poets. Ideas and systems and social urgencies may move poets to genuine poetic utterance or they may provide words for those who have really nothing to say. After all, most great poets have believed in something, for even atheism is a kind of belief. What must be reprobated is the present tendency to sectarianism in poetry, a special "dissidence of dissent" that denies the free play of the mind and declares that poetical salvation can be found only in some peculiarity of doctrine, generally a fond thing vainly invented. This kind of sectarianism, of course, cuts both ways; it demands not only submission to the new forcers of conscience but the rejection of all other means of grace. In fact, it becomes totalitarianism. And so poetry is no longer discussed, as it was discussed by Matthew Arnold, it is decreed, dictated and en-forced by excommunication and anathema. We have already called attention to the dangers of "boss" methods in literary production; we must not ignore the dangers of totalitarian methods in literary propaganda. The ancient way is still the best, the way of healthy individualism that draws its life from the sound stock of tradition The only really important question about any poet is not whether h is modern, but whether he can become part of the past in which a great poets are contemporaries. These are trite observations, but th must be repeated from time to time to remind the reader that he m take a catholic view, not a sectarian view, that he must not be bull by any dictators, and that he must not confuse the values in art v the values in any form of scientific or speculative knowledge.

The long Victorian period in poetry did not suddenly cease, t followed by several decades of experimental utterance, each modern than the last. Side by side with those who still cultivat Swinburnian diction and called themselves "fin de siècle" were who were feeling for original ways of speech without se

themselves from the great tradition. Historically as well as intrinsically interesting were the gatherings of "The Rhymers' Club" and the two volumes they produced—*The Book of the Rhymers' Club* (1892) and *The Second Book of the Rhymers' Club* (1894). Among the Rhymers were some notable figures of the Nineties—Ernest Dowson, Lionel Johnson, Arthur Symons, W. B. Yeats, Richard Le Gallienne, a prolific writer of unimportant prose and verse, Ernest

Fiddler of Dooney, Johnson's *By the Statue of King Charles* and Dowson's *Cynara* poem. There was no straining for obvious difference; there was genuine original variety. Other poets of the last Victorian decade, outside this circle, have already been discussed. Swinburne was still writing. Meredith and Hardy were producing

there were other poets who gained or consolidated their renown in the twentieth rather than in the nineteenth century, and these will now be noticed in order of seniority.

By a curious chance, the first of modern poets was a complete Victorian, Gerard Manley Hopkins (1844–89), who, beginning as a disciple of Pater, ended by becoming a Catholic and a Jesuit priest, and put away poetry as an earthly vanity. Literature has suffered

painter's eye and the musician's ear. Further, he was an original force, moved naturally to essay some untried possibilities of poetry. Nothing that he wrote was published in the ordinary sense. Most of his pieces

collection

amounts t

genuinely

ments, which, for reasons to be indicated later, have been more generally discussed. He tried to distil the language of poetry into such a concentrated essence, that expressionless words should be driven out, leaving only the words that carried their quantum of vital energy. This, if we use the term without disrespect, is the "tabloid" ideal—and the "tabloid" fallacy. Unlike Calverley, Hopkins does not merely "dock the smaller parts-o'-speech", he leaves them out; and the result is not concentration, but obscurity. The insertion of relative pronouns will often make some rough

s plain. Among the poet's less successful experiments is one can be illustrated by two lines from *The Loss of the Eurydice*:

But what black Boreas wrecked her? he
Came equipped, deadly electric.

credible as it may seem, "wrecked her he" with the hard "C" of came" in the next line makes a rhyme with "electric". Nothing ut over-emphatic declamation can bring out such a rhyme, and the esult sounds almost comic. Misled by the effect of suspensions in music, Hopkins used several of these "run-over" rhymes, believing that when they were possible they succeeded. His later work shows a tendency to reject the gratuitously eccentric dissonances that are unquestionably blemishes in his writing. As a metrist Hopkins was not so original as some enthusiasts have believed. What he did was to find new names for some old ways of writing; and a new nomenclature is as fatally fascinating to those with no creative gift as "derivations" are to those with no philological education. Common English rhythm he called "Running Rhythm", and believing that, as in music, the stress must come first in the bar, he thought that the only normally possible English feet were the trochee |–∪| and the dactyl |–∪∪|. A mixture of trochaic and dactylic he called "Logaoedic Rhythm". The word "logaoedic", from λόγος, prose, and ἀοιδή, song, is a term with meaning in the strictly measured prosody of Greek and Latin; it is a useless curiosity in English. In addition, there is "Sprung Rhythm", which is measured by feet of from one to four (or more) syllables, the stress falling of course on the first. Thus one stress may immediately follow another, or be separated from the first by one, two, three or more "slack" syllables. Sprung rhythm is nothing more novel than the verse of *Piers Plowman* or of later poets who have sought the effect of two adjacent stresses. If a slightly varied rhythm is imposed upon the original pattern, the result is "Counterpoint Rhythm". Milton constantly used counterpoint rhythm. The crabbed compression and metrical terminology of Hopkins were eagerly caught up by young people anxious to be "different", and absurd claims have been made for him. His sonnet *The Windhove* has already been described in a printed volume as the greatest poe in the English language. Excesses of this kind are unfair to a poet wh had never passed beyond experiment and prepared nothing f publication. His major contribution to poetry is the almost candescent intensity of apprehension for which he sought to fin fitting expression, and for which his difficulties are worth surmo ing. Hopkins is one of the few poets of ecstasy without excess. poems are religious in a purer sense than that in which we cal poems of Francis Thompson religious. Hopkins can be a influence for good upon any humble seeker after the spirit, a

worst of models for the self-confident in search of a manner. His prose remains, [illegible] (1935), *The C*[illegible] *Watson Dixon* ([illegible] *Hopkins* (1937) and *Further Letters of Gerard Manley Hopkins* (1938), are treasures the worth of which has scarcely yet been disclosed.

Robert Bridges (1844–1930) of Eton, Oxford, and St Bartholomew's Hospital, confidant and contemporary of Hopkins, shared his friend's interest in metres, but was intensely classical in restraint. His first works came into existence almost unnoticed. There was a slight volume in 1873. *The Growth of Love*, a sequence of twenty-four sonnets, appeared in 1876, and, enlarged to seventy-nine sonnets, was privately printed at the Daniel Press and thought worthy of a pirated edition in America. In 1885 appeared *Eros and Psyche*, the lovely prose story of Apuleius delightfully told in a sequence of seven-lined stanzas; but not till the first four books of *Shorter Poems* appeared in 1890 did the public that reads poetry become really aware of an exquisite talent, scholarly, original, yet suggestive of Campion and earlier singers. A Fifth Book was added to the Daniel Press edition in 1894 and the whole collection was republished as [illegible]

[illegible] (1904), a later masqu[illegible] examples of a poet [illegible] dramatic composition. The cheap newspapers which complained, when Bridges was made Laureate in 1913, that no one had ever heard of him before, spoke the truth after their fashion, for he was the kind of poet not usually read by reporters. The poet himself continued undisturbed his numerous interests. Of his work in prosody we have already spok[illegible] a wide range of interests, fr[illegible] founder of the Society for P[illegible] pamphlets. His War-time anthology *The Spirit of Man* had a fair [illegible]

expectation of new work from him had been put by, he published *The Testament of Beauty* (1929) and attained something like popularity. An elaborate poem in four books written by a man over

eighty, journalistically dismissed as incapable of writing anything, must have appealed to the sporting instincts of the public. There were other attractions. There was a beckoning title. There was the probability that a poem with books bearing such names as *Selfhood, Breed, Ethick*, would be "about something". There was the loose, plastic metre, lending itself to broad, sage discourse. But, above all, there was, for the first time since the War, the promise of a *poem*—not any acrid little jet of venom or fit of querulousness, without rhyme or reason, but a poem, in the old, large constructive sense, measuring itself with life and the problems of the soul. For these or other reasons the *Testament* was largely bought. Edition rapidly followed edition. Commentaries were demanded. And then, presently, voices, not all acrid and querulous, were heard asking whether certain baldly scientific summaries in it could be considered as poetry. An obvious retort was that they were certainly as much poetry as the applauded pieces by some of the questioners; but this, though a retort, was not an answer. The question remained; and it raised yet another question. We cannot ask, Is this poetry, without also asking, Is this important. Many new experiments in musical, pictorial and literary art, for which extravagant claims of excellence are made, are so unimportant intrinsically that discussion of them on any ground is waste of time. The clearest fact about the *Testament* is that, though it intends nobly, it does not achieve greatly. It is the table-talk of a scholar expressed in conventional poetic diction, though in an unconventional metre. In vital poetic value it cannot for a moment be placed on the level of such a poem as *The Prelude*. Its interest is almost entirely a prose interest—we are interested in the matter of the old scholar's discourse, and we are interested in the science of its metrics. To say this is not to deny that there are fine rhetorical passages—the Dante-like opening, for instance—which will continue to move. But only infatuation will maintain that the whole substance has been caught up and transfigured into poetry. *The Testament of Beauty* will be read and enjoyed as other versified books of wisdom are read and enjoyed; the fame of Robert Bridges as a poet will rest more firmly upon the fragile loveliness of his quiet, uncontending lyrics in the great tradition of English poetry.

Almost contemporary with Hopkins and Bridges we find yet another scholar-poet, Alfred Edward Housman (1859–1936), professor of Latin successively in the universities of London and of Cambridge. He came into literature with a small volume of verse, *A Shropshire Lad* (1896), which at once attracted the attention of those with ears for an original voice in poetry. The public that admired the *Shorter Poems* of Bridges admired *A Shropshire Lad* of Housman. There is no truth in the assertion sometimes made that Housman's lyrics were generally unknown till they were set to

music. His work was quite familiar among the outpourings of a prolific poetical decade. *Last Poems* (1922) and the posthumous *More Poems* (1936)—not really later in time than *A Shropshire Lad*

Joseph Skipsey (1832–1903) is improbable, even though Skipsey became a kind of public character in later years; but in some of the old man's lyrics of the coalfields there is the now familiar laconic note of bitterness in beauty:

> The stars are twinkling in the sky
> As to the pit I go;
> I think not of the sheen on high,
> But of the gloom below.
>
> No rest or peace, but toil and strife,
> Do there the soul enthral,
> And turn the precious cup of life
> Into a cup of gall

That is the manner of Skipsey; and it is the manner of Housman without Housman's felicity. Absolute novelty of style, therefore, cannot be claimed for *A Shropshire Lad.* Perhaps the fatalism it expressed with such memorable brevity appealed specially to the

the placing of mere conjunctions and prepositions. Thus, though Housman's poems do not fill the mind, they fill the ear The utter-

were also modern poets, expressing emotions of their own day and finding personal forms for their utterance. The next modern poet burst into the classic peace with the clang of a military band. Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936) was not a scholar-poet; he was a journalist-poet. That is said in definition, not in defamation. He was

the kind of poet whose compositions could be printed in newspaper of the largest circulation. Nothing need be said of his earliest book: of verse. The volumes containing the poems that matter are *Barrack-Room Ballads* (1892), *The Seven Seas* (1896), *The Five Nations* (1903), *Songs from Books* (1912) and *The Years Between* (1919). Kipling, like Burns, has suffered much from public celebration, and must not be punished for the after-dinner excesses of his admirers. He is entitled to critical consideration. *Barrack-Room Ballads* appeared in the year of Tennyson's death and offered readers of that day a new sensation. The forms indeed were not new. The rhythms came from Swinburne and from the old ballads—the "question-and-answer" form being used in the very first of the barrack-room pieces, the grim and haunting *Danny Deever*. Like Swinburne, Kipling was familiar with the language of the Bible. But ostensibly the general form of *Barrack-Room Ballads* is that of the current music-hall song with chorus and "effects". Some of the pieces do not rise much above that level; but suddenly the rowdiness is hushed and the voice of a poet is heard in *Mandalay*. What is really new in *Barrack-Room Ballads* is not form but matter. There had been some famous earlier poems of military life; but they had been poems of exceptional circumstances. In Kipling's verses the fighting private soldier told, for the first time, the story of his own life in his own language. We were taken into his mind. Kipling is thus the poetical historian of the old "army of mercenaries" that passed away for ever in the War of 1914-18. When he wrote, the memories of Kabul and Kandahar, Burma and the Soudan, had not been washed away by the bloodier waters of the Somme; and his songs will preserve the half-forgotten honours and humours of the Victorian army in the East. The "barrack-room ballads" occupied barely a third of the volume named from them. The other verses told stirring tales of the sea and of Oriental adventure. Some appeared suited for "the largest circulations"; others appealed to readers of choicer taste. One outstanding piece is the permanently popular *Ballad of East and West*. Kipling was already in high favour as a writer of stories. *Barrack-Room Ballads* revealed him as poet with new matter, a note of authority, a full store of experience, and the right ballad-maker's gift of appealing to all ages and all classes. The ultra-literary whispered, like the Devil in his own poem, "It may be bold, but is it Art?" The ordinary readers troubled not at all about Art and let the new songs sing in their ears. *The Seven Seas* (1896) was a finer volume. Its new barrack-room ballads included nothing so exquisite as *Mandalay* and nothing so crude as *Loot*; but the level was higher: there was more of the "general in the particular", and the view was less confined. The other poems struck a deeper note, and Kipling first clearly appeared in them as the poet of passionate devotion to an English ideal of service and governance. He became

in a special *sense* a *public* poet, an unofficial laureate, expressing something that mattered to the nation as a living corporate body, and in times of trial or triumph he was listened to and listened for.

> We have fed our sea for a thousand years
> And she calls us, still unfed.

He had enlarged, too, his metrical range, and such poems as *The Last Chantey, In the Neolithic Age, The Merchantmen* and *The Last Rhyme of True Thomas* are masterpieces of movement. In the lighter numbers

having

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Lesson and *The Islanders,* but narrowed its spirit into a kind of illiberal nationalism. *The Songs from Books* (1912) collected some

like the politics, and others are convinced that the poems are detestable because they dislike the politics But in these days of strong feeling we must be careful to distinguish between poetry and

of his contemporaries and many of his predecessors. *The Years Between* is inferior to *The Seven Seas,* not because the political spirit is bad, but because the poetical spirit is weaker. To denounce Kipling's which only ets, whether extol their own country. Further, they are entitled to sing of national success as well as of national humiliation, they are entitled to exult as well as to despair. Indeed, the poe better poet than the poet not confined to the bleat

may appear to draw more satisfaction from magnitude than from magnanimity; but his allusion to "lesser breeds without the law", which enraged the anti-imperialists, is amply justified by events. Like any other poet he is to be judged by his poems, not by his politics. His best poems are the best of their kind and they are like no other kind. In creating his own colloquial idiom, he brought back to poetry the strength of common speech. Kipling is a poet in feeling and in expression, an artist in word and in movement, a seer in apprehension of the ideal within the material. To have written poems that kindle a sense of high calling and obligation among all the English-speaking peoples of the world is an achievement of such astonishing rarity that to deny the name of poet to the man who has accomplished it is worse than stupidity, it is sheer bookishness.

The quieter aspects of patriotism were more reticently sung by Henry Newbolt in *Songs of the Sea* (1904) and *Songs of the Fleet* (1910), and in 1917 came Laurence Binyon's *For the Fallen*, one of the few enduring poems of the War. There were poets of another note. Thomas Sturge Moore (1870–1944) began his sincere, lonely and laboured song with *The Vine Dresser* (1899). He was interested in pictorial art, especially in engraving, and followed his own line in poetry like a secluded craftsman. Though in some respects he seems to be a Pre-Raphaelite of the Nineties, he was a modern before the moderns in rejecting a traditional diction and in fashioning a poetic speech of his own, even when he chose traditional classical subjects, such as *Danaë* (1903) and *The Rout of the Amazons* (1903). *Judas* (1923) is perhaps the most ambitious and certainly not the least difficult of his poems. He also wrote plays, or rather he used the dramatic form, as in *Aphrodite against Artemis* (1901) and *Absalom* (1903). Sturge Moore can be as little represented in anthologies as Doughty, and he deserves to be read in some fullness. The stuff of poetry is in all his work; but it is not always transmuted and transmitted.

Another poet born in 1870 is Joseph Hilaire Pierre Belloc, of France and Oxford, who, though he wrote largely in prose, put some of the best of himself into verse. He published *Verses and Sonnets* (1896) but first became known as the grim humorist of *The Bad Child's Book of Beasts* (1896), *More Beasts for Worse Children* (1898), *A Moral Alphabet* (1899), and *Cautionary Tales for Children* (1908). Belloc's serious poems, slight in quantity, are exquisite in quality. His sonnets are the finest modern examples of that much tried form. His songs can laugh and laud and deride with the ribald vigour of the past and the effective point of the present. No one in recent times has touched sacred themes with such appealing delicacy. The poems of Belloc show *triumphantly* how a modern writer can follow an old tradition and remain master of himself.

One of the truest poets of the time and one of the few memorable

women-poets in our history is Charlotte Mew (1870–1928), who lived and died tragically in poverty and obscurity, without attracting even the notice that is sometimes taken of a life of self-sacrifice. Only

Charlotte Mew's poems are contained in two volumes, *The Farmer's Bride* (1915) and *The Rambling Sailor* (1929), the latter published

that the poet felt like that, and is not just pretending. Perhaps Davies would have been most at home as a wandering bard in the older days of his native Wales. Contemporary with W. H Davies

of Honour (1913), the first carrying much greater conviction; but he has failed to live up to their promise and his collected poems make the slightest of volumes.

A little later in birth comes Walter de la Mare (1873), a highly individual writer in prose and in verse. His stories, *Henry Brocken*

Henry Brocken is worth notice as an imaginative writer's beginning, but in itself it is over-literary. *The Memoirs of a Midget* is almost

Speculations (1940). *Songs of Childhood* (1902) was followed by *Poems* (1906), *The Listeners* (1912), *The Sunken Garden* (1917) and *Motley* (1918) A collected volume appeared in 1920. *Peacock Pie* (1913) established him in the affections of children, and *Ding-Dong Bell* (1924) was an original mingling of verse and prose. Later

chanted, and some haunted. He seems terribly at ease in a Zion f twilight and shadow. Perhaps because of this, no poet is able to nhabit so naturally the mind of childhood, where few can walk undismayed. But he seems delightfully unconscious of his own magic. His verses flow easily and persuasively, and they are worlds away from the charnel-house horrors of Poe. The volumes named are only part of a large output. De la Mare remained honourably true to his genius and never sought publicity by any sort of display.

Gordon Bottomley (1874), who began to publish in the Nineties, had more in common with the full-mouthed Elizabethans than with the decadents of his own period. His work is original and even primitive, strong in utterance and rich in a highly personal vocabulary. Indeed, his failure to win a large following can be attributed in part to a closeness of texture that disconcerts the lazy-minded who desire to take in everything at a casual glance. Bottomley's earliest volumes need not be named. The first collection to deserve attention is *Chambers of Imagery* (1907) with a second series (1912). *A Vision of Giorgione* (1910) showed original treatment of a Browningesque theme. *Poems of Thirty Years* (1925) presents his best work. A very powerful but never over-strained poem, *To Iron-Founders and Others*, has the note of revolt that is often assumed to be a peculiarity of his juniors. Bottomley's most vigorous work is found in his plays, of which the chief are *The Riding to Lithend* (1909), *King Lear's Wife* (1915), and the pair *Gruach and Britain's Daughter* (1921). Bottomley was not associated with any of the more vociferous poetical sects of his time, and has therefore lacked advertisement; but he is much stronger in utterance and richer in content than most of the Georgians and post-Georgians.

Gilbert Keith Chesterton (1874–1936) resembled Belloc in bein a prolific writer in prose who put something of his best into casu verse. The quantity is small, but it will outlive most of his prose. H first volume, *The Wild Knight and Other Poems* (1900), showed, as his work was to show, flashes of genius issuing from a mountain transcendental silliness, which tried to behave like genius and was readily taken for genius. The full revelation of his power in v came with *The Ballad of the White Horse* (1911), a long stirring p in various ballad measures, showing the influence of Kipling, in metre and in method. *The Ballad of the White Horse* seemed about King Alfred's England, but it was really about Chest England, for Chesterton, like Kipling, had the gift of writing ver the "public" quality of which we have already spoken. His rhythms, his free use of vulgarisms, his union of gravity an and his journalistic gusto were all "after" Kipling, as the a say, though the substance of everything he wrote was anti-Kipling, and touched with a largeness of humour that

beyond Kipling's reach as Kipling's range and intensity were beyond Chesterton's. A later influence in both verse and prose was that of the more exquisite and restrained Belloc, with whom he shared a hatred of modern [illegible]

[illegible] mediaeval felicity differs very little from that [illegible]

[illegible]

or the Re[illegible]
only to th[illegible]
verse in the great manner. *The Ballad of St Barbara* (1922) and a final collection of verses new and old made in 1933 complete a very remarkable contribution to the poetry of the century. Of "pure poetry", of poetry for poetry's sake, there is hardly anything in Chesterton. He is always the ardent publicist. His boisterous jollity not only carries with ease his mountainous prejudices, but proves that public evils may be more memorably assailed in song by liveliness than by bitterness. Some of his good things—stirring verses like *Lepanto*, for example [illegible]
time. [illegible]
paroc[illegible]
breaking of nations we shall do well to consider what the spirit of man more deeply needs [illegible]

[illegible]

form. He has produced much; but he began as a poet, and as a poet he will take his place in literature. *Salt-Water Ballads* (1902) had its obvious origin in *Barrack-Room Ballads*, though it contained pieces like *Sea Fever* with the deeper poetic note that the later *Ballads and Poems* (1910) sounded more consistently. But before he gained much public attention as a poet, Masefield had to work hard at prose. *A Mainsail Haul* (1905), *Sea-Life in Nelson's Time* (1905), *On the Spanish Main* (1906) and *A Tarpaulin Muster* (1907) represent what he had to do rather than what he wished to do. He gained some success as a novelist with *Captain Margaret* (1908), *Multitude and Solitude* (1909) and *The Street of To-Day* (1911), and attracted younger readers with *Lost Endeavour* (1910), *Martin Hyde* (1910) and *Jim Davis* (1911). His first plays, of which we have already spoken, had

gained esteem rather than success. What gave Masefield an instar national fame was the appearance in a number of *The English Revie* (1911) of a long poem called *The Everlasting Mercy*, in which a evil-doer tells the story of his crimes and conversion without mitiga tion of violence in language or incident. Nothing like it ha been printed as English poetry before, and it made a sensation. Ir quick succession came other poems of the same type, *The Widow in the Bye Street* (1912) and *Dauber* (1913). *The Daffodil Fields* (1913) told a less violent story more quietly. For his popular success with *The Everlasting Mercy*, which had been liked for the wrong reasons, Masefield had to pay heavily. Poets who had not the taste and perhaps not the thews and sinews for that kind of writing vented their disapproval in parodies; and the public, not understanding that the lurid language of the poem was fitted to that piece and was not the habitual language of the poet, looked in each successive publication for further displays of violence, and were disappointed. When *Lollingdon Downs* (1917) appeared, with its questioning sonnets and its lyrics of rustic life and death appropriate to that tragic time of War, there was a general feeling that Masefield had "gone off". Actually, he had gone up; and *Reynard the Fox* (1919), his next poem, showed a more complete mastery of the verse-narrative than the earlier pieces. *Enslaved* (1920) was a less attractive story of Moorish captivity; but *Right Royal* (1920) brought the poet happily back to England and its "sport of kings". *King Cole* (1923), *Midsummer Night* (1928), an excellent volume, *The Wanderer of Liverpool* (1930), a fine allegory of a ship, *Minnie Maylow's Story* (1931) and other pieces showed the same gift of verse-narrative. Masefield produced largely in other directions. *Sard Harker* (1924), *Odtaa* (1926), *The Hawbucks* (1929), and *The Bird of Dawning* (1933)—the last a thrilling tale of the "clippers"—are novels of extraordinary variety. Of his War sketches, *Gallipoli* (1916) is already a classic. In criticism, Masefield's little volume on Shakespeare (1911) showed a poet's understanding of a poet. Many other productions of various kinds cannot be named here. That all Masefield's work is of a very high order cannot be claimed; but in general he has been undervalued. He is an original writer, and he possesses, in particular, the rare gift of transmitting in verse-narrative the momentum of events. He has been blamed, not without reason, for some crudities of rhyme. What is not usually noticed is the wide range of his art. In his serious lyrics and in the quieter passages of the stories the poet's ear is perfect. When he sets crude outbursts to their own wild music, he knows what he is doing, even if our ears are shocked. The numerous characters of his plays and poems range from the depths to the heights, and are fitted with appropriate speech. In whatever form he chose to write Masefield shows the strong creative character that no

feat of impersonation can sustain. He is a true poet of large vision and he was rightly chosen to succeed [illegible]

has [illegible]

Be[illegible] echoes in such early productions as *The Queen's Vigil* (1902), *Urlyn the Harper* [illegible]

[illegible] form, following the example, rather than the pattern, of *The Brothers* [illegible] affinity. The likeness to [illegible] Crabbe, born to the old [illegible] long, diffused narration [illegible]

[illegible] harsh natural, social or industrial conditions that also inspired the most memorable of Crabbe's poems implies no more likeness between the poets than there is between Gissing and Hardy as novelists. *The Nets of Love* (1905) marks the passing of Gibson from the softer notes of his earlier song to the harsh realities of *Stonefolds* [illegible]

[illegible] dramatic attempts. Gibson was a prolific writer and much of his work must be left unnamed here. Like Masefield he is a powerful and individual poet disdaining the soft utterance that aims at popular applause, and incapable of the facile versifying of which the present century offers many examples. His chief fault is a restriction of range. However, from Gibson's verse a collection of intensely original lyrics could be made.

Edward Thomas (1878–1917) had gained some reputation as a writer of rather "poetic" prose and as an interpreter of natural beauty. Then, late in life, he turned to poetry and concealed his prose past by writing as "Edward Eastaway". *Poems* (1917) and *Last Poems* (1918) form a slight but attractive contribution to the verse of the day. There was a touch of "natural magic" and a sense of "something afar" in the work of this poet who was killed, like several others of hope and promise, in the War of 1914–18.

Harold Monro (1879–1932) lives rather as a devoted servant of modern poetry than as a modern poet of strong individuality. He wrote *Poems* (1906), *Before Dawn* (1911) and other volumes that

attracted no great attention. *Judas* (1911), *Strange Meetings* (1917) and *The Earth for Sale* (1928) had more power. But Monro will be most generally remembered as the founder of "The Poetry Bookshop" in 1912, where poems were sold, published and declaimed, and where poets met and communicated their opinions. From the Bookshop were issued *The Poetry Review* (1912) containing both poetry and criticism, and later *The Chapbook* (1919–21). The influence of these publications on modern verse was considerable. Unfortunately Monro changed the name of *The Poetry Review* to *Poetry and Drama* (1913–14) and the original title was assumed by a feeble periodical which is sometimes confused with it. Almost every modern anthology contains something of Monro's, but nothing seems quite to present the character of the man, and his more practical services to poetry remain the most memorable fact about him.

John Freeman (1880–1929) published several slight collections, the earliest being *Twenty Poems* (1909), *Fifty Poems* (1911), *Stone Trees* (1916) and *Presage of Victory* (1916), all marked by poetic sincerity if by no strong poetic character. *Poems New and Old* (1920) first established his fame among contemporary writers. *Music* (1921), *Prince Absalom* (1925) and *Solomon and Balkis* (1926) may be mentioned among later volumes. *Collected Poems* appeared in 1928 and *Last Poems* in 1930. Freeman wrote, as well, some works in prose criticism—*The Moderns* (1916), *A Portrait of George Moore* (1922), *English Portraits* (1924) and *Herman Melville* (1926). His work, though much liked by some good judges of poetry, made no deep impression on the general mind, and is not strong enough to arouse any new enthusiasm. Freeman will survive in the anthologies, which already represent him adequately.

Alfred Noyes (1880) differed from most of his contemporaries in following older models of fluency, and was rebuked for his deliberate smoothness as sternly as Masefield for his deliberate harshness. In such volumes as *The Loom of Years* (1902), *Drake, an English Epic* (1906–8), *Forty Singing Seamen* (1907), *Tales of the Mermaid Tavern* (1913) and *A Tale of Old Japan* (1914) Noyes appealed to the many readers who sought in poetry the movement and diction to which they were accustomed. The most ambitious work of Noyes, *The Torch Bearers* (1922–30), relates in verse the achievements of the great pioneers in thought, discovery and invention, a form of writing sure of success among those who like poetry to have a recognizable subject and to convey information and opinion. The verse of Noyes has no compelling character: the easy, unfaltering delivery seems to be that of a voice, and nothing more. Noyes wrote a great deal in prose and in verse of which no full account is possible in a brief summary.

In strong contrast to the work of Noyes is that of Lascelles Abercrombie (1881–1938), whose originality and stern poetic cha-

[illegible]

drama", i.e. the poem meant to be acted. His lyrics are few and his verse rarely sings or smiles. The dramatic poem, *as he wrote it, is an* extension of the dramatic lyric as used by Browning, and some of his descriptive effects recall the *Childe Roland* of the older poet. His subjects are strange, distressing and often dreadful, *and his fervour of* exposition adds to their horror. Even a situation that is not without a comic aspect, the terrors of deluded rustics expecting the end of the world, *is presented with ruthless acerbity. The least distressing* and most varied of Abercrombie's inventions can be found in the collection called *Emblems of Love* (1912). His other major volumes are *Interludes and Poems* (1908), *The Sale of St Thomas* (1911), *Four Short Plays* (1922) and *Twelve Idyls* (1928). He has written much in prose concerning the principles of literary art without perceptibly *affecting the thought of his time. The work of Lascelles Abercrombie,* so closely knit as to defy the anthologists, can be called modern in the full, and not in the limited sense. In matter and in expression it is *original, and pursues its* [illegible] main stream of English [illegible] arouse the enthusiasm [illegible] *invention and his individual utterance entitle him to respectful* consideration in any survey of English poetry.

John Drinkwater (1882–1937), already mentioned as a dramatist, *published numerous small collections of verse beginning with Poems* (1903). *Olton Pools* (1916) and *Loyalties* (1918) may be selected as typical later productions. Drinkwater wrote many prose studies, including two volumes of autobiography, and took a prominent place in the literary life of his time. But his verse, with a pleasing [illegible] *and attracted* readers [illegible] Drinkwater has left no poems that remain in the public memory as characteristically his own.

John Collings Squire (1884) was an even more notable figure in the world of books, but is remembered less as a poet than as the founder and editor of *The London Mercury* (1919–34), which, appealing to the general literary public and not merely to self-secure and sometimes self-satisfied groups, gave liberal opportunity to young and unknown writers. Squire's *Poems and Baudelaire Flowers* (1909) found no large public. *The Lily of Malud* (1917) and *The Moon* (1920) greatly enlarged *his following. There were other volumes the* contents of which were collected in 1926 He wrote many reviews

and literary studies, some republished as *Books in General* by "Solomon Eagle", in three series (1918, 1920, 1921). There are other prose collections. His parodies, contained in *Imaginary Speeches* (1912), *Steps to Parnassus* (1913), and *Tricks of the Trade*, remain interesting as footnotes to the literary history of their day. Squire was general editor of some new additions to the "English Men of Letters" series, and was, indeed, full of activities, journalistic and architectural. He was knighted in 1933. Whether he could have accomplished any really memorable work in poetry is a question impossible to answer; but he may be quoted as an example of the man-eating power of modern journalism, which consumes the energies of writers and leaves them small opportunity for the finer activities of literature.

Humbert Wolfe (1885–1940) stands apart from any movement of his time and has been harshly judged by contemporary "sectarians" for his detachment. But a poet may be as detached as he pleases, if he gives evidence of personal poetic conviction. Humbert Wolfe is something of an "echo" poet—he frequently reminds the reader of someone else, perhaps of Heine most of all, if Heine can be imagined without his searching penetration of the spirit. Wolfe's first collections, *London Sonnets* and *Shylock reasons with Mr Chesterton* appeared in 1920 without attracting much attention. *Kensington Gardens* (1924), *Lampoons* (1925), *The Unknown Goddess* (1925), *Humoresque* (1926), *News of the Devil* (1926) and *Cursory Rhymes* (1927) gave him a public and showed his variety and his almost insolent ease of accomplishment. *Requiem* (1927) attained extensive popularity, and then came the inevitable reaction. He had been over-praised and began to be slighted, though all his best qualities can be found in numerous later volumes. Like Swinburne, Humbert Wolfe has more music than matter, and writes as if he loved his own virtuosity. His translation of Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac* almost surpasses the original in feats of dexterity. Other translated work shows the same facility of technique. There seemed to be nothing the poet could not turn into dazzling, intricate rhyme. That Humbert Wolfe had true poetic talent is clear; that he used it convincingly is not so clear. Even his gift for satire was not fully exploited. Some access of urgency and conviction—even of ruthlessness—might have given vitality to verse, which, as it stands, appears to be no more than very skilful variations upon old themes.

Siegfried Sassoon (1886) began as a poet, and settled into prose. Various slight verses published from 1906 onwards attracted no great attention, and were, indeed, hardly more than notes of discontent. Sassoon found his voice in the War; for, in a time of expansive "patriotic" utterance, the grim and bitter poems contained in *The Old Huntsman* (1917) and *Counter-Attack* (1918) kindled a response in many thoughtful minds disgusted by the "war-spirit" of

politicians and profiteers. The immense fatuity of war and the moral degeneration that follows the unnatural excitement are curiously illustrated by Sassoon's brief and spiritually resentful poems; but, they belong to their time, and are not the voice of a viler war. There is the appeal of a lost world in Sassoon's personal or autobiographical prose volumes, *Memoirs of a Fox-Hunting Man* (1928) and *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer* (1930). Later volumes of verse, *Satirical Poems* (1926), *The Heart's Journey* (1928) and *Vigils* (1935) did not recapture the thrill of the War-books.

Heaven and *The Great Lover* than in his formal efforts. That something better would have come from him could be credibly alleged, though speculation on the unwritten is always vain. His prose

verell (1897) form a trio of whom it is difficult to say whether they were poets who wrote prose or prose-writers who diverted themselves with verse. Edith Sitwell rose to notice by her vigour of dissent rather than by conviction of affirmation. Unkind criticism has declared that the Sitwells belong to the history of publicity, not to the history of poetry; but that is the sort of thing easily said by the stung. Edith Sitwell began the publication of poetry with *The* ... created a kind of sensation by a public

ures in verse,

to poetry can

r Pope (1930),

which, though excessive, not to say aggressive, in laudation, and deliberately defensive of the indefensible in certain facts of the poet's life, states the kind of case for Pope which the nineteenth century had refused to hear Further announcements of her critical views, ... technique propounded long

The Pleasures

intic Revival

f cleverness

Thomas Stearns Eliot (1888) was born in the United States and became a naturalized British subject in 1927. As he was specially acclaimed by his own time as the leading spirit in poetry some extended account both of the age and of himself is needed. Eliot's chief early volumes of verse were *Prufrock and Other Observations* (1917), *Ara Vos Prec* (1919)—for the title see *Purgatorio*, XXVI, 145—and *Poems* (1920); and the first fact to note about them is that they appeared in a hideous world of which they were a reflection. The unparalleled and meaningless slaughter of the War had shaken the foundations of all belief and made the young so old that the future was wiped out. To the failure of the War had succeeded the almost greater failure of the Peace. The cant of war had been false; the cant of peace was futile. Nothing pointed more clearly to spiritual bankruptcy than the discrepancy between noble ideals of peace and the ignoble minds of the peacemakers, who, prating of goodwill and unity, were sowing dragons' teeth over all the fields of recent conflict. People were weary, disillusioned, cynical, anxious to forget the past, unable to conceive a future, and interested only in a fast-fleeting present. Tranquillity and re-construction were expected to emerge from mental and moral apathy, while the desires of the flesh and the pride of life pursued their excited way. The duty of insuring against another and worse war was danced and chattered away to jazz-music. Eliot's futility of matter, tuned to bare, precise utterance apparently casual, but strictly observant of its own artistic intention, caught the modern ear as something in harmony with the futility of life. Here was a poet with dust and ashes for his theme, yet assured enough to speak out with derisive decision. He attracted a following; and with *The Waste Land* (1922) the following became a congregation which accepted the poem as scripture. We must distinguish here as elsewhere between compositions that stimulate the natural motions of the mind and compositions that stimulate clever people to write cleverly. *The Waste Land*, deliberately perverse and obscure, belongs to the second order. We must further distinguish between poets who have spontaneous originality and poets who have an induced originality—originality here signifying originating power, not eccentricity or novity. Wordsworth is an example of spontaneous originality, Gray of induced originality. Wordsworth's best poems might have been written by a man who had read nothing; Gray's best poems are obviously written by a man who has read much. Eliot is a poet of the second order. His verse is the most bookish of its time. Phrases and lines from a wide range of reading are taken over and worked into an elaborate system of allusion. *The Waste Land* is confessedly suggested by Jessie L. Weston's book on the Grail legend, *From Ritual to Romance*, and several pages of notes were added by the author (not quite without ostentation) to elucidate his own ob-

[illegible]

into the [illegible] vincing. [illegible] the same [illegible] *Waste Land* understood it need not be supposed; that they appreciated its *technical skill* may be doubted; but that they responded with delight to its passages of deliberate bathos, without quite seeing either point or purpose, was clear from printed and spoken words. *The Hollow Men* [illegible]

[illegible] Others believed he had at last found himself. The poetic idiom of *Ash Wednesday* may not please all; but to any attuned ear the ordering of words and tones is exquisite. This is poetry that can be a tabernacle for the spirit. *The* [illegible]

written for Canterbury, is a modern exercise in the medieval manner; but the spiritual intensity of *Ash Wednesday* is not achieved. Certain effects of deliberate bathos were risked and not carried to safety. *Murder in the Cathedral* is a literary play: it is no more religious than *Becket*. It had, however, a popular success with the people who are attracted by a theatrical use of religious apparatus—who are attracted, for instance, by *Parsifal*. Shorter poems were published separately at later dates. *The Family Reunion* (1939), written in the [illegible]

Deficiency in quantity is no more a defect in him than in Gray. Eliot's real deficiency is in poetical substance. His range is narrow and his effects are repeated· the juxtaposition of ridiculous and sublime is a constant resource. But the lack of amplitude and the apparent exposure of the sublime to the ridiculous [illegible]

exposed) as eagerly by the devotees of fashion as it had been by the perverse ascetics of the wilderness There was a demand for understatement in the arts. Short-winded plays with short-winded dialogue inaudibly murmured by short-winded players were the

fashionable amusement at the theatres—a compensating excess of physical statement being provided at the picture-palaces and revues. The T. S. Eliot period was also the Noel Coward period. The early poems of Eliot gave an agreeable sensation of concentrated, sophisticated understatement. They were not only unswelled by romantic excess, they were reduced to anti-romantic skeletons. Their apparent irreverence appealed to those who had hailed the essays of Lytton Strachey as a new revelation in biography; for irreverence was as fashionable as emaciation. Those who could not quite understand all of *The Waste Land*, with its misty dream-symbolism and its notes that explained so little, could at least laugh loudly at what they believed to be the blasphemy of *The Hippopotamus*. But there was more in the poems than the excited, restless, and shallow set supposed. Indeed, such writing as Eliot's is not for the crowd. It is tense, economical, austere. Every word has its own precise value as an evocation and the value given by position. The rhythm is both subtle and supple. Exact forms of stanza are used as carefully as the unbarred groups of lines, and the movement is the movement of the whole. The diction, personal and underived, is as elaborately wrought as the diction of Milton or Gray, of Tennyson or Rossetti. The poetry is "pure": it is its own excuse for being and has no moral intention. What is called the modernity of Eliot's verse does not interest the historian, because modernity is not a poetic quality. Time, which antiquates antiquities, has a short way with modernity. Eliot has attempted new effects and has sometimes achieved them. A poet in any age is entitled to praise for extending the boundaries of his art; but most innovations in the arts have been made by the minor, not by the major artists. The new must prove its value by showing that it can become old. An idiom is not important in itself. All that matters is what is said in it. An atonal composition is more modern than the diatonic *Messiah*: it is not, for that reason, a better composition in any respect. A composition, by whomsoever written, must justify itself as music, not as machinery. No attempt, therefore, need be made to isolate for admiration what is thought to be new in the Eliot technique, or to explain his productions (as some have essayed) by allusions to psychology, logic and mathematics. An art is not promoted by being brigaded with the sciences. In his poems Eliot is a poet, or he is nothing. Within a narrow range and without saying anything of magnitude he has achieved an intensity of his own by a craft in words as cunning as Pope's; and so he is the most interesting poet of his time. What he will mean to the future is speculation, not history.

Like Matthew Arnold, T. S. Eliot has written more prose than verse. As a critic he stands above his contemporaries, because, in his best work, he deals with essentials, not with accidents. True, "the

faults and foibles" of T. S. Eliot are no less evident to careful readers than "the faults and foibles of Matthew Arnold" are to T. S. Eliot. He is often pontifical and sometimes overweening. He continued to print with satisfaction a rather foolish essay in which he endeavoured to teach Gilbert Murray Greek, as Charles Boyle had endeavoured to instruct Bentley. And to say of Matthew Arnold that "in philosophy

appear to have been derived from hearsay evidence. The major

writers of Eliot's time referred so frequently as to betray their uneasy suspicion that Arnold might, after all, prove to be really eminent—Matthew

never accomplished

by "the largest circ

minds aware that liberal ideals in literature and life had existence. Eliot has not touched the great public. He is a writer for other writers; he is read by a minority of the bookish. His first collection of essays, *The Sacred Wood*, appeared in 1920. *Homage to John Dryden* (1924) presented the case for a writer whom no one had ceased to honour. *For Lancelot Andrewes (1928)*—reissued in an enlarged form (without its rather egregious Preface) as *Essays Ancient and Modern* (1936)—contained discussions of religion as well as of literature. *Dante* (1929), the most sustained effort of Eliot in criticism, is admirable both as a study of poetry and as an introduction to the

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Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism

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Primer of Modern

Heresy (1934) is less profitable. Eliot's appreciations are more

examination of dramatic and poetic values may reveal new beauties in writers easily misunderstood. Special mention should be made of the excellent introductory essay to *Seneca, His Tenne Tragedies* (1927). The critical studies of T. S. Eliot contain so many personal heresies that a Holy Office of literature might suspect his orthodoxy. But in the main he is sound; and with all his "faults and foibles" he is almost the only writer of his age who has made a constructive contribution to the literature of criticism.

So far we have considered late-Victorian and post-Victorian poets born before the year 1890, and that year we propose to adopt as our present boundary. A few writers born in later years will be mentioned, without comment, in the observations that follow. *The Chapbook* for June 1920 was wholly occupied by "A Bibliography of Modern Poetry" containing a list of those who had published volumes of verse from January 1912 to May 1920. By definition the list was imperfect; but it contained over a thousand names—of writers, not of volumes. The additions to the population of poets since 1920 must be enormous. No volume can seriously discuss a thousand and more poets flourishing together in a single generation. Of poetry later than that considered in the foregoing pages there are many accounts available, some written by the poets themselves or by their friends, and to those writings the reader is referred.

The post-Victorian poets form an interesting group. They are various, original, skilful, and, with few exceptions, really post-Victorian. They said their own good things in their own good way, and were not intimidated by the past. Critics who seek to explain all recent developments or tendencies of poetry by the War of 1914–18 ignore certain facts. Poetry had begun its new adventures long before the War. The most sedulously experimental of poets, Hopkins, was dead in 1889. Abercrombie, a poet of new efforts and effects, had begun publication in 1908. Marinetti's "Futurist" manifesto was published in 1909. The Poetry Bookshop began its activities in 1912. Poetic rebels abounded before the War and were not produced by it. Most of the poetry occasioned by the War was in common form and with few exceptions undistinguished. Some young poets were slain, and of these none was more full of promise than Wilfred Owen (1893–1918), whose *Strange Meeting* is perhaps the most memorable poem of its time. A few outstanding utterances by writers new or old survive. But, in general, the poetry of the War is remembered merely as a fact of the time. As we have pointed out, the War affected literature by suddenly enlarging the general experience and thus creating new readers for serious work. The inexplicable human instinct which, in times of emotional strain, derives from words arranged as verse a satisfaction not given by words arranged as prose, turned naturally to poetry during the War, and selected what

it could use. At such a time, the "best" poetry is that which best serves the purpose of readers. That it is poetry of some kind is all that [illegible]

their predecessors, and found what they needed when E. M. i.e. Edward Marsh, a socially eminent amateur of letters, compiled in 1912 the volume called *Georgian Poetry* 1911–12. The adjective was bold, for George V had become king only two years before; it was also prophetic, for there was in fact a lengthy Georgian period, though its renown in history was to derive from Mars rather than from the Muses. The Georgian volume had a deserved success and at least proved that contemporary poetry existed. Thereafter came *Georgian Poetry* 1913–15 (1915), *Georgian Poetry* 1916–17 (1917), *Georgian Poetry* 1918–19 (1919) and *Georgian Poetry* 1920–22 (1922). [illegible] these we [illegible] volumes [illegible] l Monro; those represented in the first four were Abercrombie, Gordon Bottomley, and D. H. Lawrence. Masefield and James Stephens appeared thrice. Among those who appeared in the first volume and appeared no more were Chesterton and Sturge Moore. During the ten momentous years between 1912 and 1922 there was naturally some development of poetical composition, and an extension of representation became necessary. Accordingly, in the third volume (1917) appeared the names of W. J. Turner, Squire, Sassoon, Robert Nichols, Robert Graves and John Freeman. The fourth volume brought in Edward Shanks, and the fifth Martin Armstrong, Edmund Blunden, Richard Hughes and Victoria Sackville-West. The governing idea of Georgianism, as revealed in the volumes, was the avoidance of Victorian and, especially, Tennysonian diction. Equally avoided was the noisiness of Kipling. The editor seemed determined that his representative poets, however original, should be decorous; and so the collection, viewed from the present distance, appears flat and unmomentous. But it did good work, not least in provoking rival activities.

Contemporary with the first volume of *Georgian Poetry* was the magazine *Rhythm* (1911–12) in which John Middleton Murry and Katherine Mansfield proclaimed, in words that came to be used in a different connection, that everything was rhythm. *Rhythm* included prose, verse and pictorial art, and among the writers of poems were Binyon, Gibson, Davies, James Stephens and Lady Margaret Sackville. The magazine showed a fresh outlook upon the arts, but the limited space allowed no scope to any: each number seemed to end before it had really begun. A stronger effect was made by the

four parts of *New Numbers* issued from Dymock, Gloucester, by Abercrombie, Brooke, Drinkwater and Gibson in 1914. This contained some of the strongest work of Abercrombie and Gibson and much of Brooke's, whose five most famous sonnets appeared in the fourth number. A very popular and safe volume was *Poems of To-Day* (1915) issued by the English Association. This included some of the later Victorians.

More deliberately revolutionary was the "Imagist" movement, led by the almost legendary T. E. Hulme, who survives poetically in five short and unmomentous pieces (not all indubitably his), and sustained by F. S. Flint, Richard Aldington, T. S. Eliot and some transatlantic writers. The boundaries of the Imagist movement are uncertain, nor is it clear how the Imagists differed from the earlier Symbolists, or, indeed, from any poets who presented clear images, exact in particulars, and not disguised by vaguely romantic generalities. Shakespeare, for instance, can be called an Imagist, and so can Kipling, whom all the poetical parties seemed as little anxious to enrol as he was to be enrolled. Aldington's *Images* appeared in 1915, followed by *Images of War* (1919) and *Images of Desire* (1919). The first Imagist anthology, edited by the American Ezra Pound, appeared in 1914. In subsequent volumes the images grew less clear and at last vanished in mist. The strength of the Imagist movement lay, not in its theories, but in its practice, for the chief Imagist writers had something to say and said it very well. It will be seen that interest in new poetry was steadily growing before the outbreak of War in 1914.

A counterblast to *Georgian Poetry* was heard when *Wheels* appeared in 1916, with succeeding annual "cycles" from 1917 to 1921. Here the moving spirits were Edith, Osbert and Sacheverell Sitwell, and the endeavour was to assault rather than to persuade. The poetical decorum of the Georgians was abandoned for a diction new, aggressive and perverse—a kind of inverted Pre-Raphaelitism mingled with suggestions from the Russian ballet of the first Diaghilev period. The contributors remained within the usual bounds of poetry, but readers were made to feel that there were no extremes from which the authors would shrink. This air of deliberate pose now makes the volumes of *Wheels* more old-fashioned than the volumes of *Georgian Poetry*. The ultra-modern piece of to-day is the demoded piece of to-morrow.

The London Mercury and various "minority" magazines such as *The Egoist* and *The Criterion* either published new poetry or propagated new doctrines about poetry; further, there were many selections or anthologies of new poetry, too numerous for mention, designed to set forth both the matter available and the views of the compilers; and modern literature began to exhibit its least admirable quality, its pronounced sectarianism. The denials were more fervent

than the affirmations. The fanatics of the new Reformation found more poets to abhor than poets to love; and irreverence towards the saints of the old church became a sign that the new sectaries had the root of the matter in them. But the movement was intensive rather than [illegible] *The* [illegible] of th [illegible] granted that *Murder in the Cathedral* was a crime-story if it noticed the allusion at all. The true post-War poets, i.e., those born into the *scarred and shattered world left by the conflict and ignorant that* there was ever any other [illegible] be written. In their defe [illegible] endeavour to interpret t [illegible] disagreeable to us, the reason is that their world is disagreeable to *themselves. But though we may defend their sincerity we cannot* [illegible] poesy is not promoted by [illegible] which contentious voices [illegible] rianism, though generally [illegible]

tried to say, is the concern of all The Victorians who eagerly read Tennyson and Browning often believed that they were enjoying poetry when they were enjoying something extra-poetic, the moral *ideas and feelings which were the matter of the poets' utterances.* Still, they made *the contact with poetry*, and, *under guidance, could* learn to distinguish between poetry and versified commonplaces. But our young sectarians, equally addicted to extra-poetical in*dulgences—to matters* of mechanism and matters of doctrine—appear to write for or against each other, and create no contact with the great community of readers Poetry must rediscover the main stream and not lose itself in backwaters. "The healthiness of a backwater", says Sir Donald Tovey (1875–1940), "depends upon [illegible] from the encroach[illegible] l, in parenthesis, that [illegible]

likes" may be important; to see that what one likes to do is worth doing is even more important. The communication of "sweetness [illegible] than the communication of tart [illegible] *ll valid for the most* [illegible] Wilson that Matthew Arnold exhorted [illegible] ver go against the best *light you have; secondly, take care that your light be not darkness."*

V. MISCELLANEOUS PROSE

With much of the miscellaneous prose produced during the post-Victorian period the historian of literature is not concerned. The multiplication of readers and the growth of popular circulating libraries led to the wholesale manufacture of books meant to serve as a substitute for fiction. Lives of ladies whose fame reposed on their frailty and of men whose amours were more notorious than their achievements provided innumerable volumes which had a run of a few months and were then "remaindered" to make room for more volumes of the same kind. The libraries drew their main support from the class of readers who wanted to be told by the assistants what books they were likely to find interesting; and so the libraries called the tune and publishers and authors dutifully danced.

Soon the popular newspapers began to notice that people were reading a great deal, and editors recognized the urgency of turning books into news and authors into copy. Gossip about writers and recommendations about books became a feature of even the least literate papers. Some bolder sheets engaged novelists of large circulation to contribute regular literary causeries to their columns, and, as we have already remarked, presently advanced to the stage of choosing a "book of the week" or "book of the month", duly "boomed" and displayed as the Daily So-and-So's choice. But the only books recommended by the popular papers were novels or shallow historical and biographical compilations. Neither books nor notices could be allowed to rise above the level of minds that lightly skimmed the papers during the morning or evening train journey. *The Origin of Species* would never have been a "book of the week" or a "book of the month", but it might have been the subject of a "Sensational Attack" when someone discovered the possibilities of a scare or a scandal in it. The "higher weeklies" which survived up to th War of 1939–45 maintained a good level of reviewing; but th steady growth of the "signed article" even in the less literate pape encouraged the national tendency to the kind of individuality that sometimes perversity and sometimes obtuseness. A man required write "feature" articles in his own name will tend, unless his liter faith be very securely founded, to assume a personality if he hav not and to seek notoriety by loudness or wilfulness or impude Hence, during the present century, though there has been an exampled outpouring of writing about books, there has been little criticism of any value. Scholars have written for each members of minority groups have written for each other; n has caught the popular taste and raised it, no one has touch popular ear and tuned it to finer perception. When a jo

[illegible] he is not displaying critical acumen, he is [illegible]

Hardy can be judged severely, but not on that plane of writing. Criticism must never thus descend to the level of the mob. But to avoid writing down to the level of the mob became increasingly difficult. Behind the editors of newspapers were the proprietors anxious for larger and larger circulations; and behind the proprietors were the advertisers, anxious for larger and larger returns. A paper [illegible]

[illegible] the inferior papers revealed their general tendency in re- [illegible] demands that broadcasting must remain at the intellectual [illegible] put the [illegible] me duty [illegible] nd their [illegible] " and a [illegible] at their own columns were uncontaminated by "instruction"; and so the way of the critic [illegible]

[illegible] game of the cheap press by writing down to the popular level and presenting as a modern virtue the repudiation of belief in any noble ideals. That is not the whole story, but it is an important part of recent story. Good original prose literature is in constant danger of being swamped by the flood of pseudo-literature that makes "news" for papers of the largest and worst circulations. However, during the period here considered there were essayists, scholars and miscellaneous writers who had not forgotten the best traditions of authorship, and from them we select a few typical figures.

John Mackinnon Robertson [illegible]

He was one of the [illegible] ", concerned to prove dual and [illegible] plays. His arguments can be [illegible] when his conclusions are not accepted. Robertson's first important work in this line is *Montaigne*

akespeare (1909). *The Baconian Heresy* (1913), unpromisingly d, includes much valuable criticism in the course of its argu- . Robertson's greatest contribution to his subject is contained he *Shakespeare Canon* (Part I, 1922; Part II, 1923) and *An Intro- on to the Study of the Shakespeare Canon* (1924). Other volumes be noted are *Shakespeare and Chapman* (1917), *The Problem of mlet* (1919), *Hamlet Once More* (1923) and *The Problem of the akespeare Sonnets* (1926). Robertson was a man of singularly onest, clear and orderly mind; but unfortunately he was denied any race of expression, and he is not to be read without labour, though he labour is always worth while. There is much more profit in Robertson's heavily moving criticism of Shakespeare than in most of the facile interpretations that attract readers who want their sensations without expense of effort.

A lonely and distinguished writer was Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson (1862–1932), scholar and publicist. In such works as *The Greek View of Life* (1896), *Letters from John Chinaman* (1901), *The Meaning of Good* (1901), *A Modern Symposium* (1908), *Appearances* (1914), *The European Anarchy* (1916), *The Magic Flute* (1920), *The International Anarchy* (1926) and *After Two Thousand Years* (1930) he applied the penetrating acuteness of a classically trained mind to modern problems, and though he never reached a large public he profoundly influenced a band of disciples who disseminated his ideas. Europe and the world still await the practical application of Lowes Dickinson's sane teaching to international ethics. A sympathetic study of his life was written by the novelist E. M. Forster (1934).

Gilbert Murray (1866), already noticed as a translator of the classical dramatists, was, like Dickinson, both scholar and publicist. He held the chair of Greek successively at Glasgow and Oxford, but his scholarship was not of the cloistered kind, and his books found readers among the general public. *A History of Ancient Greek Literature* (1897) was followed by *The Rise of the Greek Epic* (1907). *Four Stages of Greek Religion* published in 1912 became *Five Stages of Greek Religion* in 1925. Various lectures were gathered in *Essays an Addresses* (1921), a volume full of ripe and persuasive wisdon Murray identified himself with liberal views during the War ar strove without ceasing to educate the western world in the possibil of peace. What he could not overcome, what no one has yet fou a way of overcoming, is the "will to war" disseminated, lil disease, by a few evil men. Murray's views can be gathered f such works as *Faith, War and Policy* (1918) and *The Problem of Fo Policy* (1921). It is an honourable defect in one who combin a high degree the best qualities of a scholar and thinker th expected too much from the world as it is.

Sir Herbert John Clifford Grierson (1866), whose fine critical sense was strengthened by scholarship of "vintage" rank, earned the gratitude of readers by his editions of Donne (1912) and the corre-

as *Metaphysical Poets, Donne to Butler* (1921), *The Background of English Literature* (1925), *Lyrical Poetry from Blake to Hardy* (1928), *Cross-Currents in the Literature of the Seventeenth Century* (1929)

local, petty preferences. There is no better general sketch of nine-
tee

by

link his name early with that of Charles Lamb. One of his first volumes was *Bernard Barton and his Friends* (1893); and after that came *Charles Lamb and the Lloyds* (1898). Lucas then undertook an elaborate edition of the Lambs' works, the first volume of which appeared in 1903, an excellent *Life of Charles Lamb* following in 1908. By this time Lucas was in the full tide of authorship, pouring out rapidly children's books, anthologies, essays, guide books, novels, topical skits and so forth, all touched with personal charm. A specially happy invention was the "Wanderer" series, beginning with *A Wanderer in Holland* (1905). London (1906), Paris (1909), Florence (1912), Venice (1914), and Rome (1926) were successively added to the regions "wandered" in In these works and in books

Character and Comedy (1907), *One Day and Another* (1909) and *Loiterer's Harvest* (1913). The so-called "novels", *Over Bemerton's* (1908), *Mr Ingleside* (1910), *London Lavender* (1912), etc are ingenious extensions of his essayistic sense of comedy and character; the most ambitious, *Landmarks* (1914), is hardly successful. His humour was shown in numerous brochures of which *Wisdom While You Wait*

A talent so light could be easily overworked. Like most of his contemporaries, Lucas wrote far too much, and towards the d

degenerated into mere garrulity. But his best work has genuine charm, the agreeable surface of a strongly set character.

Norman Douglas (1868), who also wrote as G. Norman Douglass, is a writer of definite and limited appeal. His best work can be described as topography touched by learning that is mainly curious and by philosophy that is mainly amoral. *Siren Land* (1911), *Fountains in the Sand* (1912) and *Old Calabria* (1915) are excellent examples of learned and leisurely writing about place and show the author's natural affinity with Mediterranean culture. *Alone* (1921) and *Together* (1923) contain agreeable essays of which place is again the theme. *South Wind* (1917), a novel, brought Douglas more general popularity, though even in this the scene remains more attractive than the story. *They Went* (1920) did not repeat the success of *South Wind*. The amoral note in the books of Norman Douglas gave him a vogue among sophisticated readers, who, of course, overpraised him. But though nothing that Douglas wrote is in the first class of its kind, his work has style and breeding and leaves an odd conviction that some impediment has hindered it from being better. His books reveal a man of many interests and no definite convictions, a man of many opinions and no secure belief. Perhaps that was the impediment. Douglas wrote much else that need not be named.

Hilaire Belloc (1870), already considered as a poet, is a prose writer of almost formidable competence. Though bearing the mark both of Balliol and of John Bull, he belongs by birth to the Catholic tradition of Europe. His works are numerous, varied and unequal. By instinct a fanatic, by impulse a controversialist, by training a historian, he can present, when he wishes, a case that, with an appearance of candour and fairness, is entirely hostile. One should not go to Belloc for accounts of causes or characters with which he has no religious sympathy. This defect does not injure his best work; and in his best work he is the best prose writer of the period. *The Path to Rome* (1902) is already a classic. Near it, both in kind and worth, are *The Old Road* (1904) and *Esto Perpetua* (1906). *The Four Men* (1912), a Sussex book, is *The Path to Rome* with the spirit of youth evaporated. Among Belloc's numerous volumes of essays on general or particular subjects a high place is taken by *Avril* (1904), *Hills and the Sea* (1906), *On Nothing* (1908) and *On Everything* (1909). As a historian he criticized severely Wells's *Outline*, and, in his turn, was criticized severely for *Warfare in England* (1912) and *A History of England* (1925–31). Some of his most picturesque writing appears in *The Last Days of the French Monarchy* (1916). Of Belloc's skill in the historical monograph, *Danton* (1899), one of the earliest, and *Wolsey*, one of the latest (1930), are excellent examples. His novels, though slight, are considerable. The best are *Emmanuel Burden* (1904), *Mr Clutterbuck's*

Election (1908), *A Change in the Cabinet* (1909), *Pongo and the Bull* (1910) and *The Girondin* (1911); but like Chesterton, Belloc did not trouble, when in the extravagant mood, to keep his standard of story-telling high. Belloc went into politics and became a disconcerting figure, not least to his friends. His political essay *The Servile State* (1912) denounced current totalistic Utopianism in terms to which recent developments have given fresh significance. The works named form only a part of his large production. Though he wrote far too much and scattered some of his literary energy perversely, Belloc remains an impressive figure among the miscellaneous writers of the time.

In frequent controversy with Belloc, Chesterton and other Catholic apologists was George Gordon Coulton (1858), who may conveniently be mentioned here as an outstanding historian of medieval life [illegible] affronted by [illegible] essayists to s[illegible] ecclesiastical felicity, and he produced the facts that showed what life in the Middle Ages was actually like. History sophisticated to suit religious argument specially provoked him. Coulton's vigorous controversial writings are, however, the least important of his contributions to literature. He is more famous as the translator or adapter of Salimbene's chronicle under the title *From St Francis to Dante* (1906), as the compiler of invaluable volumes of selections from medieval writers—*Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation* (1918) and *Life in the Middle Ages* (1928–30)—as the author of *Chaucer and his England* (1909), of *Christ, St Francis and* [illegible] in three [illegible] *Medieval* [illegible] Coulton combines large and exact learning with a healthy interest in public affairs, and in excellently written prose has declared his views [illegible]

[illegible] showed the touch and charm of the born essayist. This was followed by the little parable-story, *The Happy Hypocrite* (1897). *The Works* received a supplement when *More* appeared in 1899. Max Beer- [illegible]

[illegible] *and his Circle* (1922). *Zuleika Dobson, or an Oxford Love Story*, an

elaborate jest, was published in 1911, and some people have been trying ever since to see its point. The delightful prose parodies in *A Christmas Garland* (1912) presented no difficulties. *Yet Again* (1909), *And Even Now* (1920) and *Seven Men* (1919) are among his best volumes, the last differing from its fellows in attempting sketches of imaginary characters. Max Beerbohm is among the exquisite writers, and his delicacy of perception, matched with delicacy of utterance, is a perpetual rebuke to the loud and gesticulating journalism too often reprinted as "essays". *No. 2 The Pines* (in *And Even Now*) is an enchanting silverpoint sketch of Swinburne and Watts-Dunton in their old age.

Maurice Baring (1874–1945) belongs, like Max Beerbohm, to the class of exquisite writers. He has written with some copiousness, but only the best of his work matters, and that has fine quality. His poems and verse-plays have the appeal of cultured writing, but leave no abiding impression of poetical character. One piece alone remains memorable, the moving War poem *In memoriam A. H.* (1917). Baring's novels and stories are, like the poems, attractive but unabiding. He is at his best in gentle mockeries like *Dead Letters* (1910), *Diminutive Dramas* (1911) and *Lost Diaries* (1913), and in such collections of essays as *Punch and Judy* (1924). Maurice Baring spent much time in Russia, and his *Landmarks in Russian Literature* (1910) and *An Outline of Russian Literature* (1914) together with a few more journalistic volumes are written with authority. *The Puppet-Show of Memory* (1922) is autobiographical; but his most attractive personal volume is that called *Have You Anything to Declare?* (1936), an odd combination of commonplace-book and confession, presenting with sincere and unaffected comment the passages from great literature that have travelled with him as "spiritual luggage" through the journey of life. The choice and the criticism are both exquisite, and the book, delightful for its own sake, may be used by teachable readers as a touchstone of their taste and as a corrective of some recent perversities.

Gilbert Keith Chesterton (1874–1936), already named as a poet, resembled his associate and co-religionist Belloc in copiousness and variety of prose production. In literary character, however, the two differed widely. Chesterton was by instinct a journalist and sought the effect of the moment. Belloc was by instinct a scholar and reposed upon tradition. Chesterton was often freakish, vague, and sometimes elaborately silly. Belloc, no less a humorist, was guarded by Latin restraint, and could be boisterous, grim, satirical, and even cruel, but never merely silly. In short, Belloc is a classic and Chesterton a grotesque. Chesterton first attracted attention by newspaper articles, some of which were reprinted as *The Defendant* (1901) and *Twelve Types* (1902), the latter still one of his best books in its

originality of view and its freedom from the mannerisms he afterwards cultivated. The Chesterton method, *briefly*, was to show an unusual view of the usual and to renew the exhausted vitality of popular phrases embodying belief. This, in his early days, he did with a freshness that was both stimulating and delightful; but later he developed a trick of elaborated and even manufactured antithesis that left the reader in some doubt of the writer's sincerity; and therefore *in the region of ideas he became useless and in the region of*

[illegible] long foreseen that [illegible] A volume on [illegible] rs" series gave [illegible] m, and he used it [illegible] arges of obscurity, [illegible] *ok contains some* [illegible] ming as if he were [illegible] was a *lyric poet.* [illegible]

needed re-discovery (save by the ultra-literary) and, in any case, [illegible]

by those who seemed to have nothing to live for—*or on.* Between these works of criticism came the first of Chesterton's creations of fantasy, *The Napoleon of Notting Hill* (1904), a book which contains equal parts of genius and silliness, and foreshadows the author's lifelong tendency to [illegible] his genius lightly and his silliness seriously. A small book on [illegible] post-Victorian dis[illegible] notable declaratio[illegible] marked by Chest[illegible] probable, it is a fine effort in the difficult art of interpreting an artist. *Heretics* (1905), a collection of essays, showed how stimulating his discussions could be; *Orthodoxy* (1909), a declaration of faith, [illegible] The [illegible] mate [illegible] n of [illegible] lume [illegible] much [illegible]

say that they [illegible] stand him. I am the only person who understands him and I do not

e with him." That was the kind of writing in which Chesterton appily allowed himself an immoderate indulgence. Among his nerous collections of essays we mention, as typical examples, *All ings Considered* (1908), *Tremendous Trifles* (1909), *A Defence of onsense* (1911) and *A Miscellany of Men* (1912). His stories, such as *he Club of Queer Trades* (1905), *The Man Who was Thursday* (1908), *he Ball and the Cross* (1909), *Manalive* (1912) and *The Flying Inn* 1914), some of them evidently influenced by Stevenson in the fantastic phase of *The New Arabian Nights* and *The Dynamiter*, are agreeable trifles, most enjoyable when they are least tremendous. *The Innocence of Father Brown* (1911) with its several continuations, attracted those who like detective stories to be not only mysterious, but mystical. His one play, *Magic*, is negligible. During the War and the following years, Chesterton did much public writing. He attacked the misgovernment of Ireland, proposed some ideal medieval course between communism and capitalism, denounced divorce, birth control, eugenics and "other evils", and became in general a Catholic apologist. Two unclassified little volumes deserve mention, *A Short History of England* (1917) and *The Victorian Age in Literature* (1913), both stimulating essays remarkable for their insight and their extravagance. Chesterton was a journalist of genius. Had he been merely talented he would have avoided the silliness of matter and the excesses of manner that often strain the patience of his readers. Only in his earlier days, when he was read in brief instalments, did it seem that one could not have enough of him. He resembled Shaw in this respect, that he compelled some of his readers to readjust what they supposed were their opinions and to discover what they really thought. Like many others of his day he drowned his gifts in excess of production. Chesterton is at his best when he allows his robust humour to play upon large and vital matters; he is at his worst when he labours to give cosmic importance to trifles.

Ernest Barker (1874), scholar, historian and political philosopher brought a humorous and liberal spirit of humanism to the inte pretation of man's social activities. *Greek Political Theory* (1918 originally published as *The Political Thought of Plato and Aristo* (1906), *Political Thought in England from Herbert Spencer to To-D* (1915), *The Crusades* (1923), *National Character* (1927), *Church, S and Study* (1930), *Oliver Cromwell and the English People* (1937), *The Citizen's Choice* (1937) ascend from the level of political teac to a life of their own as original thought infused with the vigo strong character.

Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill (1874), as the son of Randolph Churchill and grandson of a Duke of Marlborough into politics and into office by the hereditary right that is still

able to English sentiment. His public career, however, is not our concern. Churchill began active life as a soldier and saw service in Cuba, in N.W. India, in the Sudan and in South Africa. Quite early

(1898), *The River War* (1899), *London to Ladysmith via Pretoria* (1900) and *Ian Hamilton's March* (1900). These, like *With Kitchener to Khartoum* (1898) and *From Cape Town to Ladysmith* (1900) by his contemporary Gec

the last examples

William Howard

Crimean tragedy, and they can still be read with pleasure by those

novels written by an American of the same name. His large-scale work, *The World Crisis*, in four volumes (1923–9) and a smaller work, *The Eastern Front* (1931) have value as narratives of authority which will serve as source books for later historians. Of deeper interest is the autobiographical *My Early Life* (1930). Winston Churchill's life of his father, *Lord Randolph Churchill* (1906), showed a talent for biography, and its success naturally led him to undertake

lained by the

not entirely

larger audience eagerly applauded his stories of mystery and adventure—*The Thirty-Nine Steps* (1915), *Greenmantle* (1916), *Mr Standfast* (1919), *Huntingtower* (1922), *Midwinter* (1923) and *The Three Hostages* (1924). His biographical or historical monographs—*Sir Walter Scott* (1932), *Julius Caesar* (1932), *Oliver Cromwell* (1934) and *Augustus* (1937)—are popular without loss of dignity, seriousness and correctness. John Buchan never wrote down to his readers and never regaled them with dethronements, defamation or perversity He

maintained with dignity one of the highest offices of state. *Memory Hold the Door* (1940) is a fascinating volume of reminiscences.

Great claims have been made for Giles Lytton Strachey (1880–1932), who must therefore receive more notice here than the slightness of his work deserves. As "G. L. Strachey" he contributed to a popular series a little manual called *Landmarks in French Literature* (1912). Like Mr Shandy he felt the importance of a name, and his next volume, *Eminent Victorians* (1918), bore on its title page the more memorable ascription, "Lytton Strachey". The times being what they were, the book, with its derision of eminence, became famous, and enthusiastic young persons declared that it had antiquated all other biographical methods and introduced a new note into assessments of the departed. After studies of eminent Victorians a study of the eminent Victoria herself was inevitable. But something curious then happened. In *Eminent Victorians* the biographer put his subjects into their places; in *Queen Victoria* (1921) the subject put the biographer into his place. The procedure that had proved successful in the sketches of Cardinal Manning, Dr Arnold, Florence Nightingale and General Gordon refused to succeed in the sketch of Queen Victoria, and the new book not only lacked the expected excitement of derision but showed a tendency to Victorian sentiment. In no other work did Strachey repeat his first success, and the "new biography" began and ended with *Eminent Victorians*. A collection of reprinted papers entitled *Books and Characters, French and English* (1922) showed no special distinction: it was like most other books of its kind. Strachey's next publication, the very thin and profitless lecture-essay *Pope* (1925), could not survive comparison with Housman's similar lecture-essay *The Name and Nature of Poetry* which followed it in 1933 or with W. P. Ker's similar lecture-essay *The Eighteenth Century* which preceded it in 1916. *Elizabeth and Essex* (1928), Strachey's most ambitious effort, is a failure. His mind was out of its depth in that period, and his perceptible efforts at the historical picturesque left the high lights misplaced and the values wrong. He had become the victim of his own manner. *Portraits in Miniature* (1931) and *Characters and Commentaries* (1933) are reprinted papers that could add nothing to any reputation. Strachey's claim to consideration rests upon the two popular volumes, *Eminent Victorians* and *Queen Victoria*, and especially upon the first. Its popularity was deserved. The essays, carefully designed and cleverly written, did not rise above the level at which the intelligent library subscriber can move at ease. But their picturesque style and their ironical tone can be considered new only by those whose reading has not extended to the biographical essays of Macaulay and a few chapters of Gibbon. The vivid exposition is Macaulay's own; the sceptical smile at supernatural revelation had already flickered on the chubby cheeks

of Gibbon. The author himself claims credit for departing from the received traditions of biography in two fat volum… are not bad because they are in t… are bad when they are written b…

…g of Macaulay's healthy gusto and heroic amplitude, he had a slight touch of Macaulay's instinct for the picturesque details in a bright biographical study. About Macaulay we are sometimes … "; about … truth". Strachey moved, by natural instinct, among the demi-verities, and the irony of his contemporary fame is that he gained most applause for his most conspicuous deficiency. Manning, Arnold, Florence Nightingale and Gordon, differing in almost every detail of their lives, are nevertheless alike in the outstanding, unmistakable fact that they are all examples of religious experience. Now Strachey …

affecting the contempt of the eighteenth century for "enthusiasm", he discussed that kind of experience with the irony of complete incomprehension. The time was in his favour. By 1918, the War—then in its last and most sanguinary phase—had shattered the faith and hope of a multitude. The world was a place of fallen idols and vanished ideals; and many of the young turned eagerly to a writer who exposed with careful malice the defects of idols and the fallibility of ideals. *Manning appears as an ecclesiastical tiger;* Florence Nightingale, after a life of man-eating energy, is dismissed as a fat old woman sunk in semi-imbecility, Gordon is shown as *seeking stimulation from the brandy-bottle as well as from the Bible* —a deliberate calumny, unsupported by any reputable evidence, but justified, apparently, by the artistic necessity for ironical antithesis. "His legs", remarked Strachey of D…

Doctor of Divinity"—and forthwith arose a band of writers eager to tear aside the flowing robes of Doctors of Divinity and expose their short legs. A literature of defamation became fashionable. Young *iconoclasts* rushed with their cudgels round Poets' Corner, and, having defaced the images, cried out with joy, "There are no Great Men". Samuel Butler, who publicly dishonoured his father and his mother, he…

because, with all its social sins and commercial crimes, that age was eminently the age of religious and moral anxiety. The relations of man to the universe had inspired the verse of its poets and the periods of its prose-writers. Even the eminent atheists were eminent moralists. Lesser men, like Arthur Hugh Clough, whom Strachey makes a figure of fun, spent their lives in search of spiritual certitude, and rarely lost their hope, though they often lost their way. That kind of religious anxiety was unintelligible to those whose minds the immense disaster of the War had reduced to defeat. Encouraged by the "new psychology", they turned within and discovered themselves as the helpless products of pre-natal influences stretching back into a pre-human past. They were as they had been made, and therefore had no responsibilities and no obligations. There were no leaders to restore the hope of the world. Over the post-War generations loomed the sinister shadows of the predatory statesman, the predatory commercialist and the predatory agitator. Seriousness in any form of art was outmoded; and so the shallow ideas and mocking tones of *Eminent Victorians* were taken as the utterance of an oracle. All the bright young things, declaring that life was a game without rules or obligations, turned their backs on "Victorianism", and ran violently down a steep place to make the brave new world which it is now such a privilege to inhabit. That Strachey's essays caused this revolt of desperation against aspiration is not to be supposed: they were not important enough for that; but they abide as the representative utterance of a period in which alone they could have been hailed as a revelation.

Philip Guedalla (1889–1944) injured his reputation by a too profuse display of epigram, and was alleged to be shallow by those who declared that duller writers were profound. His sedulous brilliance makes some of his shorter essays too sententious to be read with pleasure more than once; but in works of larger scope his carefully concealed industry, his sense of character, and his command of historical narrative unite to produce volumes that are solid in spite of their lightness and serious in spite of their gaiety. *Supers and Supermen* (1920) and *A Gallery* (1924) show his best form in the character sketch. His lighter studies were afterwards arranged (1927) in small volumes as *Men of Letters*, *Men of Affairs* and *Men of War*. His more enduring works are *The Second Empire* (1922), *Palmerston* (1926), *The Duke* (1931) and *The Hundredth Year* (1940). Guedalla's interest in South American life and history is shown in *Conquistador* (1927) and *Argentine Tango* (1932). His workmanship is unimpeachable.

We now turn to some of those who gained renown in the world of journalism and periodical publication. Charles Prestwich Scott (1846–1932) was for nearly sixty years editor of *The Manchester Guardian*, which became, under his guidance, a paper of almost

international importance. His intrepid honesty and his refusal to lower himself to the vicious level of the journalism which excuses itself on the ground that it gives the public what the public wants had its reward in the respect accorded to the *Guardian* even in regions where circulation is the sole test of success. One of Scott's lieutenants

[illegible]

realism; and the East of London and the East of Asia made equal appeal to him. *The Sea and the Jungle* (1912), *Old Junk* (1918), *London*

[illegible]

All Out [illegible]
George [illegible]
thirty [illegible]
life of Disraeli and in the collection of Queen Victoria's Letters. John Alfred Spender (1862–1942) is specially associated with *The Westminster Gazette* which he made remarkable for its fearlessness and its fine dignity. By instinct Spender was a scholar and by practice a publicist. Among the numerous volumes in which he sought to make men understand ea [illegible]
Comments of Bagshot (190 [illegible]
and Politics (1927), *Fifty* [illegible]
Man (1938). Alfred George Gardiner (1865–1946) was for many years editor of *The Daily News* and the last voice in journalism of the now almost legendary Liberal principles. He wrote political biographies, but reached a wider public in the character-sketches of [illegible] and in the shrewd and [illegible] *eaves in the* [illegible] s. [illegible] d Dean of St Paul's, among the journalists may seem disrespectful; but Inge, however eminent in divinity at Cambridge, was unknown to the world till he came to London and got into the newspapers. His *Studies of English Mystics* (1906) gained and deserved esteem *Speculum Animae* (1911) appeared in the year that saw him translated from learned obscurity into metropolitan activity. The Dean of

Paul's is a public as well as an ecclesiastical person. He is invited functions and expected to speak. The new Dean went, and spoke; t, instead of prophesying smooth things, said with startling in-enuousness exactly what he thought about the world. He was heard vith approval by some and with resentment by many, for this was he Utopian period just before the War, when a portion of the world, fascinated by H. G. Wells, was delighting itself with apocalyptic visions of universal amity and political perfection. The Dean said icily and implacably that he did not believe a word of it, that the mob was the mob, and that evil would come if we deluded ourselve with dreams of terrestrial perfectionism. The papers reported him with headlines, gave him currency with the crowd as "the gloomy Dean" and opened their columns to him. Thus although Inge maintained his reputation as a scholar in such important works as *The Philosophy of Plotinus* (1918) and *The Platonic Tradition* (1926), he attracted a much larger public with two series of *Outspoken Essays* (1919, 1922), *England* (1926), *Lay Thoughts of a Dean* (1926), *More Lay Thoughts of a Dean* (1931) and *A Rustic Moralist* (1937), all of which may be called examples of essayistic journalism. Inge had the trained scholar's sincerity. He did not believe in popular idols and said so bluntly. He presented religion as a creed, not as a superstition, and looked for its effects, not in emotional display, but in public and private conduct. He had the defects of his qualities. He had no breadth, no understanding of the people whose faults he criticized, and failed, for instance, to appreciate either the art or the appeal of Dickens, whom, as he naïvely confessed, he was brought up to dislike. His later utterances, therefore, hardened into the enunciation of narrow prejudices. But he had influence in his day.

There remain for notice certain writers who cannot readily be brought into any fixed categories. Many people thought very highly of Edward Carpenter (1844–1929), who, like some other famous persons of the time, took holy orders and reverted to the lay condi-tion. He was much influenced by Thoreau, Whitman, Morris an Tolstoy and became the advocate of a return to natural simplicity i life. His most ambitious work, *Towards Democracy*, a long Whi manesque prose-poem published in four parts between 1889 a 1902, declared his social creed. More widely read was *Civilizati its Cause and Cure* (1889). *Prisons, Police and Punishment* (1905) d with problems still unsolved by society. Carpenter included among the natural objects of his thought and stated his views i essays called *Love's Coming of Age* (1896). To some his most attra book was the collection of eastern travel-sketches, *From Adam's to Elephanta* (1892). *My Days and Dreams*, an autobiogra sketch, appeared in 1916. Edward Carpenter has not contin keep a following, partly because his social and humanitarian

[illegible] being mentioned here—his creative impulse was not strong. He [illegible] ned [illegible] ere [illegible] to believe that personal sincerity is a guarantee of artistic sincerity. Art has a sincerity of its own, so relentless and exacting that it admits only on its own terms the sincerity that belongs to the world of creeds. Artistic sincerity will use moral sincerity, but will not be commanded as an implement. Edward Carpenter might have learnt that lesson from William Morris.

Henry Havelock Ellis (1859–1939), like Edward Carpenter, was a copious writer deeply concerned with human relations, but he expressed himself in a much more serviceable prose and wisely did little with verse. To Havelock Ellis belongs the honour of producing the first considerable English treatise on sex, at a time when that vital subject was a matter for shameful evasion or giggling facetiousness, and when the mere mention of it seriously in print exposed the writer to ignorant and unscrupulous misrepresentation. For a long time the six volumes of his *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1897–1910)—with a supplementary seventh volume (1928)—had to be procured furtively in the country in which they were written. There was no shadow of offence in the work; but any play, novel or treatise that discussed sex seriously was instantly supposed to be encouraging lechery by people who would never have supposed that a treatise on [illegible] way. To *The Contemporary* [illegible] he was general editor, he [illegible] (1890) and *Man and Woman* [illegible] on sex, belong really to the literature of science, that is, the literature embodying research and speculation. Literature in its creative sense was notably served by Havelock Ellis in *The Mermaid Series: The Best Plays of the Old Dramatists* (1887–9), which he edited in well-prepared modernized reprints, and which, in the lamentable absence of any current scholarly edition of the complete texts, gave numerous readers their first acquaintance with the contemporaries and successors of Shakespeare. For this series he prepared the volumes of Marlowe and Ford. But Havelock Ellis was interested in the whole of literature and not merely in the literature of the past. He had read widely, and

his book of essays, *The New Spirit* (1890), gave encouragement to the serious reading of Whitman, Ibsen and Tolstoy. This work was violently attacked; for the "New", then, was what the "Modern" is now, an affront to those who desire to have their intellectual slumber preserved from the wakening assault of ideas. *The New Spirit* is still interesting as evidence of the artistic, social and political ferment active in the early Nineties. *Affirmations* (1897), *Impressions and Comments*, in three series (1914, 1921, 1924), *The Dance of Life* (1923), *Views and Reviews* (1932) and *From Rousseau to Proust* (1936) represent, in various ways, the unresting explorations of an inquiring mind. *A Study of British Genius* (1904) and *The World of Dreams* (1911) show the writer in full command of his power to give attractive expression to matters of speculation. *George Chapman* (1934), with its selections and commentary, takes us back to the spirit that inspired *The Mermaid Series*. The influence of Havelock Ellis was deep rather than wide. He was never a popular author and he shunned publicity as diligently as others seek it; but his free play of mind over a wide range of human activity had great influence upon responsive readers, who spread his views, and made his public larger than it seemed. His work was finished before his death, and he is not likely to be read again. What still remains is the changed mind that he helped to create.

A great scholar like Montague Rhodes James (1862–1936) may appear oddly placed among the miscellaneous writers; but though his range of learning seemed immeasurable and his contributions to linguistic, bibliographical, patristic and biblical study beyond the scope of one man's achievement, he came down very handsomely to the level of ordinary readers with his *Ghost Stories of an Antiquary* (1904), *More Ghost Stories of an Antiquary* (1911) and *A Thin Ghost and Others* (1919)—all excellent of their kind. James was the sort of man whose vast range of human qualities would have seemed totally incredible had he been (as he might have been) an invention of imaginative fiction.

Sir Edmund Kerchever Chambers (1866) collaborated with Frank Sidgwick in the production of the delightful *Early English Lyrics* (1907) and laid solidly the foundations of the historical study of the English drama in *The Medieval Stage* (1903), *The Elizabethan Stage* (1923) and *Shakespeare, a Survey* (1925). Of fancies and suppositions about the drama there had been no lack. Chambers presented austerely, almost sternly, the facts; and his works are the beginning of knowledge in this subject. His biography of Coleridge appeared in 1939.

Of Alfred Edgar Coppard, author of numerous collections of stories, beginning with *Adam and Eve and Pinch Me*, of John Cowper Powys, of Theodore Francis Powys, and of Llewelyn Powys, all

[illegible]

time. Much the same may be said of Francis Brett Young, author of [illegible]

[illegible] tion of the many miscellaneous writers who produced essays, studies and treatises which once seemed to have importance and which have lapsed into oblivion after serving their immediate purpose. We turn, therefore, in conclusion, to the most astonishing man of his time.

Thomas Edward Lawrence (*1888–1935*), whose character was an enigma, not least to himself, went to Oxford, where he came under the influence of [illegible] D. G. Hogarth (*1862–* [illegible] *Wandering Scholar in the* [illegible] interest in military architecture, and, in order to prepare more thoroughly a thesis for his degree, went to Syria in 1909 and made the studies embodied in the tract afterwards printed, with relevant personal letters, as *Crusader Castles* (1936). The prose of this piece has no special distinction. The East, as Disraeli observed, is a career, and [illegible] unforeseen by him- [illegible] the Arab revolt, the [illegible] *on of Hussein as* in- [illegible] make the Arab revolt an organized and sustained contribution to victory. Without him, the revolt would have dissipated uselessly in the sands of the desert. The end of the War found Lawrence in the plight of Napoleon, if, at the end of the Italian campaign, the victor of Rivoli had found his work undone by politicians But Napoleon believed in his star and followed it; Lawrence could never find a star to believe in. The statesmen who made what they called peace betrayed him and his cause. He fled from them and from himself into [illegible] He changed his name to Ross and then to Shaw. He [illegible] deeper still in the Tank [illegible] ation to the Air Force.

That he was profoundly unhappy is clear. The puzzle of his life defied solution and troubled him more and more deeply, till an almost ludicrously inadequate accident saved him from further speculation and lost us the one man of original genius that the War had produced. Whether there was anything more for Lawrence of Arabia to do, whether he could have rallied the East in a graver national extremity, are questions unanswerable; but this country has not lately been so fruitful of genius in national affairs that we can afford to see without emotion even a hope so utterly thrown away. Lawrence is one of the few recent writers of whose personal and public life it has been necessary to say something. We have to add that a strange infelicity haunted even his books. Indeed, the most revealing of his volumes is the one he did not produce, the collection of correspondence edited by David Garnett as *The Letters of T. E. Lawrence* (1938). This tragic and fascinating book diminishes the need for any further utterances from those who profess to understand him. The secret places of his heart, scarcely known to himself, are not likely to be revealed by the coarser minds of confident compilers. The bibliographical history of *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom* need not be given in detail here. The book was first issued to a few subscribers in 1926. An abbreviated version called *Revolt in the Desert* was published in 1927. Some years later (1935) the whole book—with a few names left blank—was made accessible to the general public. That it caused some disappointment is certain. There is much frankness, but there are no revelations. Even the mind and soul of the writer are not fully disclosed. The objective detail that makes it valuable as a record tends to bury the utterances that help to make it a creation. The book is very long, yet even as a history it has to be supplemented by the story of the whole campaign. There is an abundance of finely sensitive description and of sharply drawn characters who bear the majesty and the mystery of the desert with them through the multitudinous pages. *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom* is likely to have as few devoted readers as Doughty's *Travels in Arabia Deserta*; but it will continue to be cherished as the authorized scripture of an almost incredible legend. *Secret Despatches from Arabia* and *Oriental Assembly*, containing passages omitted from *The Seven Pillars* together with other fragmentary writings, were added to the canon in 1939. Lawrence's *The Odyssey of Homer* (1932), first issued in a restricted edition and afterwards made public, is a most interesting prose paraphrase, which shows, however, no signs of replacing older versions. The five essays of *Men in Print* (1940) contain some revealing personal touches. From such a man as Lawrence the total of literary production is disappointingly meagre. Over all his career, both as leader and as writer, looms the tragedy of genius frustrated by want of faith.

VI. EPILOGUE

Here we terminate our summary. There comes a point at which history must give way to partial views, and that point, at the moment, is reached with the writers born after 1890; and these, therefore, with few exceptions, are not discussed in this volume. Their work is unfinished, or is still maturing, or is just beginning, [illegible] self-explanatory, and what they fail to say for themselves their friends say for them. That the creative work of any period should be eagerly discussed in its own time, often by the creators themselves, must make in the end for good. What is discussed is likely to be read, and even to be thought about. Much, however, depends upon the nature and quality of the discussion, and on this matter we offer a few observations.

[illegible] that confines itself to the literature of the past is an imperfect culture. In a true sense, there is no past; all good literature is present to us, and is good literature only if it is present to us. But no person of real culture ever does confine himself to the literature either of the past or of the present. A limitation of interest—and especially a professed or proclaimed limitation—is a mark of unsoundness. A full understanding includes, and does not exclude. During the Victorian age the writers most read and discussed were the Victorian writers; but the Victorians also read and discussed their predecessors and established the fame of Byron and Shelley, Coleridge and Keats. Have the post-Victorian writers helped to establish the fame of their predecessors? That question exposes the greatest weakness of post-Victorian criticism, its absence of breadth, its limitation and exclusiveness, its professed limitation and exclusiveness. Post-Victorian criticism does not criticize Victorian literature, [illegible] men", the old guys, who must be hilariously burnt, to the glory of their successors. But burning, even the burning of martyrs, is not criticism; it is the confessed failure of criticism. Repudiation, misunderstanding, misrepresentation are not critical activities; wilfulness,

eccentricity, and the dissidence of dissent, however confidently offered as tokens of originality, must not be taken as the true currency of criticism. Post-Victorian criticism exposes its poverty by excesses of display and assertiveness, by eccentricities of inclusion as well as of exclusion. Milton is cast out as an old bore; Skelton is exalted and becomes "one of the three or four outstanding English poets". Further, post-Victorian criticism exhibits a morbid fear of what is considered a Victorian concern with loftiness or gravity of theme or expression. Thus Lytton Strachey mocks at Matthew Arnold's judgment of Pope, that he was without an adequate criticism of life, that his criticism of life lacked high seriousness, that it was wanting in largeness, freedom, insight or benignity. Arnold's judgment may be properly criticized as an inadequate account of Pope—inadequate, because it shows no apprehension of the qualities in which Pope excelled. But how does Strachey criticize it? He disposes of Matthew Arnold's judgment by saying that "his conception of poetry reminds us that he was also an Inspector of Schools" and that he linked poetry and high seriousness because he was Dr Arnold's son. This may be the higher humour, but it is not even the lowest criticism. Matthew Arnold, in the essay from which Strachey's allusions were drawn, was discussing poetry in general, not Pope, who was merely one of several examples cited in illustration. Arnold went back to the father of criticism and quoted "Aristotle's profound observation that the superiority of poetry over history consists in its possessing a higher truth and a higher seriousness". Some may prefer Bywater's simpler rendering, that "poetry is something more philosophic and of graver import than history"; but there is no difference in significance. Arnold believed that Pope lacked this Aristotelian gravity. Strachey did not reply, as he might, that Pope's criticism of life was adequate to the parts of life he chose as his theme and that his higher truth and seriousness were expressed in a poetic idiom so lucid and precise that Arnold, unhappily, mistook it for prose; instead, he made a blunder far graver than Arnold's: he denied the Aristotelian association of poetry with high seriousness. "Poetry and high seriousness!" he exclaimed; "of course, to Dr Arnold's son, they seemed to be inevitably linked together; and certainly had the world been created by Dr Arnold they would have been. But—perhaps fortunately—it was not. If we look at the facts, where do we find poetry? In the wild fantasies of Aristophanes, in the sordid lusts of Baudelaire, in the gentle trivialities of La Fontaine." One cannot imagine any French critic of repute sinking to the provincialism of ideas and style exhibited in that sentence; or, to put it another way, one cannot believe that any French critic's reputation would survive such a sentence. If Strachey, confusing essence and accident, believes that Aristophanes and Baudelaire and La Fontaine survive because of

their wild fantasies and sordid lusts and gentle trivialities and not because their poetry, *whatever its subject, has* the poetic truth and seriousness which are of graver import than history, he must be answered in the words of Matthew Arnold himself, "*If it is a man's duty to announce even his inadequate ideas, it is the duty of criticism* to tell him that they *are inadequate.*" Arnold did not confuse accident and essence, for he found the higher seriousness of poetry

of Pope,

> *The spider's touch, how exquisitely fine!*
> Feels at each thread and lives along the line,

and asks rhetorically, "Could Wordsworth have done better?" The

tone and

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orian superstition to be

diculed Pope. He had

seriousness, *the virtues of magnanimity, universality, humanity* and benignity. That these are the virtues of great literature is beyond the power of any critic to question. There is a kind of literature that is content with virtues of less exalted pitch. We would not lose that literature, we have need of it; but we do it ill-service when we try

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his neighbour—that is, the need for aspiration above the self and the need for expansion beyond the self. Literature, as an art, need not make the *inculcation* of this duty its prime business; but literature that seeks to bring this *duty into contempt has gone over* to the enemy of life and art. It has joined the mob to whom art is folly, it has joined the cheap-jacks and charlatans to whom art is deception.

The mob (of any class) with its refusal either to labour or to pray, its incomprehension of artistic, intellectual, or spiritual life, its sordid sloth disturbed only by the violent stimulants of gladiatorial sport, gambling, and the escapist literature of sensational journalism and crime-stories—the mob is gratified when those who claim to be its betters deny obligation, deride reverence and hold up to contempt those who have sought for serious fulfilment of life. Literature, being as it is the art of words, must convey to readers both ideas and ideals. All literature is not concerned with the noblest ideas and ideals; but we should be very jealous for the honour of the great works of literary art that have so concerned themselves. Our artistic and moral values, our criticism, must not go off the gold standard.

From young writers, living in the ruins of a world, we naturally expect a literature of insecurity. We expect a literature of revolt that extends to the forms as well as to the matter of literature. There is nothing disquieting in that. This volume is the history of literary revolts. All attempts to extend the modes of expression are to be welcomed. The arts live in such attempts. What criticism has to do is to distinguish between attempt and achievement, and to refrain from hailing as a success what is only an effort. The elderly criticism which sought to destroy the young was detestable; the elderly criticism which fawns upon the young is disgusting. Much criticism of to-day is a form of totalitarian politics. It seeks to enforce the unquestioning acceptance of something called the "modern mind". But modern writers are to be judged and estimated like any other writers. The "moderns" are not like the Thirty-nine Articles to be accepted in the spirit of the man who professed his readiness to accept Forty. We have a clear right to liberty of discrimination. On the other hand, repudiation of the "moderns" and all their ways and works is nothing but the intellectual sloth that refuses to have its customary habits disturbed. The arts cannot live by repeating themselves. Literature must carry conviction to its own time. Long before the War of 1914–18, as we have already noted—even before the end of the nineteenth century—a revolt against Victorian modes in literature had begun. The twentieth century repudiated nineteenth-century romanticism as the eighteenth century had repudiated seventeenth-century metaphysics. The latest kind of romanticism repudiates that name and prefers a sterner title—it even turns to the left and disguises itself as communism, a bookish, academic communism, with about as much relation to the daily life of the world as the medievalism of the Pre-Raphaelites. Well, we have had Fabian Socialism and we have had Wellsian Utopianism. All of it is pure romanticism, and we may now expect a later romanticism that will idealize the recently destroyed principalities, kingdoms and empires that represented governance undivorced from grace. The modern

will be succeeded by the more modern. Change is a condition and symptom of life. But there can be no wholesome change without the free play of criticism based upon the standards set by all great literature, and not upon the whims and fancies of the moment.

Current opinion in bookish circles gives to certain qualities of recent literature more than their due importance. We hear much of the modern spirit, its originality and its defiance of tradition. But we should distinguish. To attach importance to what is modern merely because it is modern is no more intelligent than to attach importance to what is old merely because it is old. We must not be seduced by any form of historic sentiment in art. Devotees of the old overrate this or that because it is quaint and unusual; devotees of the modern overrate this or that because it is new and startling. What really matters is the absolute value; and the ultimate test of any new work is whether it can be absorbed into the stock of universal literature. The new and startling cannot continue to be new and startling, though even the oldest literature can retain its power to surprise. Originality is another quality of questionable value. The two-headed kitten and the Siamese Twins are original, but they are [illegible] ality usually begins by striving for resemblance, and develops idiosyncrasy unconsciously and almost unwillingly. "In art", says Bernard Shaw, "the highest success is to be the last of your race, not the first. Anybody, almost, can make a beginning: the difficulty is to make an end—to do what cannot be bettered." What has never been said before may have been thought not worth saying. Curious liberties in composition sink into mere curiosities. The new language of poetry may be nothing but the old language of prose. Experiments in diction remain experimental. How easy to jump out of a diction into a jargon! Marked idiosyncrasy in style becomes tiresome. A perfect style, like Mozart's, has no idiosyncrasy. But the mob does not like a perfect style. It likes "showing off". It does not look for what is new and good, it prefers what is "news" and bad. Its test of success is the headline; and some kinds of "originality" can be always sure of the headline. We really should not ask for "Man Bites Dog" sensations in literature, and think we are being "modern". The old reticence was better than the new sensationalism. The enduring, indefectible virtues of art are the aristocratic virtues nobly manifest in the literature of ancient Greece, of Augustan Rome, of fourteenth-century Italy, of seventeenth-century France, of eighteenth-century England. But the mob is bored by those virtues and longs for the crude vices of undisciplined art. The duty of

criticism is to see that those virtues are never decried and that those vices are not loved too well. Certain young poets have shown the happiest originality, not in their glooms and rancours, but in their smiles and jests. These lighter manifestations have not been praised enough. What the world of to-day specially needs is purgation by laughter. Have we no inspired wits who will give us a new *Anti-Jacobin*? There has been no first-rate humorous epic since *Don Juan*. Belloc and Chesterton had great gifts for exposing pretentiousness to ridicule, but they used their power too sparingly—and Belloc and Chesterton, be it noted, belonged to the old tradition.

A breach with the past, the abjuration of tradition—that, of course, is the characteristic first symptom of any revolt. And where tradition has frozen into bleak etiquette some vigorous breaking-up is necessary. But there is a difference between a revolt that means revival and a revolt that means degeneration into the dissidence of dissent. Poets ought not to segregate into sects; they should diffuse themselves as individuals. The fate of intense sectarianism is to be left stranded in some dingy and dilapidated Little Bethel in a by-street, [illegible] and limited communion which no one is anxious [illegible] may mean empty form, but it also means good form. Tradition may mean snobbery, but it also means good breeding and the company of the well-bred, who will tolerate a great deal of licence and freedom, but will not tolerate the raucous loudness of the mob. Tradition does not clamour for its "rights": it creates them. Tradition can depart from precedent because it has precedent to depart from. Tradition is the voice of all ages, and of no period. And so tradition is not an impediment, it is an enablement. Fortified by tradition, by great example, the adventurer can set out intrepidly towards unknown shores. An artist of the first rank accepts tradition and enriches it; an artist of the lower rank accepts tradition and repeats it; an artist of the lowest rank rejects tradition and strives for originality. Literature coming from tradition has a greater chance of speaking out than literature coming from some self-exiled Stylites on his lonely pillar in the desert. And, in the end, literature that is going to survive must be such as can be incorporated into tradition, and help to keep tradition fresh and living. So it might be well if we heard a little less of the modern mind and a little more of the continuing mind, to which this book bears testimony. Literature does not deny the past to make new beginnings; it lives in the past and in the present; it is universal; it is ever one and the same; it is, in the words of St Vincent, *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus creditum est*. And that, really, is final; for civilized life and civilized literature can endure only through our faith in the enduring.

INDEX

A full index to this volume would be of impracticable length. Entries have been limited to authors or works discussed or cited; casual allusions are ignored. Individual works are not entered unless they are by unknown or little known authors. Where there are several entries under one name the main references are indicated by *heavier type. A single entry can be presumed to be the main reference.* The list of contents will serve as a brief subject index.